


FROM THE LIBRARY OF
REV. LOUIS FITZGERALD BENSON, D. D.
BEQUEATHED BY HIM TO
THE LIBRARY OF
PRINCETON THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

Division

Section

SCD
2746
v. 2

John W. Dean



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2012 with funding from
Princeton Theological Seminary Library



✓
THE

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY

OF

NEW ENGLAND;

COMPRISING NOT ONLY

RELIGIOUS, BUT ALSO MORAL,

AND OTHER RELATIONS.

BY ✓

JOSEPH B. FELT.

"Learn from the events already taken place, for that is the best learning."

CYRUS IN XENOPHON.

"But whether New England may live any where or no, it must live in our history."

COTTON MATHER.

VOL. II.

BOSTON:

PUBLISHED BY THE
CONGREGATIONAL LIBRARY ASSOCIATION,
AND BY THE
CONGREGATIONAL BOARD OF PUBLICATION.

1862.

Entered, according to Act of Congress, in the year 1862, by

J O S E P H B . F E L T ,

In the Clerk's Office of the District Court of the District of Massachusetts.

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

MASSACHUSETTS. Imprisonment of the King. — Reply to Apollonius. — Way of Congregational Churches. — Good News from New England. — Salaries. — Fast. — Mission. — Assembly's Confession of Faith. — Remonstrants. — Witchcraft. — Dutch. — Synod. — Variance among the United Colonies. — Henry Green. — Thomas Harrison. — Sabbath violated. — Controversy. — Eliot's petition. — Temperance measures. — Church estate of children. — King executed. — Presbyterian and Congregational communion. — Dunster's letter to Ravius. — Decease of Winthrop. — Fashion of long hair. — Children. — Baptism. — Translation of the Bible. — Missionary Society formed. — Urian Oakes. — John Collins. — Death of Shepard. — Catechism. — Eliot's letter to Peters. — Magna Charta. — Baptists. — Platform of discipline. — Punishment. — Mission among the Indians. — These from the Jews. — Levellers. — Distressed church. — Popular boldness. — College corporation. — Trial of Matthews. — Ministry essential to townships. — Systems of discipline and doctrines. — Strangers. — Exiles. — Consociation. — Mission opposed. — Mayhew's labors. — Spiritualism. — Pynchon on Redemption. — Shawomet. — Indian Town. — Nathaniel and Samuel Mather. — State of Religion. — Quakers. — Jews. — Cromwell's proposal for emigration to Ireland. — John Knowles. — Antichrist. — Calling of the Jews. PLYMOUTH. Fast for England. — Partridge on baptism. — Dialogue on denominations. — Deaconess. — Sabbath profaned. — Samuel Newman's arraignment. — Public affairs. — Obadiah Holmes. — John Mayo. — Petitions against the Baptists. — Laws enacted. — Abuse of the Sabbath. — Shawomet voted to the Bay. — Baptists move to Rhode Island. MAINE. Commission to D'Aulney. — New organization of government. — Denial of Sabbath. — Catechism. — Death of Rigby and D'Aulney. NEW HAMPSHIRE. Trouble at Exeter. — Anabaptistry at Dover. — Samuel Dudley. — Catechism to be taught. — Mason's claims revived. — Platform of Church Order. RHODE ISLAND. Gortonists. — Divisions. — Application for admission to the Confederation. — R. Williams on this subject. — Dissensions. — Coddington gone to England. — Banishment. — Warwick accounted in Plymouth patent. — Gortonists. — Doctrines. — Divorce. CONNECTICUT. Sabbath. — College — Worship. — Decease of Henry Smith. — Governor Hopkins. — Arms at the meeting-house. — Eaton's letter. — Profanity. — Fast. — Witchcraft. — Lady Fenwick. — Winthrop. — Cheever. — Recusants from military service. — Fraud in bread. — Arms at worship.

[Mass.

— Just war. — Laws. — Mission among Indians. — Civil and Ecclesiastical rule. — Samuel Stone. — Sachems opposed to Christianity. — Thomas James. — Emigration. — Departure of Henry Whitfield.

MASSACHUSETTS.

DIVINELY enabled still to hold the lease of life with the weak hand of mortality, we resume the course of our historical plan and purpose.

1648. The period before, and at the commencement of this year, was full of events, which indicated results of no ordinary character, as to the prominent concerns of New England. The king, who endeavored to raise his broken sceptre and wield it over this and the other portions of his domain, was retained a prisoner at the Isle of Wight, by order of Parliament. Having rejected,* on the last December 24th, their four requisitions, that he allow the war against him to be just; that he abolish Episcopacy; that he give up the control of the militia, and that he leave his friends to their mercy,—he was the object of great displeasure with the Commons. These voted that they would send no more addresses to him, and would proceed to settle the government of the kingdom independently of his direction. On the 17th of January, the Lords consented to their position, and his Majesty was kept a close prisoner. With prospects before them, which arose from such an extraordinary relation between the chief branches of national authority, Massachusetts and the adjoining colonies were in a condition of anxious suspense, not knowing but that the besom of Revolution might sweep over their heritage, and destroy its best privileges and possessions.

February 1. A prefatory letter to Shepard's First Principles of the Oracles of God, by questions and answers, and, also, another such letter to his Select Cases Resolved, are dated in London by William Adderley.

16. Thomas Goodwin, Philip Nye, and Sidrach Simpson, of the same metropolis, write an introduction for Norton's Reply to Apollonius, prepared in 1645. Respecting it, they say: "It is a child, small indeed in size, but strenuous and manly in power."

In the former part of this year, Cotton's "Way of Congregational Churches Cleared," is published. Some of its leading thoughts are as follow. On the remark of Baylie, that the teachings of Robinson at Leyden were the seed of Independency in Old and New England, Cotton rejoins, that its origin was coeval with the Gospel. The Jesuits of Lisbon and others, at the Western

* Salmon's Chronology, vol. i. p. 144. NOTE.—On 10th of January, Richard Mather acknowledges the reception of ninety theological books from John Johnson and William Parks, of Roxbury. Such works were valuable. Few of them are seen in our day.

1648.]

Islands, have told our merchants and mariners, that "they look at our plantations as dangerous supplanters of the Catholic cause." Baylie had said, on the statement of Lechford, that there were so many restrictions on both sexes, who offer themselves for the church, "that three parts of the people of the country continue out of the church, so that in a short time most of the people will remain unbaptized." Cotton observed that Lechford was not admitted here to church-fellowship, because he held that "the Antichrist of the book of Revelation was not yet come; that Apostolic function was not yet ceased, but that there still ought to be such, who should, by their transcendent authority, govern all churches; he was not kept out of our churches for maintaining the authority of Bishops; for we have in our churches some well-respected brethren, who do indifferently allow either Episcopal, or Presbyterial, or Congregational Government." To this is added, "It is not true that three parts of the country remain out of the church." The influence of our Congregationalism has the subsequent description. "Thousands in England have been awakened to consider church discipline; have, by letters, conferred with us about it, and been so far enlightened as to desire an utter subversion of Episcopacy and Conformity; yea, and the honourable houses of Parliament, the Lord hath been pleased to help them so far to consider of our sufferings and the cause thereof, as to conclude a necessity of reformation of Ecclesiastical State."

During the current year, Good News from New England is printed in London. It is very different from another book, of the same title, by Winslow. It notices Dunster, President of the College, as "being an able proficient in the tongues, very studious to promote learning." It adds, "Witness the young audients, both here and gone to England, hopeful instruments in the hands of the Lord, for future times." It contains valuable statistics* of ministers and their salaries.

March 5. Informed of "the great distractions" and perils of

*(The figures signify pounds sterling.) Salem, Hugh Peters, in England, Edward Norris, 60; Charlestown, Zechariah Symmes, 90; Thomas Allen, 60; Boston, John Cotton, 90; John Wilson, 60; Roxbury, Thomas Weld, in England, 80; Dorchester, Richard Mather, 70; Watertown, John Knowles, 80; Lynn, Samuel Whiting, 45; Thomas Cobbet, 45; Ipswich, Nathaniel Rogers, 70; John Norton, 70; Hingham, Peter Hobart, 60; Weymouth, Thomas Thacher, 50; Rowley, Ezekiel Rogers, 80; Samuel Mather, 30; Cambridge, Thomas Shepard, 70; Dedham, John Allin, 50; Concord, Edward Bulkley, 70; Salisbury, William Worcester, 45; Newbury, Thomas Parker, 40, James Noyes, 60; Hampton, Timothy Dalton, 40; Sudbury, Edmund Brown, 40; Braintree, Henry Flint, 30, William Thompson, 30; Dover, Daniel Maud, 40; Gloucester, Richard Blinman, 40; Woburn, Thomas Carter, 60; Reading, Henry Green, 30; Wenham, John Fisk, 20; Haverhill, John Ward; Andover, John Woodbridge; further, Smith of Manchester, Matthews of Hull, Norcross of Exeter, St. Batolie, [Stephen Batchelor,] of Strawberry Bank, Knight of New Meadows, who had gone to England.

England,* and, in view of the "unknown disease" which generally prevailed through the country, last summer; of the damage to "corn and other provision" by drought, and of mortality among the English in the West Indies, the Legislature appoint the 20 of 2 mo. for a day of fasting and prayer.

March 17. In an address to Parliament, Winslow remarks, with respect to their promoting the Gospel among the Indians of our country, "Your Honours were pleased to refer it to the Committee of Foreign Plantations, to prepare and bring in an ordinance for the encouragement and advancement of learning and piety in New England."

22. As an event, soon welcomed by the Churches of our Colonies, the Assembly's Confession† of Faith had been adopted by the House of Commons.

April 30. A Tanner, member of Taunton Church, but communed with the first Boston church,‡ failing to give satisfaction, when complained of, because he had spoiled and wasted many hides, is warned to forbear communion with the latter body, who notify the former of such conduct.

May. Dr. Child and other remonstrants§ failed to prosper in their voyage, as they anticipated. The exposure of Winslow's Salamander broke them off from favor with the Earl of Warwick and his colleagues. Aware of this, Vassal retreated to Barbadoes. Fowle washed his hands of any further co-operation with Child against our authorities. The latter individual, having met with a powerful opponent in Francis Willoughby of Charlestown, he being then in London, promised him that he would cease from his endeavors to injure the interests and people of New England.

May 13. John Dand, having confessed|| that he erred in siding with the remonstrants and petitioned for relief, is liberated from prison and has his fine remitted.

"The Court prefer the course, which hath been taken in England, for the discovery of witches by watching them." They order, "That the best and surest way, forthwith be put in practice, is to begin this night, if it may be, and that the husband be confined to a private room and be also watched." This passage relates to a female physician, Margaret Jones of Charlestown, who was executed in Boston, the 15th of next June, on the charge of witchcraft.

28. The chief magistrate of New Netherland had lately written to Winthrop, earnestly desiring, that friendly relations might exist between his own and the English settlements. For so desirable an end, the former person offered the succeeding reasons.¶ "Our unity in the true religion. The ancient league between the two

* MS. Mass. Gen. Court Rec.

† MS. Ch. Rec.

|| MS. Mass. Gen. Court Rec.

‡ Neal's Puritans, vol. iii. p. 352.

§ Winthrop, vol. ii. p. 321.

¶ Winthrop, vol. ii. p. 324.

1648.]

nations. The community in danger, in respect to the common enemy, both Spaniards and Indians. The reconciling former differences and preventing future. The benefit of a mutual league, both offensive and defensive."

August 15. The Synod renew their session,* adjourned from June. Allin of Dedham preaches ably before them, from the 15 c. of Acts. They went on comfortably, and intended only the forming of a confession of faith, etc., and a plan of church discipline. For the first, they wholly agreed with that, which the Assembly of England had lately set forth. For the other, they draw it by itself, according to the general practice of our churches. So they ended in less than fourteen days. A few words from the Synod may be pertinently selected. "Called upon by our godly magistrates, to draw up a public confession of that Faith, which is constantly and generally professed amongst us, we thought good to present unto them, and with them to our churches, and with them to all the churches of Christ abroad, our professed and hearty assent and attestation to the whole confession of Faith (for substance of doctrine) which the Reverend Assembly presented to the religious and honourable Parliament of England, excepting only some sections in the 25, 30 and 31 chapters, which concern points of controversy in church discipline." They add, "We may not conceal, that the doctrine of Vocation, expressed in chap. 10, sec. 1, and summarily repeated chap. 13, sec. 1, passed not without some debate. Yet, considering, that the term, vocation, and others, by which it is described, are capable of a large or more strict sense and use, and that it is not intended to bind apprehensions precisely in point of order or method, there hath been a general condescendency thereunto."

The production, so received by the churches of the United Colonies as their own, calls for the particular designation of its leading subjects. These follow: The sacred Scriptures, the supreme rule of faith and conduct. Unity and Trinity of the Godhead. The eternal decrees of God. Creation. Providence. The fall of man; his sin and its punishment. The Covenant of God with man. Christ the Mediator. Freedom of human agency. Efficacious calling. Justification. Adoption. Sanctification. Saving faith. Repentance to life. Good works. Perseverance of the saints. Assurance of grace and salvation. The Divine Law. Christian liberty and liberty of conscience. Religious worship and the Sabbath. Lawful oaths and vows. Civil magistracy. Marriage and divorce. The Church. Communion of saints. Sacraments. Baptism. The Lord's Supper. Ecclesiastical censures. Synods and Councils. State of man after death, and the resurrection of the dead. The last Judgment.

* Winthrop, vol. ii. p. 330. Boston Ath. Tracts, C. 62.

With regard to Discipline, the Platform contains the subsequent chapters : The form of church government in general. The nature of the Catholic church in general, and of a particular visible church. The matter of the visible church, in respect of quality and quantity. The form of a visible church and of church covenant. To whom church power doth first belong. The officers of the church, especially pastors and teachers. Ruling elders and deacons. Election of officers. Ordination and imposition of hands. Power of the church and its presbytery. The maintenance of church officers. Admission of members into the church. Removal of members from one church to another, and letters of recommendation and dismissal. Excommunication and other censures. Communion of churches. Synods. Civil magistrates' power in matters ecclesiastical.

Of the ministers, who greatly assisted in composing the Platform, were Cotton and Wilson. Richard Mather and Ralph Partridge individually presented a written model of church government, that of the former being substantially* the same, as the one printed. Norton was desirous to have some regulations, for the watch of churches "over the children, born in them," embracing what was afterwards known as the half-way covenant; but he declined to urge them, because opposed by a prominent member, who said that "he would oppose" them "with all his might," and who was seconded by a few more dissenters. When these "very propositions came to be advanced and embraced in another Synod, more than twice seven years after, many people did count them novelties."

September 7. At a session† of the confederate Commissioners, now begun, propositions are laid before them, drawn up by Winthrop and others, as requested by the Legislature of Massachusetts. These propositions are introduced as follows: "Whereas the intention of the United Colonies in our Confederation, was to preserve and propagate the truth and liberties of the Gospel, and to provide for mutual safety against enemies, and preservation of peace among ourselves, and common welfare." They were chiefly occasioned by a requisition, made of Springfield by a major part of the Commissioners, who were of the other three Colonies, to pay duties on articles, which passed Saybrook fort, by water, and thus contributed towards keeping this post of defence in repair. The purpose of them was to obtain explanation of several articles of the Union, which the Bay Authorities thought had been incorrectly interpreted and applied by a majority of their administrators. The authors of them say, as to the demand of Springfield, "We look

* Life of R. Mather, p. 32; Animadversions on the Antisynodalia Americana, 5.

† MS. Rec. of Commissioners. Hazard, vol. ii. p. 108.

1648.]

at it as a bone, cast in by Satan to interrupt our happy peace and raise discord among us."

October 11. Henry Green dies. He was born in England, admitted freeman in Massachusetts, 1640, and resided some time at Watertown. When a company of people from this place settled at Martha's Vineyard, they "procured" him to be their minister. But he did not comply with their invitation. He was ordained at Reading, November 5, 1645, where he seems to have had a previous residence. Johnson speaks of him as "a young man of good abilities and of a very humble behaviour."

20. Thomas Harrison, whose wife was Dorothy, daughter of Samuel Symonds at Ipswich, and who was pastor of a church at Nansemond, Va., had recently come thence to Boston. His people were of those, collected by Knowles and the other two missionaries, when in that country. Harrison was notified, that the day for his departure was appointed by the Government there. His church, connected with a large congregation, thought of moving to the Bahama Islands, called Eleutheria, to avoid the persecution they endured. Our authorities advised them, through him, to remain where they were, as long as they could, in hopes of greater leniency. When those missionaries first waited on the Virginia Governor, Harrison was his chaplain, and, as he afterwards penitently confessed, openly favored their mission, while he covertly endeavored to prevent its success. But converted to their faith, he entered on their labors, when they were driven away, and his engagedness subjected him to the like exclusion. After conference with our rulers, he embarked for England. Here he, as Hubbard informs us, was noted in his profession, received a doctorate, and was latterly settled in Ireland.

23. The Legislature pass the following order :* "The master of a Dutch ship made four shots in our harbour the last Lord's day after sunset, whereby he hath forfeited 40/. a shot ; but in regard he is a stranger and no man in his ship can speak English, nor any course hath formerly or now was taken to give notice of the law, the Court think fit, that the penalty be remitted to 40/. and some course taken for giving notice to strangers of the said order and other of like kind hereafter."

The violent controversy between the Scots and English, the King and Parliament, about the form of church government, is the source of much anxiety to our colonists.

Eliot offers a petition † to the General Court. Some extracts are given. "As Indians have frequent recourse to the English houses, and especially to Boston, where they too often see evil examples of excessive drinking in the English ; and many of them greatly delighting in strong liquors and too well knowing the

* MS. Mass. Gen. Court Rec.

† MS. Mass. Gen. Court Rec.

liberty of the law, which prohibiteth above a half pint of wine to a man, that, therefore, they may without offence to the law, have their half pint, and when they have had it in one place, they may go to another and have the like till they be drunken. And sometime find too much entertainment that way, by such who keep no ordinary, only desire their trade, though it be with the hurt and perdition of their souls. Therefore, my humble request unto this honoured Court is this, that there may be but one ordinary in all Boston, who may have liberty to sell wine, strong drink or strong liquors unto the Indians." He prays, that keepers of ordinaries out of Boston, where Indians are found intoxicated, may be punished. He proceeds, "These things, I am bold to present unto you for the preventing of those scandalous evils, which greatly blemish and interrupt their entertainment of the Gospel, through the policy of Satan, who counterworketh Christ that way, with not a little uncomfortable success."

Accordingly, on the 27th, William Philips is the only person authorised to sell wine to the Indians in Boston. Whoever else so does is liable to a fine of 20/. for each offence.

While so careful of those, born in heathenism, the Legislature take measures to reform such as had dwelt under the Gospel.

Oct. 18. They pass the following order: * "Whereas it is found by experience, that a great quantitie of wine is spent and much thereof abused to excesse of drinkeinge, yea, vnto drunkennesse itselfe, notwithstanding all the wholesome lawes provided and published for the preventinge thereof, which tendeth much to the dishonour of God, the discredite of the Gospell, the shame of the country and very offensive to all godly people amongst ourselues, and such as are in confederation with vs, and it is to be feared, that, if it be not speedly prevented, it will (bring) some stroake of God's heaue hand vpon vs," it is, therefore, ordered, that all venders of wine or beer, who conceal a drunken person on their premises, or do not procure a constable to bring him before a magistrate, or neglect to detain him until he may be so dealt with, shall pay for each offence of this sort £5. Magistrates are allowed to take a constable with them, and search every "tavern or victualling house," by night or day, for intoxicated individuals, and, if finding such, imprison them or put them in the stocks, as they may see fit, until their cases are legally decided.

November 12. Eliot sends the subsequent information† to Winslow in London. Indians in various places desire religious instruction, but cannot have teachers enough. Those at the Southward are not so inclined, but a few at Teticut‡ are. He had taught those at Nashaway four times this summer. Their Sachem,

* MS. Mass. Gen. Court Rec. † Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. s. 3, vol. iv. p. 81, 2.

‡ Called Tecticut, a part of Bridgewater and Middleborough.

1649.

Shawanon, had embraced Christianity. The two last springs, Eliot had visited Patucket Falls at Merrimack River, and preached to great numbers of the natives, assembled there to fish. For several months, the Sagamore, Pasaconaway, who had previously opposed the Gospel, professed his belief in it and wished that it might be declared among his people.

This year, there is published in England an elaborate work, called, "A just vindication of the Covenant and Church estate of children of Church members, as also their right unto baptism," by Thomas Cobbet, of Lynn. While this Scribe, well "instructed unto the kingdom of heaven," lays his thoughts before the British public, he considers the remarks of John Spilsbery and others, which differed from his own.

1649. January 4. The Commons, having voted, on the 27th ult., to proceed capitally against the King,* while the Presbyterians of them protested against it, now pass the following resolve: "The people, under God, are the origin of all just power; the Commons in Parliament have the supreme authority of the nation without the King and House of Peers." On the 6th, the Scotch Commissioners in London decline to have any part in the trial of his Majesty. On the 9th, the Commons adopt a national seal, "With the Cross for England and the Harp for Ireland thereon, with the inscription, The Great Seal of England, and on the reverse, the House of Commons in session, with these words, In the first year of Freedom by God's blessing restored, 1648." On the 27th, as the King had, at four different times, denied the jurisdiction of Commissioners appointed for his trial, in Westminster Hall, they pass sentence of death on him, for "treasons and crimes" laid to his charge. On the 30th, his Majesty is brought to the scaffold, erected in the street before White Hall. Having addressed those near his person, vindicated himself from the accusations against him, confessed his regret for consenting to the death of Strafford, and expressed the forgiveness of his persecutors, he is reminded by William Juxon, afterwards Archbishop, that he had but one short stage more, though a trying one, to heaven. "I go," said Charles, "from a corruptible to an incorruptible crown, where no disturbance can arise." "You are exchanged," said Juxon, "from a temporal to an eternal crown,—a good exchange." The monarch laid his head on the block and it was immediately severed from its body. Thus he finished his troubled course, about two o'clock in the afternoon, in his 49th year and 24th of his reign. Lamentable scene, and equally so the imperfections of human nature, which were the cause of its being acted!

Feb. 3. The Scots, intent upon endeavoring to suppress the Independents, proclaimed † Charles II. in Edinburgh, to be their King.

* Salmon, vol. i. p. 147-9.

† Salmon, vol. i. p. 151.

[Mass.

President Dunster* writes this month, to Dr. Christianius Ravius, professor of Oriental languages, in London. He thanks him for a box of valuable books for the college. He replies to him learnedly as to orthographical instruction to the Indians, and that Eliot is laboring to bring their language under the rules of Grammar and Dictionary. He observes, on the proposal of Ravius to become an instructor at Harvard, that its patrons would feel themselves honored to have him. Naming books needed, he says, that the authorities would be glad to receive them, and "whatsoever Hebrew, Chaldee, Syriac or Arabic authors" may be sent. He continues, "A wonderful impulse unto these studies lies on the spirits of our students, some of which can with ease dexterously translate Hebrew and Chaldee into Greek."

February 8. Cotton addresses a friend in England,† as to "accommodation and communion" between Presbyterians and Congregationalists. "If godly members of a Congregation formerly subject to Episcopacy, repenting of their sinful subordination thereto, shall be studious of reformation and shall solemnly covenant to endeavour the same, and shall choose their former godly ministers, into the Pastors and Teachers office, it is not necessary they should take the ignorant or carnal members of the Parish into the fellowship of this renewed election of their ministers; and yet it is not improbable, but the ministers may perform some ministerial acts to them, as not only to preach the word to them, but happily also to baptize their children."

March 26. The worthy Winthrop is called to rest from his arduous labors. He was son of Adam Winthrop, and born at Groton, Suffolk, England, January 12, 1588. He studied law for his profession, and physic for beneficence to others. None contributed more, and few so much as he, to the desirable elements of New England character. He was vigilant and active, intelligent and conscientious in all his high official stations. Though he had no fortune to bequeath his children, having spent one mostly for the benefit of the Colony, he left them the far better heritage of imperishable fame, based on Gospel principles.

His well known Journal has been and is of great use to writers of our history. Of his manuscripts, is his Model of Christian Charity. It gives full proof, that he drank deeply from the fountain of heavenly wisdom. Another is his religious experience. This exhibits a mind and heart illumined by the Holy Spirit and the Oracles of Inspiration. While uncontradicting every correct position of a Seneca, it takes a more extended direction and harmoniously communes with the deep, soul-working sympathies of a Paul, convicted and clad in his right mind. What Cotton said of him, in a Sermon, preached on a Fast-day, which the Church kept

* Belknap MSS.

† First Principles of-N. E. by I. Mather, p. 5.

1649.]

for his recovery, is noticeable, because exemplary and true. "He was a Governor that has been a friend to counsel us; like a brother, not usurping authority over the church; often speaking his advice, and often contradicted by young men, and some of low degree; yet not replying, but offering satisfaction also, when any supposed offences have arisen. A Governor who has been to us like a parent, distributing his goods to brethren and neighbors at his first coming, and gently bearing our infirmities without taking notice of them." Johnson states, "His funeral was sadly and solemnly performed by a very great concourse of the greater part of this Colony, whose mournful looks and watry eyes did plainly demonstrate the tender affection and great esteem he was in with the people." The General Court, in thanking Boston for the manner in which they solemnized his funeral, say, "We account him worthy of all honour."

May 3. An occurrence takes place, suited to arrest the prosperity of New England Puritanism. The Massachusetts Legislature feel themselves called to impose duties * on all goods, brought "within the Castle" from Plymouth, Connecticut and New Haven, "or exported from any part of the Bay," because the Commissioners of the three last Colonies, as previously stated, had voted to make similar assessments on goods of Springfield, carried through the mouth of Connecticut river.

Fearful lest this regulation would mar the best interests of the Union, Boston petition the Court, on May 23 of next year, that it may be repealed. These authorities reply, that as they are informed, that Connecticut has ceased taking customs of Springfield, they intend to recall their order next session, and do now suspend it, as to the confederate Colonies, until it is sure, that Connecticut will entirely relinquish imposts on Springfield merchandise. With regard to this perilous subject, the Massachusetts Legislature argued, that Springfield should be no more taxed on their goods towards the repair of Saybrook fort, than any towns of Connecticut should have their goods, coming into Boston harbor, taxed to help keep the Castle in order. They further maintained, that, as Plymouth and New Haven united with Connecticut, through their Commissioners in the confederate administration, to make Springfield bear such a burden, they felt constrained to lay duties on goods from the jurisdictions of both assistants and the principal in the case, until relief should be granted. They considered this mode of procedure to be consistent with right, though their opponents construed it differently.

9. Solomon Franco, a Jew, who petitioned for compensation, as the factor of Imanuel Perada, out of a cargo consigned to the Major General, Edward Gibbons, is not allowed his claim, because

* MS. Mass. Gen. Ct. Rec.

[Mass.]

the property does not appear as Perada's; but the Court allow Franco 6/. a week, during ten weeks, "for his subsistence," until he obtains a passage to Holland.

May 10. The Governor and the rest of the magistrates* say, "Forasmuch as the wearing of long hair after the manner of Russians and barbarous Indians, has begun to invade New England contrary to the rule of God's Word," we protest against this fashion, and "we earnestly entreat all the Elders to manifest their zeal against it in their public ministrations," and deal with their members, who have indulged in it and will not reform.

June 4. Cotton writes to a clerical friend on the ensuing question.† Suppose a pious man, but not a professor of religion, when dying, gives his child to a church member, who has no children, and the latter individual accepts it,—can he have it baptized? The writer remarks, that Wilson and Eliot, and, he thinks, Mather, hold with him in the affirmative. In the same month, a letter of Shepard has the subjoined passage: "Children are members of the visible church, and their membership continues when adult, and the children of believers are to be accounted of the church until they positively reject the Gospel, and the membership of children hath no tendency in it to pollute the church any more now, than under the Old Testament, and children are under church discipline, and some persons, adult, may be admitted to baptism, and yet not to the Lord's supper."

27. George Harding, of Marblehead,‡ presented for speaking against the ordinance of baptism, is sentenced to pay 40/. or be whipped.

July 8. Eliot communicates his purpose§ to Whitfield, for translating the Bible into the Indian tongue and educating some Indian youths, and mentions the need of help from the charitable. He previously communicated his opinion, that the Indians here were of Hebrew origin.

27. The Parliament pass an act|| for "the promoting and propagating of the Gospel of Jesus Christ in New England." They appoint a Corporation of sixteen persons, for this purpose, of whom Herbert Pelham, Richard Hutchinson, and Robert Tompson, three, who had lived here, besides Edward Winslow of Plymouth, and James Shirley, among the best friends of the same Colony. They authorize the Commissioners of the United Colonies, or their agents, to receive and dispose of the funds to support preachers "amongst the natives and for the maintenance of schools and

* Hutchinson's Hist. of Mass. vol. i. p. 143. Harv. Coll. Rec.

† First Principles of N. E. 5. 22.

‡ MS. Essex Ct. Rec.

§ Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. s. 3, vol. iv. 119. 21.

|| This, according to Hazard and Neal, was on the 19th of July, but, according to the acts and ordinances of England, as followed by Hutchinson, was the 27th.

1649.]

nurseries of learning for the education of the children of the natives." They speak of these, as "betaking themselves to one wife and putting away the rest." They provide, that collections be taken "throughout England and Wales, and that the ministers read this act and exhort the people to a cheerful contribution to so pious a work." The Universities of Oxford and Cambridge issued letters, calling on the clergy to exert themselves zealously for the enterprise. There were not lacking opponents to this cause, in England, who thought it more chimerical than practical. But time demonstrated their error.

In a large assembly of Indians* at Martha's Vineyard, some of them discuss the question, whether they can safely renounce the Powwows. Part of them assert, that whoever of them do, must expect to be immediately killed. But Hiacomés, the devoted follower of Christ, shows them, that it is their duty and happiness to give up such impostors and serve the true God.

Of Winslow's energetic movements to advance the conversion of the natives here to Christianity, is his publishing in London, "The Glorious Progress of the Gospel" among them. This work consists principally of three letters from Eliot, and one from Thomas Mayhew, Jr., who speak from missionary experience. The Editor, in his introduction, takes the ground, that the Indians of America are the lost tribes of Israel, from their traditions and ceremonies, as well as from the opinion of various learned men.

Urian, son of Edward Oakes,† born in England, graduated this year at Harvard. "His prompt parts," as Cotton Mather observes, "adorned and advanced with the grace of God, at such a rate as to make the considerate say of him, as they said of young Ambrose, 'To what will this child grow?'" Having taken his second degree, he delivered his first sermon at Roxbury, and soon after embarked for his native land. He served as chaplain "for one of the most noted in the nation," and then was settled in the ministry at Titchfield, Hampshire. "There he was a shining light to his flock. But the more he shone, the sooner he was numbered" among the ejected ministers. Cast out from the cure of souls, he was received by Colonel Norton into his family, "where his presence and prayers produced a blessing like that on the house of Obed-Edom." The persecution having abated, he returned to his profession, in a congregation where Richard Symonds was his colleague. Invited to return to Cambridge, where his father resided, and take charge of the church there, he complied in 1671.

John, son of Edward Collins of Cambridge, graduates at H. C. His birth was in England, whither he returned not long after his

* Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. s. 3, vol. iv. pp. 114, 5. Ibid. p. 69.

† Mather's Magnalia, vol. ii. pp. 114, 5. Calamy, vol. ii. p. 349.

graduation. He went to Scotland, was minister in Edinburgh, 1658, and chaplain to General Monk, when he returned from that country to London, 1660. Here he was an incumbent of no church till after the Act of Uniformity, 1662. He succeeded Mr. Malory, as pastor of an independent congregation. The *Magnalia* informs us, that when Mr. Collins was a lad, he fell and was dangerously wounded. While he lay gasping, Thomas Shepard, the pastor of his father, who held the office of deacon, came and said, "I have just now been wrestling with the Lord for thy life; thou shalt not die, but live."

His abilities as a preacher were of high order. He was among the lecturers at Pinners-Hall. Here, when he lay sick, and prayer was offered for his recovery, scarcely a dry eye was seen in the great assembly. He closed his exemplary life, December 3, 1687. Calamy remarks of him, "He was mighty in the Scriptures; one of a sweet temper, and very charitable to all good men, without confining himself to a party." In the *Morning Exercises*, vol. iii., with the signature N. N., is a sermon of his, on the question, "How the religious of a nation are the strength of it." Another of his discourses is in the London Collection of Farewell Sermons, on Jude, 3, "Earnestly contend for the faith." His correspondence in Hutchinson's Collections, indicates his strong attachment to New England.

A few years before his decease, the Massachusetts Legislature, May 16, 1683, say, "Being informed by our present and former agents of the good will, friendship and unwearied pains, upon all occasions, of Mr. John Collins, to promote the welfare and prosperity of this Colony, do, by way of gratuity and acknowledgment," grant him 500 acres of land in the "Nipmuck country." Francis, his son, and a merchant of London, petitions the same General Court, May 30, 1705, that this tract may be surveyed and confirmed to him, which was accordingly done.

August 25. Thomas Shepard is called to lay down his faithful ministry, in his 44th year. Returning home "from an assembly of ministers at Rowley, he was taken sick with a quinsy, attended with a symptomatical fever," which closed his life in a few days. His sayings to those around his death-bed, were impressive. Two of them are selected. "Lord, I am vile, but thou art righteous. Love Jesus Christ dearly. That little part I have in him, is no small comfort to me now."

Mr. Shepard had three wives, Margaret Fonteville, who died here; Joanna, daughter of Rev. Thomas Hooker, who died April 28, 1646; and Margaret Boradile, whom he married Sept. 8, 1647, and who became the wife of Jonathan Mitchell, his successor. He had four sons, Thomas, Samuel, John and Jeremiah. The two first, and last, survived him, and were settled as ministers. His

1649.[

works,* published before and after his decease, were many, able, spiritual and highly appreciated.

Shepard was engaged in frequent, epistolary correspondence with Hooker, his father-in-law. Such interchange of strong, cultivated minds and sanctified hearts, was no ordinary treat. Neal remarks of Shepard, "He was a person of great piety and industry, and an admirable preacher, which was one reason why the University was erected at Cambridge." The words of Rev. James Fraser, of Brea, in Scotland, 1738, concerning him, are true to the life. "He hath by the Lord been made the interpreter one of a thousand, so that, under Christ, I have been obliged to his writings as much and more than to any mean whatever, for wakening, strengthening and enlightening my soul." This language has more glorious import in the world of perfect truth, than the greatest eulogiums ever pronounced on the most eminent promoters of mere human philosophy.

September. Thomas Scott, of Ipswich, on his presentment,† is fined 10/. unless he "learn Mr. Norton's chatachise" by next Court. The sequel shows, that the lesson, so appointed, was not learned, and the fine was demanded.

October 12. John Eliot addresses ‡ Peters, "The Lord hath greatly delighted to improve you, and eminently your talent is increased to ten talents for our Lord and Master's honour and use, and doubt not but your crowne shall be answerable. You are indeed much envyed, evil spoken of, smitten with the tongue. No matter. Be not troubled at what men say, when they speak evill of you, seeing you cannot but see, yea, all may see it, God dealeth well by you, the Lord doth improve, accept, succeed you. I cannot wish you in New England so long as you are of such great use and service in the Old; not because I love you not, but because I love you and the cause of God, which you do *totis viribus* pursue and prosper in. I have a request unto you in behalfe of these poor Indians. We are about to make a Town and bring them to a cohabitation and civility, for the accomplishment whereof we want a magazine of all sorts of edge tools and instruments of husbandry, for clothing, etc. That successful and seasonable magazine of Provisions, which you were a lively instrument to procure so seasonably at Bristoll, for the relief of the army at Pembroke, doth incourage and imbolden me to request this favour, that you would be pleased to use that wisdom and interest the Lord hath given you in the hearts of his people, to further this magazine for the poore Indians." Eliot proceeds to advance ideas, like those in his Christian Commonwealth. "The only Magna Charta in the world, is the Holy

* They have been lately published by the Congregational Board of Publication in Boston, Mass.

† Coffin's Newbury, p. 52. MS. Essex Ct. Rec.

‡ Felt's Memoir of Peters.

Scriptures. Oh! what an opportunity hath the Parliament now to bring in Christ to rule in England. If they do that, Christ will prosper and preserve them." The author of these words, while uttering his expressions of friendship and his opinion in favor of a Republic, had less cause to think that the influence of restored Royalty would reach across the Atlantic and compel him to apologize, than Peters had, that his zeal for freedom would prove the forfeiture of his life.

Oct. 18. The Legislature* write to the like Body in Plymouth. They express themselves as follows: "We understand, that within these few weeks, there have been at Seaconck thirteen or fourteen persons re-baptized, (a swift progress in one town;) yet we hear not of any effectual restriction is intended thereabouts. Let it not, we pray you, seem presumptuous in us to remind you hereof, nor that we earnestly intreat you to take care as well of the suppressing of errors, as of the maintenance of truth."

19. They order† the subsequent entry: "Whereas a Book hath been presented to the Court, intitled a Platform of Church Discipline out of the Word of God, and being the result of what the Synod did in the Assembly 1647, at Cambridge, for their consideration and acceptance, the Court doth conceive it meet to be commended to the judicious and pious consideration of the several churches within this jurisdiction, desiring a return from them the next General Court, how far it is suitable, to their judgments and approbation, before the Court proceed any further therein."

30. Samuel Straiton and wife are fined and required to confess before the public Assembly at the Watertown Lecture, that they had done wrong in speaking against ministers, church members and magistrates, and declaring that Mrs. Jones was not a witch and suffered wrongfully. They are also to acknowledge the clemency of their sentence, pay the witnesses and give sureties for good behavior.

November 13. Eliot informs‡ Winslow that he has taken measures to learn the praying Indians to cultivate the ground, practice labor of all sorts, and have their children taught at school.

December 29. He expresses to Whitfield his disinclination to be called an Evangelist. He relates that, in the past summer, he went, with great hardship, sixty miles westward, at the earnest desire of the Sachem at Quabagud, and preached to the natives there, who were anxious to be taught the Gospel. He repeats his opinion that the Indians are from the ten tribes, and adduces the testimony of Captain Cromwell, who died lately in Boston, that he had seen many of them at the Southward, who were circumcised. He states that a Nipnet Sachem has declared for Christianity, and

* MS. Mass. Gen. Ct. Rec.

† MS. Middlesex and Mass. Gen. Ct. Rec.

‡ Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. s. 3, vol. iv. pp. 23, 5, 8, 30.

1650.]

desires a preacher among his people. He proposes that Indians who settle together shall be governed, in their civil and ecclesiastical concerns, according to the Scriptures. While on this subject, he applies it to the mother country, and exclaims, "Oh the blessed day in England, when the Word of God shall be their Magna Charta and chief Law Book."

In his appeal for the cause of missions here, the Rev. John Downam addresses his countrymen in England, "Come forth, ye masters of money; part with your gold to promote the Gospel. Let the gift of God in temporal things make way for the Indian's receipt of spiritualls." He also takes the ground that the Indians of New England are of Jewish descent.

This year, Edward Winslow publishes the following work* in London: "The Danger of tolerating Levellers in a Civil State, or an historical narrative of the dangerous, pernicious practices and opinions, wherewith Samuel Gorton and his levelling accomplices so much disturbed and molested the several Plantations of New England. (Parallel to the positions and proceedings of the present levellers in Old England.)"

1650. February 22. The first Church† of Boston agree that none of their members, or any recommended or dismissed to them, shall "goe to law one with another, without the consent of our brethren," the committee, "but they shall answer for it unto the Church, as an offence against it." On the 28th, the records of the same church give us the following entry: "Our brother, James Penn, was chosen by y^e church to be a messenger to goe and distribute the Churches contributions to y^e poore church of Christ, y^t was banished from Bermudas for the Gospells sake to Segotea. And he was sent out to sea on y^e 13th of y^e 3^d mo., and y^e 17th day of y^e 4th mo., we arrived at Segotea, where I found the people in wants, who, when I had given the Churches letters, and declared the end of my coming, they thanked God and y^e churches, and, after one months stay with them, we returned backe, and arrived at Boston the 17th of the 6th mo., and soe declared to y^e church y^e good hand of God vpon vs in our voyage, which was matter of praise to God." Clarke, in his life of Cotton, ‡ informs us that the Boston Church contributed £200 on this occasion, and other Colonial Churches, £500.

April 4. Peter Bulkley writes§ to John Cotton. He refers to what he considered an excess of popular freedom. "Shall I tell you what I think to be the ground of all this insolency, which discovers itself in the speech of men? Truly I cannot ascribe it so much to any outward thing, as to the putting of too much liberty and power into the hands of the multitude, which they are

* British Museum Library.

† Boston First Ch. MS. Rec.

‡ Clarke's Life of John Cotton, pp. 38, 9. § Shattuck's Concord, p. 155.

too weak to manage, many growing conceited, proud, arrogant, self-sufficient, as wanting nothing. And I am persuaded that except there be some means used to change the course of things in this point, our churches will grow more corrupt, day by day; and tumult will arise hardly to be stilled. I know not how it can be avoided, unless we make the doors of the church narrower. But our comfort is, God's end and work shall go forward."

In a postscript, he says: "I could wish you would write to Mr. Goodwin to deal with those that are in place of authority in England, to take care that the Scripture may be printed more truly. I intend to write my nephew, St. John, about it. A word from yourself to Mr. Goodwin, who is a man of so much respect there, would do much good."

May 30. As, "through the good hand of God, many well devoted persons have been and daily are moved to give sundry gifts, for the advancement of all good literature, arts and sciences, in Harvard College, and to all other necessary provisions, that may conduce to the education of the English and Indian youth of this country, in knowledge and godliness," etc., the Legislature appoint a corporation for this Institution, consisting of a President, five Fellows, and a Treasurer or Bursar. The Body so appointed are empowered to have a common seal prepared for their use.

June 21. Marmaduke Matthews has leave* to satisfy, on the 28th, at William Phillips' house in Boston, the Elders of this town, Charlestown, Roxbury, and Dorchester, with such magistrates as choose to attend, relative to alleged errors, which he had advanced in preaching at Hull.

22. Should John Prescott not make it appear before the close of next session that Nashaway is a fit place for a plantation, so that the ministry can be instituted and maintained there, its inhabitants shall be recalled.

As several of the churches were not acquainted with an order of General Court, for them to consider the Book of Discipline, and return their thoughts on it, so that, if requisite, it might be corrected, the Court renew† such an order, and send it to all the churches in their jurisdiction. The same Body desire every church to procure "that Book published by the Synod at London, concerning the Doctrine of the Gospel, and consider this book also as soon as it can be gotten." As a specimen of conformity with the latter request, we have the subsequent action‡ of the Dedham Church, 21st of September. "Brethren, you have heard and considered y^e Confession of Faith, drawn up in England, and approved by our Synode. If you doe consent hereunto in all matters of faith to be orthodox and sound for y^e substance thereof, and doe

* MS. Mass. Gen. Ct. Rec.

† MS. Mass. Gen. Ct. papers.

‡ MS. Ch. Rec.

1650.]

give your testimonie thereto, leaving y^e matter of discipline to our owne declaration thereof, testify by your usual sign. To this there appeared to be a full vote of y^e Church." Another is from John Fiske, pastor of Wenham Church,* dated October 9th, to the Court. "Touching the London Confession, they unanimously vote as to the substance of it, as follows: Our ready acceptance and approbation and good liking thereof, according to what we are able hitherto to judge, and that the main and marrow of the matter therein contained should pass to public view, as our testimony jointly with others, to what we are or do judge we should be in the practice of, and do hereby wish such a confession might pass into public from the bosom of our churches, under the countenance and approbation of the honoured Court, deprecating any other impress of authority upon any of the imperfect draughts of frail man, as should cause the same to become, as any compeer to the perfect Canon of the Holy Scripture, which only is delivered by infallible inspiration of God, and a snare to us or our posterity in other times."

The Legislature require that all strangers† above sixteen years old, coming into the jurisdiction in any vessel, shall be brought, by the master or mate with whom they come, before the Governor or his Deputy, or two other magistrates, on penalty of £20, "to give an account of their occasions and business in the country, and that the law for entertaining strangers be strictly put in execution, and this order to be posted up upon the several meeting-houses' doors or posts, and other public places in the port towns." This was renewed October 14th of the next year. Its application was evidently to persons of religious denominations, not desired for inhabitants here by the authorities as well as to others.

July 17. A letter, from the Christian exiles at Segotea, one of the Bahama Islands, and subscribed by William Sayle,‡ Nathaniel White and Robert Ridlye, in the name of their churches, is directed to the beloved Elders and Brethren of the Churches in the Bay. "We have received your precious letters and plentiful provisions, sent unto us poor exiles, for the word of God and the testimony of Jesus, by the hands of those faithful, pious and prudent gentlemen, Mr. James Penn and Mr. Abraham Palmore, the messengers of your churches." They proceed, at large, to dwell on their obligations and the blessedness of Christian charity.

August 21. At the ordination of Jonathan Mitchell in Cambridge,§ Cotton urges the Consociation of the Churches. Such a position the latter continued to maintain.

September 5. The Commissioners of the Union write|| to William

* MS. Ch. Rec.

† MS. Mass. Gen. Ct. Rec.

‡ According to Winslow's Salamander, Sayle was at Boston, 1646.

§ First Princ. of N. E.

|| Commissioners of Union Coll. MS. Rec. Hazard, ii. 147.

Steele, President of the Missionary Society in England. "Wee doe thankfully acknowldige youer great labore of loue to raise and settle the meanes and incouragement that the Gospell of peace may bee further published to these miserable Indians, which haue long layne in darknes. Wee are sory that a work soe acceptable to God and of such concernment to these poore men, should meet with opposition. Mr. Elliott hath allreddy spent much time and labore in fitting himselfe and preaching to the Indians. Mr. Mahew hath made a good entrance into the same way and worke."

They address Winslow, in London, and request that, with collections made for the mission, supplies may be sent over.

Sept. 7. Of his labors among the natives, Thomas Mayhew,* of the Vineyard, continues his narration. "There are thirty-nine Indian men of this meeting," and more women "looking this way, though not known by open entrance into covenant as the men, but are now near it. These in general have the knowledge of the fundamental pointes of Religion. The way I am now in, is by a Lecture every fortnight, whereunto men, women and children do come. I pray with them, teach them, chatechise their children, sing a psalm, and all in their own language. I conferre every last day of the week with Hiacoomes about his subject matter of preaching to the Indians the next day, when I furnish him with what spiritual food the Lord is pleased to afford me for them."

This year a letter of Thomas Parker, to his sister,† Mrs. Elizabeth Avery, "sometimes of Newbury," England, is printed in London. It was dated Nov. 1648. Cotton, Wilson and Noyes had written to her, that she might turn to her former faith. Her brother observes, "You will not join in private prayer with your own husband, but onely to condescend to his infirmities, for you say, you are above ordinances, above the Word and Sacraments, yea, above the blood of Christ himself, living as a glorified saint and taught immediately by the Spirit." She seems to have imbibed the delusive principles of George Fox.

October 16. The Legislature ‡ express their judgment of a work, composed by William Pynchon of Springfield, published in London and brought to Boston a few days previously. Its title is, "The Meritorious Price of our Redemption, Justification, etc., clearing it from some common errors." As a means of preventing its influence here and freeing themselves from the suspicion§ of Christian brethren in England, as accessory to its composure and publication, the Court have the subsequent words recorded. We "protest our innocency as being concerned in it and declare our abhorrence of many opinions therein." From this action, several of the Deputies

* Mass. Hist. Coll. s. 3, vol. iv. p. 116, 8.

† British Museum Coll.

‡ MS. Mass. Gen. Court Rec. British Mus. Coll. Old South Ch. Library.

§ Mass. MS. Rec.

1650.]

dissent. They are William Hawthorn, Joseph Hills, Henry Bartholomew, Richard Walker, Edward Holyoke and Stephen Kinsley. The Legislature appoint John Norton to answer the speculations of Pynchon, and order the book to be burned, next day after the Lecture, in Boston market. The latter injunction was literally complied with by the Marshal.

Pynchon handled his discussion by way of dialogue between a Divine and a Tradesman, in two parts. In the preface, he states, that various shades of opinion were held on the matters which he examined, and that he corresponded with Mr. Ainsworth about them, before his decease.

The declaration of the Court is ordered by them to receive the Secretary's signature, be sent to England and there printed. A requisition is passed, that Pynchon be summoned to appear and answer for his opinions the first day of next session.

The Legislature, having had letters on the subject of resigning the jurisdiction of Shawomet, from Bradford of Plymouth and Easton of Rhode Island and William Arnold, agree to have it returned to the former Colony, provided they will accept it and protect its population.

21. Eliot, in his correspondence with Whitfield,* states, that after much anxious delay, Natick had been recently selected as a Township for the Christian Indians, and some preparations made for its being so occupied. He describes the strong opposition of the Sachems through the country, to the progress of Christianity among their subjects, because such reformation weakens their tyranny in the collection of tribute.

December 23. Nathaniel Mather,† in London, in a letter to John Rogers, at Ipswich, says: "Tis incredible what an advantage to preferment it is to have been a New England man." Mr. Mather had recently arrived at that metropolis, as his brother Samuel did about the same time. The former died in London, July 26, 1697, aged 67 years; and the latter died in Dublin, October 29, 1671. They possessed varied and distinguished talents, thoroughly cultivated with classical and sacred erudition, and, far more than these, manifested renewed hearts, set on doing the will of their Saviour, and lives, abounding with the fruits meet for heralds of salvation.

Here we may set up a passing memorial as to the spiritual condition of our churches. At no time since the settlement of New England had these institutions given surer and fuller pledges of their attachment to the doctrines and duties of the Gospel. They had recently closed their Synod, wherein they adopted the Westminster Confession of Faith, and their Platform of Congregational Government. At no previous date had they been so thoroughly

* Light Appearing. Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. s. 3, vol. iv. p. 139, 40.

† Mather papers in Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.

agreed, so well girded and prepared to carry out the plan of their emigration, even the spread of Christian morals and piety. They were just entering, with zealous expectation, on the labor and fruition of missions among the adjacent Indians, for which they had long prayed and devised. Thus fitted for a holy warfare, they prayed that their High Captain would lead them to conquest.

Among the events in the mother country, which had been followed with the anxious attention of our fathers, is the continued spread of a denomination under the zealous labors of George Fox, who began to be called Quakers, as a mark of reproach.

This year, Mr. Thorowgood publishes a treatise in England, entitled "Jews in America, or probabilities that the Americans are of that race." Sewall states that Eliot, the missionary, believed that the 37th chapter of Ezekiel was principally applicable to the Indians, as such Jews, and many other parts of Scripture; that he "was wont to say the New English churches are a preface to the New Heavens."

December 31. On a proposition made by Cromwell, for the colonists here to settle in Ireland, Rev. Messrs. Peter Bulkley, Samuel Whiting, John Knowles, and Thomas Cobbett, Messrs. Daniel Denison and John Tuttle, write a reply* to him. They express great satisfaction with his victories over the Papists of that kingdom. They say, "Yea, you are studying which way to lift up the name of Jesus Christ there, where it hath been most vilely trampled upon, and where you are called to chief place of rule, there to take effectual care that Jesus Christ alone may reign, and that desolate Ireland, which hath been drenched and steeped in blood, may be moistened and soaked with waters of the sanctuary, for which end your Honour is pleased to cast your eyes, as upon godly people and ministers in England, so upon such like in America also, whose hearts the Lord may move to so blessed a work." They thank him for such an invitation, and his offers of encouragement to them for carrying it into effect. They propose, on another paper, the subsequent conditions, on which they feel inclined to undertake the enterprise. That they may enjoy the Congregationalism there which they do here; that their prominent men may have suitable houses and lands from Parliament; that territory may be set apart for a free school and college; that they may choose their military governor, or nominate him; that, as they live in a pure air, they may have a healthy situation; that help may be granted by England to remove poor emigrants; that, "for some years," they may be freed from public charges; that no Irish may live among them, except such as they like. In accordance with

* Ellis's Letters, 2 s. vol. iii. p. 361-4. Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. s. 4, vol. ii. p. 115-7.

1647-8.]

the preceding, Hutchinson remarked, that "Cromwell had been very desirous of drawing off the New Englanders to people Ireland after his successes there." It does not appear that any of them complied with the Protector's proposal.

John Knowles soon leaves Watertown* for his native country. Here he was minister in the cathedral of Bristol, "in great credit and service." In 1658, he and his wife Elizabeth sold land which they owned in Lynn. On the restoration, he lost his place, and, in 1662, was silenced. He subsequently preached in London, as he found opportunity. When his friends advised him to desist, lest he should be imprisoned, he replied: "In truth, I had rather be in jail, where I might have a number of souls to whom I might preach the truths of my blessed Master, than live idle in my own house, without any such opportunities." During the royal indulgence to dissenters, he ministered statedly to a congregation at St. Catharine's. While the plague raged in London, 1665, he was ready to every good work. In 1681, a document mentions him as having renewed his pastorate in Bristol. He was highly esteemed for his talents, learning, and piety. He died November 10, 1685, after a long life, conscientiously devoted to the service of his Redeemer.

Johnson,† in speaking of great mortality, which had prevailed this year, especially among children, supposed that it was a providential dispensation to stir up the Colonists "to prepare for the great work of the Lord Jesus in the overthrow of Antichrist and calling of the Jews, which, in all likelihood, is very suddenly to be performed." His impression was a common one here and in England, with those whose sympathies accorded with the purpose of our settlements.

PLYMOUTH.

1647-8. March 16. Fast at Barnstable,‡ "principally for Old England, requested by Sir Thomas Fairfax and the Parliament, in regard of many fears of the Presbyterians, with many others, to raise up new wars in the land, and, notwithstanding all their troubles, much pride and excess abounding, with an unframed spirit to humble themselves by praying and seeking unto God."

1648. August. In the model of church discipline§ presented to the Synod assembled at Boston, by Ralph Partridge, was the sub-

* Mather's *Magnalia*, vol. i. p. 537, 8. Calamy, vol. ii. p. 605.

† *Wonder Working Prov.* p. 205, 6.

‡ *Barnstable Ch. Rec.* *N. E. Gen. Reg.* vol. x. p. 38.

§ *First Principles of New England.*

sequent passage : "The persons unto whom the sacrament of baptism is dispensed (and, as we conceive, ought to be) are such as, being of years, and converted from their sins to the faith of Jesus Christ, do join in communion and fellowship with a particular visible church, as also the children of such parents, as having laid hold of the covenant of grace, (in the judgment of charity,) are in a visible covenant with his church, and all their seed after them, that cast not off the covenant of God by some scandalous and obstinate going on in sin." Though this subject was generally discussed through our Colonies, yet it continued long to engage the public attention.

This year, Governor Bradford wrote his dialogue* between young and ancient men. Several questions, put by the former, and answers to them by the latter, will be noticed. What is meant by the assertion, that the church of England is no true church? Not that it has no pious members; not that it is no part of the catholic church; not that no communion should be had with any parts of its worship; but that its hierarchal form of government is contrary to the Gospel. What is "the difference between the rigid Brownists and Separatists, and others? The name Brownists is but a nickname, as Puritan and Huguenot." Our ministers, "therefore, do not amiss to decline the odium of it in what they may." The author, by his reference to Cotton, would be understood to mean, that while the Brownists renounced all communion with the national churches, as no churches, the Separatists or Puritans withdrew from what they counted corruptions in such churches, though holding them in some respects as true churches.

Our ministers differ about Synods. Robinson approved of them, "so they infringe no order of Christ, or liberty of the brethren, not differing herein from Mr. Davenport and the principal of our ministers. They differ about the exercise of prophecy, that is, that men out of office, having gifts, may upon occasion edify the church publicly, and apply the Scriptures." This is an ancient Scriptural practice, and may well be continued. Robert Baylie, in his book against Puritanism, says it came from Leyden to New England, spread here, and "by eminent hands from thence into Old England. The most who settled in the land did agree to model themselves after Mr. Robinson's pattern. We agree with Mr. Cotton, there was no agreement by any solemn or common consultation; but that it is true they did, as if they agreed, by the same spirit of truth and unity, set up, by the help of Christ, the same model of churches, one like to another; and if they of Plymouth have helped any of the first-comers in their theory, by hearing and discerning their practices, therein the Scripture is fulfilled, that the

* Bradford's MSS. in Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.

1649.]

kingdom of heaven is like unto leaven, which a woman took and hid in three measures of meal, until all was leavened."

Was Brown the first inventor of Independency? "No. Prophets, Apostles, and Evangelists have, in their authentic writings, laid down the ground thereof. Many of the martyrs, both former and latter, have maintained it, as is to be seen in the acts and monuments of the Church."

What was the church at Amsterdam? Before their division, they had 300 communicants, Pastor and Teacher, four grave, Ruling Elders, and three able Deacons. They had "one ancient widow for a Deaconess, who did them service many years, though she was sixty years of age when she was chosen. She honored her place, and was an ornament to the congregation. She usually sat in a convenient place in the congregation, with a little birchen rod in her hand, and kept little children in great awe from disturbing the congregation. She did frequently visit the sick and weak, especially women, and, as there was need, called out maids and young women to watch and do them other helps, as their necessity did require, and, if they were poor, she would gather relief for them of those that were able, or acquaint the Deacons, and she was obeyed as a mother in Israel, and an officer of Christ."

1649. June 6. A person is presented* for profaning the Lord's day by attending on tar-pits. For this he was set in the stocks. Another is admonished for carrying a barrel to these pits on the same day.

Samuel Newman, minister of Rehoboth, is arraigned for delivering such things in public preaching, as imply defamation of the magistrates. An individual of his sterling reputation must have supposed that he had sufficient cause so to speak. It is probable that he represented them as not sufficiently vigilant to hinder the enlargement of the Baptists in that town.

October. A majority of the Legislature are so affected by the appearance of public affairs in England, that they wish to dissolve the Court. But their proposal for this is prevented by the Governor's advice.

29. Obadiah Holmes complains of Samuel Newman for slander. The latter had reported, that, according to the assertion of several men, Holmes had taken a false oath. Holmes proved to the Court that the information so given was incorrect, which Newman, in view of the testimony, allowed; but he left a paper with the Legislature, certified by his informants, that he had related no more than they told him.

Mr. Holmes was granted land at Salem, 1639, and admitted to the church there, March 24, 1640. The next March 30, he was presented "for reproachfully speaking against the ordinance of

* MS. Plymouth Col. Rec.

God." He came to dwell at Rehoboth about 1646. He subsequently united with others, and formed a Baptist Society in this place.

November 15. A day of humiliation * is kept by the Barnstable Church, "principally for Old England, and also for our own particulars, God's hand being on us," many of us being visited with diseases, and "many children in the Bay dying by the chin cough" and small pox.

As stated by Baylies,† John Mayo this year relinquishes his ministry at Eastham, and goes to Boston. Here a new society was lately formed, of which the latter afterwards became pastor.

1650. June 5. Edward Hunt is fined ‡ 2/. for shooting at deer on the Lord's day.

Obadiah Holmes and Joseph Torrey, Baptists, are before the General Court, and bound for each other, to appear at the October session. So arraigned, as Holmes relates, they meet four petitions, adverse to their course at Rehoboth. One of these documents was from their own Town, with thirty-five signatures, another from the Taunton Church, a third from all the Ministers of the Colony, except two, and a fourth from the Massachusetts Legislature.

Neal remarks,§ "The separation of the Anabaptists from the churches of the country, began last year (1650) at Rehoboth, in Plymouth Patent, after this manner. Mr. Obadiah Holmes and seven or eight more, withdrew from Mr. Newman's church." He mistakes as to the time and place of the first appearance of this denomination in New England. They were early at Providence under Williams; in other Towns before the date, at which they were noticed by Neal at Rehoboth. Massachusetts issued a law against them in 1644.

Chiefly in view of this controversy, the Legislature, on the 10th, pass the following orders.

"Forasmuch as there are risen up amongst us many scandalous practices, which are likely to prove destructive to our churches and common peace; that whosoever shall hereafter set up any churches or publicke meetings diverse from those allready set up and approued, without the consent and approbacon of the government, or shall continew any otherwise set up without consent as aforesaid, shalbe suspended from having any voyce in towne meetings and presented to the next Generall Court to receive such punishment as the Court shall think meet to inflict. Whosoever shall villifie by opprobrious tearmes or speeches any church or minestry or ordinance, being heerof lawfully convicted shall forfeite and pay to the use of the Colonie 10/. for every default.—Whosoever shall prophane the Lord's day by doing any servill worke or any such like abusses shall forfeite for euery such default 10/. or be whipte."

* Gen. Reg. vol. x. p. 38.

† MS. Plymouth Col. Rec.

‡ Hist. of Plymouth Col. vol. ii. p. 221.

§ Neal's Hist. of New England, vol. i. p. 298.

1649.]

June 7. With reference to Gortonists, Commissioners having been appointed by Massachusetts to treat with similar officers of Plymouth, as to the "title of land called Shawwamett and Pautuxit and protection of the English and Indians there according to an engagement repairing all private injuries according to law and justice," the General Court here give up all their claim to such places to the Bay authorities.

October 2. John Hazell, Edward Smith and wife, Obadiah Holmes, Joseph Torrey and wife, and the wife of James Mann, William Deuell and wife, Baptists, of Rehoboth, are presented * for continuing to meet from house to house, on the Sabbath.

The Court "charged † them to desist from their separation, and neither to ordain officers, nor to baptize, nor to break bread together, nor to meet on the first days of the week. But Holmes and his friends would make no promise, but insisted upon the conviction of their own consciences, and that it was better to obey God than man."

Hazell died soon after Sept. 5, 1651, near Boston. The rest of them, subsequent to this date, moved to Newport, R. I., where Smith, Torrey, Mann and Deuell were admitted, May 17, 1653, as freemen.

NOTE. Morton relates, as a subject for moral improvement, that caterpillars abounded, this year, in some parts of the country, where they stripped the leaves from peas and trees.—Memorial, 168, 9.

MAINE.

1648. February. The king of France ‡ grants a commission to D'Aulney. In it he observes, that he is assured of D'Aulney's exertions for "the conversion of the savages, having built a seminary under the direction of a good number of Capuchin Friars, for the instruction of said savages' children, and driving the foreign Protestants out of the Pentagoet Fort." Louis, also, commends him for preserving his territory, to the Kennebeck, against such Protestants. He instructs him to have all the people, from the St. Lawrence to the Virginias, taught the religion of France. The spirit of this order, so far as the Jesuit missionaries from this kingdom had power and opportunity, with savages, was zealously fulfilled.

1649. July. As the heirs of Sir Ferdinando Gorges are unable to sustain their claims to Maine, because royalty was crushed, for a time, in England, the inhabitants of his jurisdiction form themselves § into a social compact. The convention of Gorgeana,

* MS. Plymouth Col. Rec. † Neal's Hist. of N. Eng. vol. i. p. 298, 9.

‡ MS. Mass. Gen. Court Rec. § Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. s. 1, vol. i. p. 102, 3.

Wells, Kittery, and probably of those on part of the Isle of Shoals, for such a purpose, is the first of these places.

Among several presentments to their Court, is one against Adam Goodwine, for denying the morality of the fourth commandment; and another against Kittery, for not having their children and youth taught the catechism, and educated according to law.

1650. August. Sir Alexander Rigby, proprietor of Lygonia, dies* in England, esteemed and lamented. Among those composing the Court of Assistants in this Province, is Robert Jordan. He had been married to a daughter of John Winter, and continued to be a prominent partaker in the events of his adopted country.

About the close of this year, D'Aulney, the strenuous advocate and promoter of Romanism among the Indians at Penobscot, and other parts of Nova Scotia, as then bounded, pays the last debt of nature. He leaves his territory to the strange vicissitude† of soon having La Tour, his vanquished and disappointed rival, for its governor and the husband of his widow.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

1648. March. Ezekiel and Nathaniel Rogers, and John Norton, are to visit Exeter and endeavor to settle‡ the religious difficulties there.

October 18. The Bay authorities, being informed that much trouble existed at Dover, through the profession of "anabaptistry" by Edward Starbuck, they appoint Thomas Wiggin and George Smith to try his case.

16. Governor Winthrop writes§ to his son John at New London, that Samuel Dudley thought of leaving Exeter, and would come and preach at the former town, if they would give him suitable encouragement.

The next year, Mr. Dudley is appointed, with two others, to keep Courts in Norfolk County, and to give oath to commissioners for small causes in the towns of the same shire. He was son of Governor Dudley, born in England 1606, married Mary, daughter of Governor Winthrop, and had a large family.

1649. April 2. In a contract|| of Hampton with John Legat, to instruct their school, is the ensuing clause: "And also to teach and instruct them once in a week, or more, in some orthodox catechise provided for them by their parents and masters."

* Sullivan's Maine, p. 318. Williamson's Maine, vol. i. p. 328.

† MS. Council Rec. of Mass. Charlevoix Nouv. France, vol. i. p. 412.

‡ Mass. Gen. Court MS. Papers. § Winthrop, vol. ii. Appendix, p. 356.

|| Dow's Hist. Address.

1648.]

1650. Robert Tufton, heir to the territory which was owned by his uncle Mason, and whose surname he adopted, becomes of age. This circumstance opened expectations of immediate action, as to such claims, which had long slept.

October. About this time, Mr. Reyner,* of Dover, gives the views of his Church to the Legislature on the Platform of Ecclesiastical Order, as he was requested.

RHODE ISLAND.

1648. March. Complaints are made to the Bay Legislature,† that Gortonists had destroyed the corn, planted last year by the Indians at Shawomet, and wronged the English there. Order is given, that three messengers proceed to require satisfaction of such aggressors, and command them to depart. If the messengers do not succeed, they are to visit Rhode Island and Providence and inform the authorities there, and inquire whether they mean to countenance such intruders.

May 13. Samuel Gorton having arrived at Boston from England, the Legislature, by a majority of one, consent‡ that he, "now a shipboard, upon request of the Earl of Warwick, hath one full week, after the date hereof, allowed him for the transportation of himself and goods through our jurisdiction to the place of his dwelling, he demeaning himself inoffensively according to the contents of the said Earl's letter, and that the marshal or some other be appointed to show him a copy of this order, or to fix it to the main-mast of the ship, in which he is."

16. Rufus Barton and Capt. Clark, both friends of Gorton, are deputed§ by the General Court, held at Providence, to visit Boston and endeavor to settle the Shawomet difficulties. They came on their mission to Dedham, but learning there that the Bay authorities had adjourned, Barton addressed a note to the Governor on the subject. A reason for these visits was, evidently, that the Gortonists perceived that their cause, as developed in London, was losing its credibility.

25. William Coddington, at Newport, writes to Winthrop. He states, that Alexander Partridge, the bearer, William Balstone and "some others of this island, are in disgracement with the people in Providence, Warwick and Gorton's adherents on the island, for that we will not enterposse or meedle at all in their quarrells with the Massachusetts and the rest of the Colonies; and doe much feare

* The communication, with others of the kind, in Am. Antiq. Soc. MS. Coll.

† Winthrop, vol. ii. p. 317.

‡ Mass. Gen. Court MS. Papers.

§ Winthrop, vol. ii. p. 323. R. I. Coll. Rec.

[R. ISLAND,

that Gorton will be a thorne in their and our sides, if the Lord prevent not."

August 31. Roger Williams, in view of contentions prevailing, proposes* means of reconciliation. Passages from his pen, on this subject, follow: "Since, dear friends, it is an honor for men to cease from strife; since the life of love is sweet, and union is as strong as sweet; and since you have been lately pleased to call me to some public service, and my soul hath been long musing how I might bring water to quench, and not oil or fuel to the flame, I am now humbly bold to beseech you to be willing to be pacifiable. The Colony now looks with the torn face of two parties, and that the greater number of Portsmouth, with other loving friends adhering to them, appear as one grieved party; the other three towns, or greater part of them, appear to be another." He then recommends mutual referees. This advice was complied with, and the result was favorable.

September 7. William Coddington and Alexander Partridge petition† the Commissioners of the Confederation, in behalf of a majority of Rhode Island, that they may be received into the Union and thus be entitled to its protection. The Commissioners answer the next day, that they find the Island "full of confusion and danger and no security from the Indians." They state, that according to the Patent of New Plymouth, the Island falls within the line of that Colony, and if a major part of the Islanders will acknowledge themselves to be under the jurisdiction of Plymouth, they can be received as members of the Confederation and be entitled to all its privileges. It is well known, that this proposal was not accepted.

23. In a communication‡ from Roger Williams to John Winthrop, Jr., is the following extract: "Our neighbor Mr. Coddington and Capt. Partridge ten dayes since, returned from Plymouth with propositions from Rhode Island to subject to Plymouth, to which himselfe and Portsmouth incline, our other three townes decline and Mr. Holden and Mr. Warner of Warwick came from thence also, and they say gave satisfaction why they dare not (the other 3 Townes) depart from the Charter. In this division of our neighbours, I have kept myself uningaged and presented motions of pacification, amongst which I was bold to propose a reference to your worthy selfe and some other friend to be chosen. Our Towne yields to it."

1649. January. Roger Williams communicates§ his thoughts to John Winthrop, Jr. "Oure poor Colonie is in civill dissention. Their last meetings, at which I have not bene, have fallen into factions. Mr. Cottington and Capt. Partridge, etc., the heads of

* Backus, vol. i. p. 204, 5. Knowles's Roger Williams, p. 214, 5.

† Hazard's Coll. vol. ii. p. 99. Com. MS. Rec.

‡ Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. s. 3, vol. ix. p. 270, 1.

§ Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. s. 3, vol. ix. p. 279.

1650.]

the one, and Capt. Clarke, Mr. Easton, etc., the heads of the other faction. I receive letters from both inviting me, etc., but I resolve, if the Lord please, not to ingage, unles with great hopes of peace making."

29. He writes to the same. "Mr. Coddington went to the Bay with his daughter for England, and left Capt. Partridge in trust with all, the last weeke, at New Port."

May 8. The Bay authorities, being in session, decline* to modify the banishment of Randal Holden, as he had requested, so that he may visit their jurisdiction on business. They consent no further, than that he may appear there by an attorney. They receive a communication from John Smith in behalf of Warwick, excusing its people from the charge of aggression, laid to them by the Indians.

July 31. The Commissioners of the Union reply † to the Gortonists. "We received a letter from you on the 26th, wherein you propound several inquiries offered to you by the Indians, and desire to be informed whether we have not received an injunction from the Parliament in England to act in your defence. No such thing hath been commanded thence to the Commissioners of the Colonies on your behalf, nor by you can rationalle be expected from us in the state where in you now stand. But we shall be ready to attend their late direction as any opportunity is presented to find under what Colony your plantation (Warwick) doth fall and then in all future proceedings both with the English and Indians endeavor to act according to rules of truth and righteousness."

August 8. A question having arisen, whether Massachusetts should continue their jurisdiction over Warwick, as the Commissioners of the Confederation agreed in 1643, or Plymouth should take back the place under their authority, as within the bounds of their Patent, the Commissioners of New Haven and Connecticut do not feel authorized to determine it, but advise,‡ that the parties make a friendly settlement "about the charges expended, and how Pumham and Sacononoco with their people may be governed and protected."

1650. May 23. The Bay Legislature§ allow Jane Hawkins, through the petition of her sons, to spend a month in their jurisdiction during the summer, and, if she satisfy the queries of the Assistants, to live there permanently.

30. They send notice to some inhabitants of the Island, Warwick, Providence and others, and caution them against inflicting any further injuries on William Arnold and associates, Pumham and Sacononoco, Sagamores. They also inform them, that they shall have a speedy hearing of their complaints.

* MS. Mass. Gen. Court Rec.

† Com. MS. Rec. Hazard's Coll. p. 143, 4.

‡ Hazard, vol. ii. p. 135.

§ MS. Mass. Gen. Ct. Rec.

June 1. They appoint commissioners to treat with Plymouth about the title to Shawomet and Patuxet, as occupied by those whom they so shield with their protection.

7. Plymouth relinquish to Massachusetts their right to these two places, which as Governor Bradford and six other principal men, assert "were the just rights" of the said Sagamores, when they subjected themselves to the latter Colony, and, by the said Englishmen, when they came under the same jurisdiction. They except such lots as may belong to any individual of Providence.

20. Shawomet and Patuxet are annexed by Massachusetts to their County of Suffolk. Thus the English and Indians, on these sections of territory, who had been again received under the civil and religious authority of the Bay, are brought more immediately to the enjoyment of such a privilege.

21. The magistrates of the County Court, to be held in Boston, July next, are empowered to treat with Gorton's company about any difficulty as to Shawomet and Patuxet's belonging to Massachusetts.

September 5. The Commissioners* of Connecticut and New-Haven are informed, that Massachusetts had offered to resign their jurisdiction of Warwick and vicinity to Plymouth, if they would protect and govern the English and Indians thereon, but that the latter Colony declined and reconfirmed the same to the Bay.

Such Commissioners are told, how Massachusetts had endeavored to obtain satisfaction from the Gortonists for charges against them by Indians and English. They have a letter laid before them from Easton, President of Rhode Island, giving assurance that they and Warwick are bound to support one another. They are asked to advise how Massachusetts shall act in view of these facts. They accordingly propose, as the most probable means of reducing the Gortonists to order, who will not submit to Massachusetts, that Plymouth "do forthwith reassume the right they formerly had by patent" to the lands of Pumham and Sacononoco, including Warwick; and exercise a just government over the people thereof. But if Plymouth decline this proposition and the Gortonists remain obstinate, the Commissioners say, "Justice must have its course," and, consequently, they signify, that the Bay authorities must have this work done.

October 18. Under this date, the Legislature† at Boston, in answer to a communication of Governor William Bradford and in compliance with advice of the Commissioners of Connecticut and New Haven, reassign Shawomet to Plymouth Colony, and instruct the English and Indians there, under their protection, to act accordingly. They also order a letter requiring Rhode Island to forbear all acts of jurisdiction over Shawomet; and another for the

* Com. MS. Rec. Hazard's Coll. vol. ii. p. 153.

† MS. Mass. Gen. Ct. Rec.

1648.]

Indians and English here to comply with the instructions, to them from Plymouth.

21. Eliot described a recent visit,* which two of the Indians, who waited on his ministry, made, in July, to Providence and Warwick. One of them put this question, "What is the reason, that seeing those English people where he had been, had the same Bible, that we have, yet do not speake the same thing?" He then assigned the cause of his inquiry as follows. They maintained, that there was no other heaven and hell, than in the hearts of good and bad people; that baptism of children was a foolish custom; that ministers and magistrates were needless. He also particularized the replies, which he made to these positions, and which Eliot approved as essentially correct.

26. The Legislature enact, that no person shall be banished from the Colony, "any law or clause thereof formerly made notwithstanding,† and that there shall be no divorce but for adultery."

November 21. Joshua Verin,‡ who had returned from Providence in its first settlement to Salem, because of difficulty as to his not being willing that his wife should attend on the meetings of Mr. Williams so often, as some of the congregation wished her to do, writes from the latter place to the deputies of the former, and claims his share of its territory. He was answered, that if he would appear there and prove his title, it should be allowed to him.

CONNECTICUT.

1648. January 31. To restrain the inclination of some persons to infringe on holy time, the General Court of New Haven require, that the Sabbath shall be from sunset to sunset, and that, during this time, none shall engage in common employments, works of necessity and mercy excepted.

"Those that were behind in payment of the College Corn, were desired to carry it to the several Collectors."

February 14. Robert Newman, Ruling Elder, desires the Court, that they would grant land, near the meeting-house, to Edward Wigglesworth, for a small house and garden, "because he is so lame, that he is not able to attend public worship, and so is many times deprived of the ordinances, when, if he was near, he might enjoy them." This petition was granted.

May 8. Henry Smith, of Weathersfield, dates his will. This mentions his wife, sons Samuel, Noah, Peregrine, two daughters married, and other children unmarried. It contains the clause,

* Light Appearing. Mass. Hist. Coll. s. 3, vol. iv. p. 136, 7.

† MS. R. I. Gen. Court Rec.

‡ Knowles's Roger Williams, p. 138.

"First, I doe professe my faith and hope to bee in the free grace aloane of God in Jesus Christe, whose I wholly am, and to whome I haue foreuer given vpp myselfe, both soule and body, being fully perswaded of his vchangable loue and good-will, both in life and death to mee and mine, according to his covenant." It closes, "I desire the Church, whose servant I now am, to take care and oversight of my family, that they may bee brought vp in the true feare of God; and to see that this my will bee faithfully performed." He seems to have died in the year of his will's being dated. As a Commissioner of the Bay to and in the first government of Connecticut, and as a messenger of the Gospel, he showed himself worthy of strong confidence and high approbation.

June 21. Governor Hopkins appears, from the subsequent extract, to have asked the advice of Winthrop, Sen., about his going back to England in a state of revolution. "I find a general concurrence almost, with your thoughts therein, by all I consulted with, so that I dare not, having such a stream of advice to the contrary, resolve to return, until more of the mind of the Lord appear that way, though I find not my heart so quieted in that determination, as I hoped it would. Your prayers I need and beg, that the Lord would at length satisfy me with himself in this sad and great trial, which almost overwhelms my spirits."

August 1. At New Haven Court, Henry and Joseph Peck are arraigned "for coming too late with their arms on Lord's day in the morning; they answered that the night before they watched and had no rest, and when they came home, they went to take a little rest, that so they might be the fitter for the ordinances and not sleep." This plea was accepted for an excuse.

October. A Letter * from Governor Eaton to Governor Stuyvesant, remarks as follows. "As one that desireth by all just means to follow peace with all men, but especially with a Christian nation, both you and I (though all questions be fairly composed) may have exercise enough with the wild natives, who being over plentifully furnished with guns, powder and shot, are apt to be injurious, but if they find us divided and at difference, they will grow insolent and full of provocations."

17. Peter Bussaker is ordered † by the Connecticut Legislature, on account of excessive profanity, to be imprisoned, and be so kept "till the sermon, and then stand in the time thereof in the pillory and after sermon bee severely whipped."

December 6. The same Court require, that, on the 20th inst., "there bee a day of humiliation by all the churches in this jurisdiction, to seeke the face of the Lord in behalfe of his churches."

7. A bill of indictment ‡ is found against Mary Johnson, "that she is guilty of witchcraft."

* New Haven Coll. Rec. Appendix, p. 529. † MS. Conn. Gen. Ct. Rec.

‡ MS. Conn. Gen. Court Rec.

1649.]

Lady Mary Fenwick, whose husband was a principal proprietor and director of the Saybrook patent, dies this year. She was interred on the margin of Connecticut river, where her monument still remains. She was a woman of great worth. Her sympathies and influence were efficiently exercised for the cause of Puritanism.

1649. April 11. Governor Eaton in a letter to Governor Stuyvesant, remarks, as follows, on the recent death of Governor Winthrop. "I am assured he is a rich gainer by his remove, the loss is ours, and accordingly I believe his death will be lamented through all the Colonies." On the 4th of the next month, Stuyvesant replied, "I do really condole with you, we being all of us, in these parts, participants in the sad loss of one, whose wisdom and integrity might have done much in composing matters between us."

May 20. On the third instant, the noted school-master, Ezekiel Cheever, of the New Haven Church, charged its Elders with partiality and usurpation, in the case of Mr. Thorp, who was censured. Being required to make satisfaction, he said, that he apprehended "the Elders had walked faithfully according to their light, but refused to clear them of partiality." At this, some of the brethren were offended and made complaint to the Ruling Elder. One of the charges against Mr. Cheever was, that he and W. Thorpe, speaking together about the Elders, the former of these two observed, "We have nothing to do now, but to say, Amen; we are all Clerks now." It was voted, that Mr. Cheever "be cast out of the body till the proud flesh be destroyed and he brought into a more member-like frame." To this he replied in sixteen pages. Such a difference in ecclesiastical matters, was the probable occasion of his moving to Ipswich, on the 30th of December, 1650, where he was welcomed as an excellent instructor of youth.*

June 25. The New Haven Court order, that in accordance with the law of Massachusetts, Elders of Churches, deacons and school-masters be exempted from training, watching and warding.

It was reported by the Governor, that complaints of bakers had been heard, that they made their bread too small. Therefore the Court desired him to prepare rules as to the size of the loaves, so "that the baker may have a due profit and the buyer not wronged."†

July 25. A movement, made by New Haven, before the Commissioners of the Union, though not seconded now, for their planting at Delaware, was probably made, as one means of spreading Puritanism to counteract its opposite, expected and feared in the refuge for Cavaliers, as provided by a large grant of territory between Rappahannock and Potowmac, to Lords Hoopton, Berkeley and Culpepper.‡

* Cheever's MS. Felt's Ipswich, p. 75.

† New Haven MS. Rec.

‡ Holmes's Annals, vol. i. p. 290.

September 10. On account of the hostile bearing assumed by the Indians, the New Haven Court* order that "the guard be doubled on the Lord's days and Lecture days, and that men whose turn it is not to bring arms, yet bring their swords."

13. The General Court of Connecticut,† considering that John Whittmore, late of Stamford, had been murdered, and the conduct of the Indians adjacent to that place was hostile, "doe declare themselves, that they doe judge it lawfull and according to God to make warr vpon them."

November 12. William Paine desired of these authorities, that, as he had three small children, lives far off, and his wife is lame and cannot help him bring them to meeting, he may be excused from bringing his arms to public worship on the Sabbath and Lecture days. This request was granted.

December 6. The Connecticut Legislature sentence a man, for indecent and profane speech and carriages, "to lye in prison till next Thursday morning after the catechising, and then to bee publickly whipt, and so return to prison againe for a month after that, except hee finde bayle to appeare when hee is called for againe to receive a second correction."

1650. April 3. The General Court of New Haven ordered‡ "that if any person shall be found standing or sitting without the meeting-house in the time of the ordinances, upon the Sabbath or Lecture days, when necessity of weakness doth not compel them, or that they cannot give sufficient reason of their being there, he or they shall forfeit for every default 2/. a person, and the corporals upon the several days of bringing arms are desired to take their time to go out now and then to see to prevent disorders of this kind."

May 6. They were "informed§ that the contributions for the Church Treasury are by degrees so much abated, that they afford not any considerable maintenance to the Teaching Officers, and that much of wampum brought in, is such and so faulty, that the officers can hardly or not at all pass it away in any of their occasions. The Court thought the matter weighty, and worthy of speedy and serious consideration, if men from corrupt frame withdraw from so bounden a duty, it will be necessary to order and settle some other course, according to the law." A Committee are chosen to "consider by what means comfortable maintenance may be raised and duly paid to uphold the ordinances, and encourage the officers."

Among the laws, drawn up by Roger Ludlow, and now adopted by Connecticut Legislature, we have the following:

For every instance a person "swears rashly and vainly," he shall

* New Haven MS. Rec.

† MS. Gen. Ct. New Haven Rec.

‡ MS. Conn. Gen. Court Rec.

§ MS. Gen. Ct. New Haven Rec.

1650.]

be fined 10/. or put in the stocks not less than one hour, nor more than three.

Whoever plays at Shuffle Board shall forfeit 5/. for each time, and the person allowing such game in his house shall pay 20/. So as to every unlawful game.

Whoever above fourteen years of age willfully publishes a lie, injurious either to an individual or the public, shall pay 10/. for the first offence, or be put in the stocks, not beyond three hours; for the second, pay 20/., or be whipped on the naked body not above twenty stripes; for the third offence, 40/., or receive not more than thirty stripes. Children who are under such age and tell falsehoods, thus detrimental, must be whipped by their parents, in presence of some officer, if any magistrate so appoint.

Children, above sixteen years old, who have had proper education, and been treated kindly by their parents, and strike such parents, shall suffer death. So with a rebellious son.

Whoever refuses to pay his "meet proportion" towards the support of the ministry, shall be rated, and if he still decline to pay, it shall be collected like other debts.

Whoever disturbs a preacher in the Congregation shall be convicted and reproved by the Magistrate at some Lecture, and bound for good behavior. For a second like offence, he shall pay £5, or stand openly two hours on a block or stool four feet high on a Lecture day, with a paper on his breast, having, in capital letters, An Open, An Obstinate Contemner of God's Holy Ordinances, "that others may feare and bee ashamed of breaking out into the like wickedness."

Every person is required to attend public worship on the Sabbath, Fast, and Thanksgiving days, on penalty of 5/. for each offence, unless sufficient excuse can be given.

A proposition of Commissioners for the support of scholars at Cambridge, is confirmed. Two men in each town are to call on every family once a year for contribution, and "the same bee brought into some roome." Such collections were made chiefly in grain.

The following, as additional to the means used by the Missionary Society, is passed: "Judging it necessary that some meanes should bee vsed to conuey the lighte and knowledge of God and of his Worde to the Indians and nations amongst vs, doe order that one of the teaching Elders of the Churches in this Jurisdiction, with the helpe of Thomas Stanton, shall bee desired, twice at least in every yeare, to goe amongst the neighbouring Indians, and indeauour to make knowne to them the councells of the Lord, and thereby to draw and stirr them vp to direct and order all their wayes and conversations according to the rule of his Worde."

"Forasmuch as the peace and prosperity of Churches and members thereof, as well as Ciuill rights and Libberties are carefully to

bee maintained, It is ordered by this Courte, and decreed, that the Ciuill Authority heere established hath power and libberty to see the peace and ordinances and rules of Christe bee observed in every Church, according to his Word ; as allso to deale with any Church member in a way of Ciuill (justice) notwithstanding any Church relation, office, or interest, so it bee done in a Ciuill, and not in an Ecclesiasticall way. Nor shall any Church censure, degrade, or depose any man from any Ciuill dignitie, office, or authority hee shall have in the Commonwealtb."

June 6. Samuel Stone, minister of Hartford, writes to Richard Mather : * " I conceive that children of church members have a right to church membership by virtue of their father's covenant, it being granted, that they are in Abraham's covenant. There hath been a sinful neglect of such children in New England. I spake with Mr. Warham, and we question not the right of children, but we conceive it would be comfortable to have some concurrence, which is that we have waited for a long time. And I think unless there may be some conference of Elders, this year, in the Bay, that we may see some reason to the contrary, our churches will adventure to practice according to their judgment, i. e., take in all such children as members. I much desire that there may be some meeting of the Elders this year, that these things may be considered and settled in the churches, according to the mind of Christ."

September 5. A Court of Commissioners,† beginning their session in Hartford, at this time, are waited on by Uncas, Sachem of the "Monohegen Indians." He, like the chiefs of the New England tribes, was anxious lest the Gospel should be preached among his people, and thereby he should lose his power over them. On this account, he expressed his unwillingness to have them taught Christianity. But his plea, however offered in sincerity, could find little sympathy with those who knew the worth of so blessed a dispensation.

This year, Thomas, son of Rev. Thomas James, formerly of Charlestown, Mass., is settled as minister of East Hampton, Long Island. He died in 1696, and, at his request, was buried in the grave-yard, with his head to the east, so that, in the resurrection, he might meet his people face to face.

As Hutchinson states, part of New Haven inhabitants intended to conform with the wish of Cromwell, that people of New England would emigrate and plant their religious institutions in Ireland after his conquests there, but that they relinquished their intention.

Henry Whitfield‡ leaves his parish at Guilford, and embarks for England. "The whole town accompanied him unto the water-

* First Principles of New England.

† MS. Conn. Gen. Court Rec.

‡ Magnalia of 1855, vol. i. p. 593.

1650.]

side, with a spring tide of tears, because they should see his face no more." On his way, he stopped at Martha's Vineyard, and tarried there ten days. While so detained, he made himself thoroughly acquainted with the labors of Mayhew among the Indians, and published an account of them, in London, 1651, under the title, "The Light appearing more and more towards the perfect Day." He settled, as minister, in the city of Winchester. He had a large family of children, and died about the Restoration. He excelled in his profession, and thus honored the cause of his Redeemer.

CHAPTER II.

MASSACHUSETTS. Presbyterianism. — Edward Gibbons. — Indian Mission. — Henry Butler. — The Cross. — Discipline — Witchcraft. — Pyncheon on Redemption. — Norton's Reply. — Confession of Faith and Discipline. — Presentments. — Cotton's address to Cromwell. — Scotch prisoners sold. — Biographical notices. — Baptists. — Seekers. — Half-way Covenant. — Indian Town. — National events. — Objections to the mission. — Cromwell's answer. — Synod. — Excess in apparel. — Power of the Council for New England feared. — Proposed emigration to Ireland. — Blasphemy punished. — Denial of the Scriptures. — Oath of fidelity. — Aid for poor scholars. — Toleration. — Orthodox Evangelist. — Power of Magistrates. — Errors. — Learned ministry. PLYMOUTH. Presentment. — Seipican. — Delaware. — French. — Public worship. — Shawomet. — Holmes. — Seekers. — Preaching to Indians. — Address to London Baptists. — Offences. — Thanksgiving. — Dialogue, by Bradford. MAINE. French correspondence. — Indian catechumens. — Boundary. — Banishment. — Subjection of towns. — Rigby's communication. — Privileges of Freemen. NEW HAMPSHIRE. Difficulties. — Mason claim. — Artists. — North line. RHODE ISLAND. Patents for territory. — Fugitives. — Trial of Baptists. — Matters of conscience. — Seekers. — Gortonists. — Agents for England. — Slaves. — Slander. — Treason. — Publications. CONNECTICUT. Gospel privileges. — Fugitives. — Witchcraft. — Baptism of children. — Delaware Colony. — Church. — Treasury. — College at New Haven. — Indians. — Davenport's Knowledge of Christ.

MASSACHUSETTS.

1651. January 1. As an occurrence,* anxiously anticipated by Congregationalists of Old and New England, Charles Stuart is crowned by the Scots at Scone. One condition of his being so made king, as it was of his being thus proclaimed at Edinburgh Cross, the previous July 15, was that he should support and encourage Presbyterianism in the three kingdoms. The Presbyterians of England unite in the plan for such a purpose.

20. Edward Gibbons received a commission,† under this date, from Lord Baltimore, to be one of the Council, a Justice of the Peace and Admiral of Maryland. He accepted it, resided at St. Mary's, and left a widow there with small means of support. He died December 9, 1654, and an account of his insolvent estate was

* Neal's Hist. of Puritans, vol. iv. p. 42. Salmon, vol. i. p. 153.

† Bozman's Maryland, p. 411, 2. Hazard, vol. ii. p. 33, 4.

1651.]

laid before the Probate Court at Boston in the same month and year. Though adventurous in his deeds, he was extensively useful and highly respected, from the time of his profession of religion at the formation of Salem Church, as a patriot and a Christian.

April 17. A letter from William Steele for the Missionary Corporation, is received by the Commissioners. Several extracts follow: "As the care of providing lyeth vpon vs heer, soe the care of distribution and improuement will rest vpon yourselues, for the Vnited Collonies there, of whose faithfulness wee haue not the least cause to doubt. Many ministers in London have promoted the Act, that were resolu'd against it, and wee beleue the like in the country. 'Tis strange to see what and how many objections arise against the work. Som from the ill-management of former gifts bestowed on New-England, of which no account hath been given to the donors. Som personally reflecting vpon Mr. Wells (Weld) and Mr. Peters. Som vpon ourselues, as if wee had so much per pound of what is collected, or might feast ourselues liberally therewith, whereas, through mercy wee never yet eat or drank of the fruit or charge of y^t; and neither haue had or expect a penny or pennyworth for all the paines wee shall take therein, but contrarywise, account it a mercy God giving vs an opportunity to bee exercised in a work wherein his glory and the salvation of soe many is so nearly concerned. As for Mr. Peters and Mr. Wells, they haue sufficiently satisfied vs with what hath been formerly answered.

"Wee haue sent you for the present som few hoes and iron tools to carry on the work of the Summer, and hope that by the next shipp wee shalbee able to send you som woollen, shoes and stockens, according to your direction. Wee find the proceeds of the Collection goes slowly on, both in Citty and Country, and that it wilbee long worke." The Commissioners are desired to confer with Messrs. Eliot and Mayhew as to what meeting-houses, ministers, school-masters and mistresses will be needed next year, among the Indians. They are requested to consider whether it would not be better "to treine yp English and Indian together for obtaining each other's language."

At the same time, Winslow addresses * the Commissioners on the same matter. He states several objections made in England to the mission here: "As what haue wee to doe to raise great summs to promote the Gospell amongst naked people; the Gospell is goeing away from vs, and wee healp it forward; wee had more need to support learning at home than abroad. And then our leuelers, they will haue nothing to doe to promote humane learning; there is too much of it allreddy."

28. Eliot writes † to the Missionary Society in England. Speak-

* Com'rs MS. Rec. Hazard's Coll. vol. ii. p. 174-6, 8, 9.

† Strength out of Weakness. Mass. Hist. Coll. s. 3, vol. iv. p. 168.

ing of the settlement at Natick by Indians, under his instruction, he remarks: "We have set out some part of the town in several streets; many have planted apple-trees. It is now planting time, and they be full of business. The present week I am going to Pawtucket, the great fishing place vpon Merimak, where I hear sundry doe expect my coming, with a purpose to submit themselves unto the Lord's hand."

May 7. Henry Butler* is admitted freeman of the Massachusetts Company. He had lately come from England, where he was born, in Kent, and took his second degree at Cambridge. He remained in our country about ten years as an instructor and preacher, and then went back to his kindred. So returned, he passed a year or two at Dorchester, and was settled in the ministry at Yeovil, Somersetshire, where he was displaced August 24, 1662. In that town and other places, he persevered in dispensing the truths of Revelation, though continually fined and imprisoned. Liable to such trials, he became pastor of a people at Withamfrary. Sometimes he met his congregation in private houses, and at others, in Sir Edward Seymour's woods. After a useful ministry, and exhausted with labors and sickness, he breathed his last April 24, 1696, aged 72. His expiring words were, "A broken and a contrite heart, O God, thou wilt not despise."

As evidence † that the opposition of the Legislature to the display of the Cross, as an ensign of Papacy, had much diminished, they have the subsequent entry recorded: "As this Court conceives the Old English Colours, now used by the Parliament of England, to be a necessary badge of distinction betwixt the English and other nations, till the State of England shall alter the same, which we much desire," it authorizes the Captain of the Castle to show such Colors on all necessary occasions.

They forbid dancing at Taverns, on penalty of 5/.

Marmaduke Matthews is cited to appear ‡ the 15th. He obeys and hears the charge against him of having uttered in his sermons "unsafe and unsound expressions." Some of these, as charged to him, follow: "Saints have more varieties of righteousness than Christ, for Christ hath only a double righteousness and the saints have a treble one. When the body of Christ was lifted up on the cross, his soul was in hell where the devil rules and reigns. Ps. 16. 'Tis foolishness if you think that Christ doth not come but in a conditional promise." A Committee of the Legislature are designated to meet at the Ship Tavern in Boston, on June 11th, to consider allegations, that he had formerly and recently preached erroneous doctrines, and they had leave to ask advice of the Elders. The Malden Church are cited to answer for settling him, contrary to the protest of magistrates, ministers and churches. He is fined

* Calamy, vol. ii. p. 388.

† Mass. MS. Gen. Court Papers.

‡ Ibid.

1651.]

£10 for consenting to be thus connected with them and not making a suitable apology therefor. As the Marshal, when he endeavored to satisfy this demand from the property of Matthews, found nothing but his library, the Court allowed the execution "to be respite until other goods appear besides books."

On this occasion, Matthews presented a paper of June 13, which contained the substance of various sermons, that he had preached, at Hull and Malden, as a specimen of his real belief. At the close of such an exposition, he confesses that some of his language might have been better selected. His words were: "I easily yield, that not only wiser men probably would, but also I myself possibly might, have made out Christ's mind, and my own meaning, in terms more sound and more safe than I have done, had I not been too much wanting, both to his Sacred Majesty, whose unworthy messenger I was, and also to myself and my hearers; for which I desire to be humbled, and of which I desire to be healed by the Author of both."

Fifteen of the Deputies dissented from the proceedings of the Court, in this case.

Offended with Thomas Lynde, one of their members, who testified as to the offensive expressions of Matthews, the Church soon proceeded to deal with him even to excommunication. But the Council interposed, and desired that the question might be submitted to a few of the adjacent churches, as earnestly requested by Lynde.

Richard Leader is required to answer* for language which had offended the Church of Lynn and others, and was construed as a threat and slander of the Government. He is ordered to make an acknowledgment and pay £50. He does the former of these on the 22d, and is bound for the same sum to appear the next session, and for another like amount to keep the peace.

13. Mary, wife of Hugh Parsons of Springfield,† is indicted as follows: "About the end of February last at Springfield to have familiarity or consulted with a familiar spirit, making a covenant with him and have used divers devilish practices to the hurt of Martha and Rebeckah Moxon, against the Word of God and the laws of this Jurisdiction." The two, so injured, were children of Rev. Mr. Moxon. She plead not guilty and was cleared from the charge of witchcraft, though proceeded‡ with on the accusation of murdering her child. She was condemned to death, but reprieved on the 29th, her trial having been hastened, because she was so weak as not expected to live.§ Her husband was cleared, June 1 of next year, from the charge of witchcraft.

William Pyncheon owns himself author of the book on Redemp-

* Mass. MS. Gen. Court Papers.

† Mass. MS. Gen. Court Papers.

‡ Holland, in his Western Massachusetts, supposes that she died in prison.

§ Mass. MS. Gen. Court Rec.

tion. The Court, "out of their tender respect to him offered him liberty to confer with all the elders now present, or such of them as he should choose." His reply accompanies such permission as succeeds: "According to the Court's advice, I have conferred with Mr. Cotton, Mr. Norrice and Mr. Norton, about some points of the greatest consequence in my book, and I hope I have explained my meaning to them as to take off the worst construction, and it hath pleased God to let me see that I have not spoken in my book so fully of the price and merit of Christ's suffering, as I should have done; for, in my book, I call them but trials of his obedience, yet intending thereby to amplify and exalt the mediatorial obedience of Christ as the only meritorious price of man's Redemption. But now I am much inclined to think, that His sufferings were appointed by God for a further end, namely, as the due punishment of our sins by way of satisfaction to divine justice for man's Redemption."

The Court, judging that Mr. Pynchon was in a "hopeful way to give good satisfaction," grant his wish to return home, on account of troubles in his family, one day next week, and that he take Mr. Norton's answer to his book with him, to consider it, so that he may give all due satisfaction the next session.

The reply of Norton to Pynchon, in 1651, and published in London in 1653, has the subsequent title: "A Discussion of the great Point in Divinity, the Sufferings of Christ; and the questions about his righteousness, active, passive; and the imputation thereof. Being an answer to a Dialogue, entitled the Meritorious Price of our Redemption, Justification, etc."

As counter to the propositions of Pynchon, Norton endeavors to prove the following.

"I. The imputation of the disobedience of the Elect unto Christ.

"II. That Christ as God-man, Mediator and our Surety, fulfilled the Law by his original conformity, and active and passive obedience thereunto for the Elect.

"III. The Imputation of that obedience unto the believer for justification."

On page 15 of Norton's Answer to Pynchon, the latter says: "They place the price of our Redemption in his (Christ) suffering God's wrath for us in the full weight and measure, as it is due to our sins by the curse of the Law. I place the price of our redemption in the merit of his Mediatorial obedience, whereof his Mediatorial sacrifice of Atonement was the Master-piece." Norton replies, "We place it not only in Christ's sufferings, but also in Christ's sufferings and God's acceptance." On page 14, Norton had observed, "It is very true that the mediatorial obedience of Christ is the meritorious and full price of redemption, but most untrue in the sense of your mediatorial obedience; for you leave out and reject from thence Christ's obedience to the Law of works as God-man, his judicial bearing of sin, his suffering the punish-

1651.]

ment due for sin, in way of satisfaction to divine justice, and all this as the surety of the Elect."

In the end of Norton's volume * is a letter from John Cotton, Richard Mather, Zechariah Symmes, John Wilson and William Thompson. Such a communication was in answer to another, from "brethren in Old England, in the behalf of Mr. Pynchon." It shows their view of the case, and is some explanation of the controversy, as then considered and conducted. An extract from it of such an import, follows: "The General Court do believe and profess, (as ourselves likewise do,) that the obedience of Christ to the whole Law (which is the Law of righteousness) is the matter of our justification, and the imputation of our sins to Christ, (and thereupon his suffering the sense of the wrath of God upon him for our sins,) and the imputation of his obedience and sufferings are the formal cause of our justification, and that they that do deny this, do now take away both these, both the matter and form of our justification, (as this book doth,) and take away also our justification, which is the life of our souls and our Religion, and, therefore, called the justification of life, Rom. 5. 18. As for the notion, which you conceive he (Pynchon) declineth, of infinite wrath, we readily conceive with you, that though God's wrath be, (as himself is,) infinite, yet no creature can bear infinite wrath, but be swallowed up of it; and, therefore, the wicked are put to suffer finite wrath in an infinite time; yet this suffering in an infinite time is accidental, in regard of the finiteness of the creature, but Christ being infinite God, as well as finite man, his manhood suffering, though in a finite measure, the sense of God's wrath both in soul and body, the infiniteness of his Godhead (whereto his manhood was united in one person) made his finite suffering, in a finite time, to become of infinite value and efficacy, for the satisfaction of God's justice, and transaction of our Redemption."

The Legislature,† "taking into consideration how far Satan prevails amongst us in respect of witchcraft, as also by drawing away some from the Truth to the profession and practice of strange opinions, and, also, considering the condition of England, Ireland and Scotland, and the great things in hand there," appoint June 18 for a Fast-day.

"Whereas this Court did in 1646, give encouragement for an Assembly of the Messengers of the Churches in a Synod holden at Cambridge and did desire their Counsel and help for the drawing up a Confession of the Faith and Discipline of our Churches according to the Word of God; this Court doth account itself obliged to acknowledge the pious zeal and labours of the Assembly in that work, which doth appear by that draught of Discipline presented to the last General Court for their approbation and allowance

* This was answered by Pynchon in 1655 and 1662.

† Mass. MS. Rec.

[Mass.

and by them commended to the consideration of the several Churches in this Jurisdiction, many of whom were pleased to present, the last session of the last Court, by the Deputies of the several Towns, several objections against the said draught of Discipline or several particulars therein, whereupon the Court judged it inconvenient and conducing to peace to forbear to give their approbation thereto unless such objections, as were presented, were cleared and removed, for which purpose this Court doth order the Secretary to draw up the said objections, or the principal of them, and to deliver the same to the Rev. Mr. Cotton within one month, to be communicated to the Elders of the several churches, who are desirous to meet and clear the said doubts or any other, that may be imparted to them by any other person concerning the said draught of Discipline, and to return their advice and help herein to the next session of this General Court, which will be always zealous according to their duty to give their testimony to every truth of Jesus Christ, though they cannot see light to impose any forms as necessary to be observed by the churches as a binding Rule." Four of the Deputies dissented from this proposal.

June 1. Richard Pipponcott, for withdrawing communion from the first church in Boston,* and giving no reason, is excommunicated. He said that he "wanted a commission to speak." On July 13, John Spurr is cut off from the same church because he ceased to commune with them, on the belief that their baptism, singing of psalms and covenant were "humaine inventions." Nicholas Upshall was similarly dealt with on Sept. 10, and also Ann Burden the 28th, by the same church, for neglecting and denying Gospel ordinances. Here are instances of speculations, then professed by the Seekers of England and this country.

24. Edmund Marshall of Manchester,† is presented for absence from public worship and "for reproaching Mr. Thomas Dunham in saying that he had preached blasphemy."

William Witters, of Lynn, is alike dealt with "for absenting himself from the public ordinances nine months or more and for being rebaptized," and Joseph Rednap, of the same place, "for his usual departing from the Congregation at the time of administration of the seal of baptism."

July 28. Cotton addresses a letter‡ to Cromwell and justifies his course with regard to "purging the Parliament and presenting the King to publique tryall." He adds: "I am fully satisfied, that you have all this while fought the Lord's battells, and the Lord hath owned you, in all your expeditions, which maketh my poor prayers the more serious and faithfull and affectionate (as God helpeth) in your behalfe. In like frame (as I conceive) are the

* MS. Rec. of First Boston Ch.

† Essex Court MS. Rec.

‡ Hutchinson's Coll. p. 233, 4.

1651.]

spirits of our brethren (the elders and churches of these parts) carried forth, and the Lord accept us and help you in Christ." He apologizes, as a stranger to Cromwell, for writing to him, but gives the reason, that the latter had wished to be particularly remembered to him, in letters which he recently sent over to Mr. Hook, of New Haven.

In reference to prisoners, transported to this Colony, Cotton thus expresses himself to Cromwell: "The Scots whom God delivered into your hands at Dunbarre, and whereof sundry were sent hither, we have been desirous (as we could) to make their yoke easy. Such as were sick of the scurvy or other diseases, have not wanted physick and chyrurgery. They have not been sold for slaves to perpetuall servitude, but for 6 or 7 or 8 yeares, as we do our owne; and he that bought the most of them (I heare) buildeth houses for them, for every 4 an house, layeth some acres of ground thereto, which he giveth them as their owne, requiring 3 dayes in the weeke to worke for him (by turnes) and 4 dayes for themselves, and promiseth, as soone as they can repay him the money he layed out for them, he will set them at liberty." Thus fared the Covenanters, who, in defence of the King and Presbyterianism, were captured by the English forces and sent over to this Colony. The ensuing November 11, nearly 300 more of them were about to sail from London, who arrived in due time, at Boston, and were alike sold into bondage.

Ichabod,* son of President Chauncey, born in England, 1635, takes his first degree at Harvard. He went to his native country and was chaplain in the regiment at Dunkirk, commanded by Sir Edward Harley, when the Act of Uniformity was passed. He was in Bristol, in 1681-2, where he practiced medicine. In 1684, he was obliged, for his non-conformity, to leave the kingdom. He removed with his family to Holland. On the proclamation of James II., declaring liberty to Dissenters, he went back to Bristol. Here he died July 25, 1691, aged 56. He published a narrative of proceedings against him in the court of sessions in that city. Though called to experience trials, he steadily pursued the course of obligation and shared in its consolations, as his progress was onward.

Isaac Chauncey, brother of Ichabod, takes his first degree at Harvard College. He was born August 23, 1632. He embarked for the land of his fathers, and there became minister at Woodborough, Wiltshire. After his ejection, he was pastor of a Congregational church at Andover. He subsequently located himself in London, to practice medicine. In 1681-2, he lived in "Blew Boar Court, Friday Street." While so employed, he was called,

* Nonconformist Memorial, vol. ii. p. 610. Wilson's Dissenting Churches, vol. i. p. 289, 90.

October, 1687, to take charge of the people, whose pastor, before the last, was Dr. Owen. He accepted their invitation and preached for them 14 years. Palmer states that he was divinity tutor in the Dissenter's Academy, of the same metropolis. Believing it best for him to relinquish his pastoral relation, he did so, and left his Society to the care of Isaac Watts, who had assisted him above two years. Several of his works were published. Calamy says, "that he was a zealous writer against Neonomianism." He died February 28, 1712, in his 80th year. He was a talented, learned and excellent man. The life, which he lived, was for the benefit of others and for the honor of his Redeemer.

July 30. The trial of John Clark,* Obadiah Holmes and John Crandal, at the Quarterly Court of Assistants in Boston, excites much attention. They were committed the 22d to the prison here, charged with coming from Newport, R. I., to Lynn, for the purpose of promoting their opinions and practices of baptism.

About this time, Giles Firmin† returns to his native country. He came to this Colony, in 1630, with his father, of the same Christian name, who had been an apothecary at Sudbury, England; settled in Boston, Massachusetts, and died, deacon of the church there, September, 1634. He became pious when a school-boy, through a remark of Mr. Rogers of Dedham, who, seeing him and others pressing into the church on a week day, said: "Here are some young ones come for a Christ. Will nothing serve but you must have a Christ? Then you shall have him." This address deeply impressed his mind and was the means of his conversion. He spelt his name Gyles Fyrmin; had land granted him at Ipswich, 1638-9; was made freeman, 1639, and wrote to Governor Winthrop, December 29 of this year, that, while practicing physic, he was strongly inclined to study divinity. In 1642, he was a Ruling Elder, and dismissed, February, 1643-4, from the Boston Church to the Ipswich Church, where "he hath long inhabited." He married Susan, a daughter of the Rev. Nathaniel Ward. On his passage, he was shipwrecked on the coast of Spain. At the very time he was thus suffering, a little daughter, whom he left behind with his wife, lay crying out, occasionally, all night, My father! my father! and could not be stilled. This led the family to fear, that he was in great trouble, and they prayed earnestly for his relief and preservatbn. He was spared to reach the port of his destination. He continued in England some time, then came back, took his family with him, returned thither, and became minister of Shalford, when he was nigh 40 years old. Whatsoever his hands found to do in his holy calling, he did with all his might. While delivering a sermon to the Parliament and the Westminster Assembly, he said in reference to New England: "I have lived in a country

* Magnalia, vol. i. p. 536. † Calamy, vol. ii. p. 295. Brook, vol. ii. p. 422.

1651.]

seven years, and all that time I never heard one profane oath, and all that time never did see a man drunk in that land." No doubt that this was true as to the observation of Mr. Fyrmin, but there were profane and intemperate persons here, during the period he mentions, as may be seen on the General Court Records. Still his statement shows, that such vices were far less prevalent in our land at that time, than they have been in modern years. After his ejection, Mr. Fyrmin resided at Ridgewell, about eight miles distant, where he spent the rest of his days. He continued to preach frequently and practice physic. His prescriptions for the poor were free, and for all others reasonable. Of his many publications, the Real Christian held a prominent rank. He closed his laborious and useful life, April, 1697, above 80 years old. "He was a man of excellent abilities and a general scholar; eminent for acquaintance with the oriental languages, and well read in the fathers, schoolmen and church history. He went about doing good, and therein was his chief delight."

The activity of the Baptists to disseminate their belief, that none but adults ought to hold any membership in the Church, rendered the supporters of the opposite opinion more desirous to strengthen their own position. Richard Mather addresses* a friend as follows: "My thoughts have been this long time, that our churches in general do fall short in their practice of that, which the Rule requires in this particular, which I think ought to be thus, viz., that the children of church members, submitting themselves to the discipline of Christ in the church, by an act of their own, when they are grown up to men's and women's estate, ought to be watched over as other members, and to have their infants baptized, but themselves not to be received to the Lord's Table, nor to voting in the church, till by the manifestation of faith and repentance, they shall approve themselves to be fit for the same. But we have not yet thus practiced, but are now considering of the matter, and of sending to other churches for advice. Help us, I pray you, with your prayers, that we may have grace to discern, and do the Lord's mind and will herein."

August 4. Eliot writes to some brother† in the ministry: "Mr. Williams sent me this booke to read (sent him from England). The author is (I judge) a holy, able, and pure seeker. It is well worth the labour to answer and needfull." The part about "the seekers" does not meet his approbation. Not able from his engagements to carry on the work, he therefore sends it by other hands. As to reviewing the contents, he observes: "If the Lord should put it into your heart to vndertake it, I doe hope your labour would be both very acceptable and much blessed."

* First Principles of New England, p. 11.

† Endorsed on the back to Hooker, but he was dead before 1651. Hutchinson MSS. in Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.

The friend, so addressed, complies with the invitation. In his preface to a short discussion of several points, which he forwarded to Eliot, he says: "It is not long since you sent me a Booke entitled, A Sober Word to a Serious People. The intent of y^e Booke is to take off the people of God from attending to Church communion and to the ministry." He hopes, that if Williams lent him the treatise to draw him from his mission among the Indians, "for want of Apostolic office," the Lord will enable him to be strong in so holy and honorable an enterprise. He remarks: "Now the office of all Pastors and Teachers is questioned, yea, and the standing of all Christian churches, and y^e present administration of all the public Gospell ordinances of the Lord Jesus."

6. The Indians, under the ministry of Eliot, having settled at Natick, fix on a form of civil government,* as he advised them. This was in accordance with the counsel of Jethro to Moses, for the Israelites in the wilderness. The Indians choose one ruler of a hundred, two of fifties, and ten of tens. Then they enter into a covenant. The beginning of it is as follows: "We are the sons of Adam. We and our forefathers have a long time been lost in our sins; but now the mercy of the Lord beginneth to find us out again. Therefore, the grace of Christ helping us, we do give ourselves and our children to God, to be his people. He shall rule over us in all our affairs, not only in our religion and affairs of the Church, but also in all works in affairs of this world."

September 10. A letter from the Commissioners† to Mr. Steel, is dated. Extracts, literal and substantial, are given: "Wee are sorry that any objections or impediments should lye in your way, and would gladly answere and remoue them, but those ancient gifts and summs of money raised for New England were most (as wee conceaue) expended in foundation work, not only before the Collonies did combine, but before two of them had any being." Were the persons intrusted with these funds all alive and present, they might render a satisfactory account of their being expended. Supplies for the Indian plantation at Natick had been received. "As wee shall see more of the counsell of God in carrying on this great work, wee shall impart our apprehensions concerning minesters, school-masters for the Indian education of the children. Mr. Eliot and Mr. Mayhew continew theire pious labours in sowing sperituall seed amongst them, and Mr. Leweridge, Mr. Blinman, Mr. Person, etc., are studying the language, that they may the better treat with them concerning the things of theire peace."

In their communication to Winslow in London, is the passage: "It is apprehended by som, that according to the entent of the act of Parliament, an eye may bee had in the destributions (for the

* Gookin's Coll. in Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. 1 s. vol. i. p. 130, 1.

† Com'rs MS. Hazard Coll. vol. ii. p. 174, 5.

1651.]

Indian mission) to the enlargement of the Colledge of Cambridge whereof there is great need and furtherance of learning not soe immediately respecting the Indian designe, though wee fully concur not, yet desire to know what the apprehensions of the honored Corporacon are herein. If the one might receave som encouragement without prejudice to the other, wee hope the kingdome of our Lord Jesus, the generally professed end of all interested in the worke, may be advanced thereby." They state that Edward Rawson, of Boston, has been chosen by them, Treasurer of the Missionary funds received from England.

12. In reply to a communication for them from Eliot, the Commissioners mention* various subjects of the Indian mission. They speak of his continued hope "that the Indians doe really embrace the Gospell." They advise that caution be exercised lest any of them abuse his confidence, for the sake of improving their temporal condition only. They suspect, that some who had been under his instruction, were drawn off from their profession, when visiting other Indians. They probably had cause for their suspicion. It would have been remarkable, in view of human nature as it is, that such men, lately turned from long confirmed habits of heathenism, should all have stood unimpeachably to their covenant. In addition to Blinman, Leveridge and Pierson, who were learning the Indian tongue and thus fitting themselves to instruct the natives, they mention John Higginson as having learned the same formerly, and recommend him and them for the missionary work. They speak of having Indians instructed, so that they may be able to teach others.

The Commissioners congratulate† Mayhew for the success of his Gospel labors among the Vineyard Indians. In view of it, they desire to "waite vpon the great Lord of the harvest, that he would send forth more labourers into his vinyard and soe bedew theire labours with the former and latter showers of his Spiret, that this barran wildernes become a fruitfull field." They inform him, that the Corporation in London have bought him £30 worth of books.

In reply to the request‡ of Dunster, President of the College, for help, they agree that they "will propound to and improve their several interests in the Colonies, that by pecks, half bushels and bushels of wheat, according as men are free and able, the College may have some considerable yearly help towards their occasions, and herein if the Massachusetts please to give a leading example, the rest may probably be the more readily follow."

The ensuing passage is from an address§ to Parliament by Whit-

* Com'rs MS. Rec. Hazard, vol. ii. p. 185, 6.

† Com'rs MS. Rec. Hazard, vol. ii. p. 186, 7.

‡ Com'rs MS. Rec. Hazard, vol. ii. p. 197.

§ Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. 3 s. vol. iv. p. 103, 4.

field, in his "Light More and More," etc. "Some are heard to question the affections of New England towards the Parliament and present State. To which I must answer, that the magistrates, ministers and generally the people of New England so farre as I know or have observed, or can learn, have been faithful and cordial to the Parliament from the first, and do own this present Government and Commonwealth, giving in this as a reall argument, in being your Honours' Remembrancers at the throne of grace, both praying to God for you in your straits, and praising God for the enlargement of his good hand upon you." He petitions Parliament to favor New England, but especially to encourage the evangelization of the Indians here, a work hopefully commenced.

October 2. Under this date, Cromwell replies * to the letter, which Cotton had sent him. "I received yours a few dayes sithence. It was welcome to me, because signed by you whome I love and honour in the Lord, but more to see some of the same grounds of our actings stirring in you, that does in us to quiet us to our work and support us therein, which hath greatest difficulty in our engagement in Scotland, by reason we have had to do with some, who were (I verily think) godly, but through weakness and the subtilty of Sathan, involved in interests against the Lord and his people. When all the power was devolved into the Scottish Kinge and the malignant partie, they invading England, the Lord has rayned upon them such snares as that of their whole armie, when the narritive was framed, not five had returned. I am readie to serve you and the rest of our brethren and the churches with you. Pray for me, salute all Christian friendes though unknown."

14. At their session, beginning now,† various subjects come before the Legislature. In view of the reply made by the Elders to objections against the Synod's result, they express themselves after this manner. "The Court having perused the said answer, do thankfully acknowledge their learned pains therein accounting themselves called of God, especially at this time when the Truth of Christ is so much opposed in the World to give their Testimony to the said Book of Discipline, that for the substance thereof is that we have practiced and do believe."

Though the Court had made several declarations against excess in apparel, both of men and women, yet they failed to receive proper compliance. Their language is: "We cannot but to our grief take notice, that intolerable excess and bravery have crept in upon us especially amongst people of mean condition to the dishonour of God, the scandal of our profession, the consumption of estates and altogether unsuitable to our poverty." They pass an order to meet the complaint.

* Brooks's Lives of the Puritans has this dated 1652.

† Hutchinson's Coll. p. 236, 7. Mather MSS.

1651.]

Matthews and the Malden Church appear on the 24th before the Court. These authorities require the Church to deal with him for errors of doctrine, or, if they decline, the Churches of Cambridge, Charlestown, Lynn and Reading are, in way of advice, to perform such duty by their messengers. Other Churches are not excluded from being represented in the Council.

The Church so arraigned present, on the 26th, a respectful remonstrance. They say: "We know of no law of Christ, or of the country, that binds any church of Christ not to ordain their own officers without advice of magistrates and churches." The Act of 1641 empowered the civil authority to forbid any church to be gathered, without such consultation, and also, "to see the peace, ordinances and rules of Christ be observed in every church."

On this basis the subsequent opinion is offered. "The Magistrates do conceive that although the Civil and Church powers may proceed concerning offenders in their several ways without interfering one with another, yet in this case upon some considerations they judge it doth stand with wisdom to have the churches act before themselves." They therefore propose, that the Malden church deal with Matthews, for "his errors and unsafe expressions," and that if he satisfy them "under his hand" and the Council have such result "within six weeks, the matter at present may so rest, else, the Secretary shall give notice to the churches of Cambridge, Charlestown, Lynn and Reading to send their messengers in way of Council and advice unto the church of Malden, and with them to debate the doctrines there delivered by Mr. Matthews and now in question." The Deputies, not consenting to this measure, in some of its features, ask for a conference. This appears to have been conceded, and, as the Records show, the above course, laid out by the Magistrates, was adopted, with the addition, that other churches, if needed, might be represented on the occasion, with the four particularized.

Matthews laid before the Court, on the 28th, a written submission to their pleasure. Among his concessions is this: "I doe acknowledge y^t in severall of those expressions, refered to the examinacon of the honoured Committee, I might, (had the Lord seen it so good) have expressed and delivered myselfe in terms more free from excepcion. And it is my desyre (the Lord strengthening) as much as in me lyeth, to avoyd all appearances of euill therein for tyme to come, as in all other respects whatsoeuer." He closes thus: "I humbly desyre your hearty prayers for me, and in spetiall that I may take heed to the ministrie committed to me, y^t I may fulfill it to the prayse of God and profit of his people."

Accompanying this paper is a petition, subscribed by 36 females of his parish, who desire the Court, that he may be excused for some imperfections and continue his labors among their Congregation. The apology, on his part, did not fully satisfy them. As

the Church justified their course, the Legislature fine them £50 for ordaining Matthews, without requisite permission, but not so as to include the members, who had given satisfaction. The fine of £10, laid on him, is respited.*

That Pynchon "if possible may be reduced into the way of Truth and that he might renounce the errors and heresies, published in his book," decision, upon his case, is suspended till the Court in May. He is instructed to appear there and answer, or forfeit £100.

The reply of Norton to his work is ordered to be forwarded and printed in England. This step is taken to prevent the religious public there from entertaining the suspicion, that the particular views of Redemption and Justification, advanced by Pynchon, have any countenance from the New England Churches. As an emolument of their proceedings against Pynchon, the Court commission Henry Smith of the Deputies, his son-in-law, to govern in the affairs of Springfield. So appointed, Smith desired and obtained leave to go home immediately. This he is likely to have done, that he might discharge the duties of his new office, if accepted, or perhaps, because he concluded that his father was not treated with due leniency.

A communication from Winslow, in London, is read to the Legislature. It informs them, that the Council of State, appointed by Parliament, had power to place Governors and Commissioners in the Colonies here, as they should deem most advisable, and that they would like for Massachusetts to take out a new Patent. He also mentions that they expect an answer from this Colony on so important a subject. Such tidings are far from being welcome to the ears and hearts of our fathers. They had hopefully watched the progress of freedom, in the mother Country, though with unequal and hazardous pace, as a means of deliverance from the long continued efforts of the royalists to nullify their charter. But to have the matter of relinquishing this valued pledge of their civil and religious privileges, brought up in a quarter where they expected it would have strong support, must have filled them with emotions of bitter disappointment. Their language in a petition to Parliament, at this time, follows: "These things make us doubt and fear what is intended toward us. About three or four and twenty years since, seeing just cause to feare the persecution of the then bishops and high commission, for not conforming to the ceremonies then pressed upon the consciences of those under their power, we thought it our safest course to get to this outside of the world, out of their view and beyond their reach. We hoped that our posterity should reap the fruit of our labours and enjoy the liberties and privileges we had obtained for them, and for which we have payd soe dear and run soe great hazards. For our carriage and demeanour

* Mass. MS. Gen. Court Papers.

† Mass. MS. Gen. Court Rec.

1651.]

to the honourable Parliament, for these ten years, since the first beginning of your differences with the late King, and the warre that ensued, we have constantly adheared to you, not withdrawing ourselves in your weakest condition and doubtfullest times, but by our fasting and prayers for your good successe, and our thanksgiving after the same was attained, in days of solemnity set apart for that purpose, as alsoe by our sending over useful men (others alsoe going voluntarily from us to help you) who have been of good use and done acceptable services to the army, declaring to the world heerby, that such was the duty and the love we beare unto the Parliament, that we were ready to rise and fall with them; for which we have suffered the hatred and threats of other English colonies,* now in rebellion against you, as alsoe the losse of divers of our shippes and goods, taken by the King's party that is dead, by others commissioned by the King of Scotts, and by the Portugalls. All which if you shall pleas justly and favourably to consider, we cannot but hope, but that, as you have formerly conferred many favours upon us, soe it shall goe noe worse with us, than it did under the late King, and that the frame of our government shall not be changed; wherein if our hopes should deceave us (which God forbid) we shall have cause to say, we have fallen into hard times and sit downe and sigh out our too late repentance for our coming hither."

They proceed to specify instances of the Parliament's kindness towards them, and especially in promoting the mission among the Indians of this quarter.

The Court address a letter to Cromwell. They speak of a proposal from him for some of the colonists here to return and settle in Ireland. They express their fullest belief, that he intends it for the highest benefit of all concerned, but still they apprehend that he has been misinformed, and that such an enterprise would injure the Colony. They then offer several reasons why no such removal is necessary. One is, that there is no defect as to the enjoyment of Gospel liberties in their purity. Another, "God is pleased hitherunto to maintayne unto us all his ordinances, both in Church and Commonwealth, whereby, spreading errors in judgement are suppressed, and prophanenes and wickednes in practice punished according to the rule and the best light, God is pleased to vouchsafe unto us." Further, "God hath made this colonie to be instrumental in the conversion of some of the natives amongst us, and many more are hopefull to submitt to the Gosple and believe in Christ Jesus. And that worke is brought to this perfection alreadie, that some of the Indians themselves can pray and prophesie, in a comfortable manner, to the rest, with great gravetie, reverence and zeale, and can write and read English and Indian com-

* Virginia, Bermudas, Barbadoes and Antego.

fortably. And many scores of them assemble together upon their lecture days, and are well affected to the Gosples." After presenting six arguments, the Legislature state, that the "report of so many invited and intending to transplant themselves in Ireland," had produced a general discouragement and created a prejudice against the Commonwealth. They inform him of their address to Parliament, and desire that he would use his influence for the obtainment of its requests, so that, as they observe, "we may not be hindered in our comfortable proceedings in the worke of God heere in this wilderness." *

From these two papers, it is plain, that our Bay authorities did not mean to relinquish their Charter until they had tried all proper means in their power to the contrary. While they laid before the Long Parliament forcible reasons for the retention of this document, they imitated the wise policy of their predecessors in 1634, when receiving a mandate of the Council for New England, that it be immediately delivered into their hands. Thus imitating a prudent example, they availed themselves of the favor, which they had specially found with Cromwell, by desiring him to exert his power so that such a calamity might be averted from their experience. It appears that their application to him had its intended effect, as the Parliament ceased to press their singular injunction any further.

October 16. Thomas Mayhew † of the Vineyard, dates a communication to Rev. Henry Whitfield. He relates, that several Powows, whose influence was great among their people, had renounced their practices and joined with the worshipers of God. He states, that 199 men, women and children, had thus thrown off their idolatry; "that there are two meetings kept every Lord's day, the one three miles, the other about eight miles off my house. Hiacomnes teacheth twice a day at the nearest, and Mumanequem accordingly at the fartherest. The last day of the week they come unto me to be informed touching the subject they are to handle. I have also undertaken to keep two lectures, which will be each once a fortnight." The friends of the mission here, who live in England, say that they have collected these testimonials, because some, who return from the Colonies, "labour to blast the worke, by reporting that there is no such work afoote in the country; or if it be, it is but for the loaves, and if any be truly converted, 'tis not above five or seaven at most."

October 27. Governor Endicott writes ‡ to the President of the Corporation in England relative to his late attendance on a lecture to the Indians at Natick, being about 100 of both sexes. He remarks: "I rode on purpose thither being distant from my dwelling

* Mass. Gen. Ct. Rec.

† E. Mayhew's Indian Converts, p. 289.

‡ Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. 3 s. vol. iv. p. 189-91.

1651.]

about 38 or 40 miles, and truly I account it one of the best journeyes I have made these many years. There came to us upon the 20th of this instant moneth, at the Generall Court, one Pummakummim, Sachem of Qunnubbagge, dwelling amongst or neer to the Narragansets, who offered himselfe and his men to worship God and desired that some English may be sent from the Massachusetts Government to plant his River, that thereby he may be partaker of Government, and may be instructed by the English to know God. We shall, I hope, take some care and course about it, and I hope we shall have more help to carry on that work also, for there are some scholars amongst us, who addict themselves to the study of the Indian Tongue."

28. Wilson dates a letter to Mr. Steele. He accompanied Endicott to Natick. He says that he, as well as himself, addressed the Indian Congregation in their newly made fort. He expresses much satisfaction in the appearance and improvement of the natives at the settlement. He also gives an account of a recent visit from Homonequem, distinguished for his piety and intelligence, from the Vineyard, who preached a sermon to the Indians at Dorchester Mills, with good acceptance. He relates, that this convert attended worship with his congregation, and adds, "truly my reverence to him was such, as there being no room, I prayed our brethren to receive that good Indian into one of their pews, which they did forenoon and afternoon." Speaking of the influence which the Gospel exerted among the natives, Wilson closes: "The Lord vouchsafe to be the Omega among them as well as the Alpha of the blessed change."*

At the General Court,† John Crossman is sentenced to be severely whipped, branded on the forehead with a hot iron with the letter B, presently after lecture in Boston, the 30th, and be banished from the jurisdiction forever from November 20th, for uttering blasphemy against God.

30. The wife of Christopher Collins, now in prison, charged with witchcraft, is allowed to be bailed till the Court of Assistants in March next, and then appear to answer.

This year, George Gardiner‡ of England, speaking of the Churches, mentions some particulars, which show the continuation of what has been previously mentioned. "The Ruling Elder to order the Assemblies, visit from house to house, oversee the members, while the Pastor and Teacher give themselves to word and doctrine, and all of them together govern the Church. The Deacon to have care of the Treasury, to supply the poor even before they crave help of the Church. To the Deacon's office, we

* Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. 3 s. vol. iv. p. 176-9. Mayhew's Ind. Conv. p. 12-4.

† Mass. Gen. Ct. Rec.

‡ British Museum Coll.

add Deaconesses, where such may be had, according to which, they should be widows of the Church, faithful, approved and full of good works, who may give themselves to works of mercy cheerfully, and to be serviceable to those that are sick, when the Deacons so conveniently cannot, and sometimes so modestly may not, send their help as that sex may."

Johnson's Wonder-working Providence* speaks of Newbury. "It consists of about seventy families. The soules in church fellowship are about an hundred. The teaching Elders of this Congregation have carried it very lovingly toward their people, permitting of them to assist in admitting of persons into Church-society, and in Church-censures, so long as they act regularly, but in case of their male-administration, they assume the power wholly to themselves." Though this use of Independent and Presbyterian government in the same church, had not produced "hot contentions," yet it afterwards did to a degree subversive of peace and preventive of spiritual prosperity.

Propositions are made † concerning Ecclesiastical Peace between the Reformed and Lutheran Churches. An extract follows: "That there may bee freedome betwixt us and Lutherans to communicate together in thinges tending to the good of all Evangelicall Churches and y^t all other purposes may bee set a worke, which shall bee found fit to advance the overthrow of Antichristianitie and to undermine the powerfull policie as upheld the kingdome of Satan. To which effect these following heads have been shortly thus conceived and contrived by some to bee in due tyme proposed unto others, that every true-hearted Israelite here, who wisheth well to Jerusalem both here and elsewhere, may know assuredly y^t there bee many beiond seas, men of note and authoritie, men of conscience, zeale, judgment and learning, that are desirous to ioyne hands and hearts with them in this worke, that it may bee brought to passe and fullie perfected to God his glory. Which wee beseech the Lord in mercy to us and his distressed churches beiond seas to prosper, confirme and perfectly to effectuate."

Succeeding this in such a direction, are the "Meanes to pacifie the churches."

A work, welcomed by the Christian public of London and issued from the press there, is the Fountain of Life, in Sixteen Sermons; written by John Cotton.

A controversial volume against opinions of this and another of our noted divines, is published in the same metropolis. Its title follows: The Inconsistency of the Independent Way with the Scripture and itself, manifested in a threefold Discourse. I. Vindiciæ Vindicarum with Mr. Cotton. II. A Review of Mr. Hooker's Survey of Church Discipline, the first part. III. A Diatribe with

* P. 68, 9.

† Hutchinson, MS. Coll. vol. ii. p. 163.

1651.]

the same Mr. Hooker concerning baptism of infants of non-confederate parents, cap. 2 of his third part, by Daniel Cawdrey, a member of the Assembly and late preacher at Martins-in-the-Fields.

Among the influences exerted by our Colonists, are those of persons who, by this time, as others did afterwards, had gone to England and contributed to the revolution there, in civil and religious concerns. With his eye on this fact, Johnson* expresses himself accordingly. Having reverted to Peters and Weld, as prominent actors for such a change, he adds, that it was also promoted "by divers other godly ministers, who have since gone from hence, both young students and others, to the number of twenty or thereabout, besides some who were eminent in the civil government here, both gracious and godly servants of Christ, and some who have been magistrates here, to the number of five or six. The Lord grant they may all endeavor the advancement of his truths, both in churches and civil government. But before the author ceases to speak of England, he is bold to say, that the Lord Christ will overturn, overturn, overturn, till he hath caused such a government to be set up, as shall become nursing fathers to his new planted churches."

About this year, Thomas Allen leaves Charlestown for the land of his birth and education. Mather† informs us that, while here, he "approved himself a pious and painful minister of the Gospel;" and that his surname "being but our pronunciation of the Saxon word, Alwine," or "beloved of all," was expressive of his reputation "among the generality of the well disposed." During his abode here, he published "An invitation unto thirsty sinners to come unto Christ," and composed "a most learned and useful" work, called "A Chain of Scripture Chronology," printed in London, 1659. Referring to this book, a noted divine, William Greenhill, observed: "Many of our reverend, learned and godly brethren, driven into America, by looking unto God and searching the Scriptures, received and found much light, concerning the church and the times, and have made us and ages to come, beholden to them by communicating the same." Mr. Allen also published, "The Way of the Spirit in bringing Souls to Christ," and several sermons on "The glory of Christ set forth, with the necessity of faith." Calamy‡ relates, that he returned to Norwich and continued his ministry there till ejected in 1662. Subsequently, he "preached upon all occasions that offered, in a Congregational Church there," until his decease in September, 1673, aged 65. "He was a religious, able, practical preacher." There is cause to believe that the Saviour, whom he specially honored be-

* Wonder Working Providence, p. 224.

† Magnalia, b. 3, p. 215.

‡ Calamy, vol. ii. p. 476.

fore men, took care that his faithfulness should not go unrewarded before saints and angels.

1652. January 8. The minister just spoken of gives* his strong testimony in favor of the progress made by missions among the Indians in New England. He did this to counteract the reports spread in the mother country, to discourage contributions towards such a work. He remarks: "Such as dare affirme the contrary, may as well say, that the sunne doth not shine at noone day, when the skie is cleere, and doe indeed deserve a publique wnesse to be borne against them for so notorious an untruth."

With reference to this mission,† eighteen ministers of England, in their address, have the subsequent passage: "When other nations, who have planted in those farthest parts of the Earth, have only sought their owne advantage, that the Lord should be pleased to make use of our brethren that went forth from us to make manifest the savour of Christ among the people, and to winne their soules to him; How should wee rejoice that the Lord hath so farre prospered such an undertaking."

March 4. Having been informed that the Church of Malden‡ intended to excommunicate Thomas Lynde for having deposed, before the General Court, that Mr. Matthews had preached erroneous doctrine there, the Council of the Colony write to them. They say, that "without any intention or desire in the least to infringe the liberty the Lord Jesus Christ hath purchased for the Churches," they would advise them to take the opinion of three or four of their neighboring churches before they proceed any further in the case.

April 15. Sir Henry Vane writes§ and desires, that the magistrates would deal gently with Pynchon, "in a brotherly way, and encourage him in the improvement of his excellent abilities, for further service of the Churches."

25. Cotton, Wilson, and two brethren of their Church are chosen,|| "at the request of y^e Church of Malden, to be assistant to them in y^e agitation of such matters as y^e cause would require by reason y^t foure other churches were sent by y^e Governor and Counsell, to deale with y^t Church vppon some offence conceived they had given."

About this date, Sir Richard Saltonstall,¶ on the publication of "Ill News from New England," writes to these two clergymen. In reference to the severity exercised by the Massachusetts Authorities towards Clark, Crandal and Holmes, he expresses himself strongly. His words are: "It doth not a little grieve my spirit

* Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. 3 s. vol. iv. p. 194.

† Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. 3 s. vol. iv. p. 158. Sewall's New Haven, p. 46.

‡ Mass. Gen. Court MS. Papers.

§ See Answer of Oct. 20, 1652.

|| First Boston Ch. MS. Rec.

¶ Sketch of Haverhill, Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. 2 s. vol. iv. p. 171.

1652.]

to heare what sadd things are reported dayly of your tyranny and persecutions in New England, as that you fyne, whip, and imprison men for their consciences. First, you compell such to come into your assemblyes as you know will not joyne with you in worship, and when they shew their dislike thereof, and witnes against it, then you styrrre up your magistrates to punish them for such (as you conceyve) their publicke affronts."

He proceeds to say, that action of this kind led some to deny their faith, and become hypocrites. He adds: "These rigid wayes have layed you very lowe in the hearts of the saynts. I doe assure you I have heard them pray in the publique assemblies that the Lord would give you meeke and humble spirits, not to stryve soe much for uniformity as to keepe the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace. When I was in Holland, about the beginning of our warres, I remember some Christians there, that then had serious thoughts of planting in New England, desired me to write to the Governor thereof, to know if those that differ from you in opinion, yet houlding the same foundation in religion, as Anabaptists, Seekers, Antinomians, and the like, might be permitted to live among you, to which I received this short answer from your then Governor, Mr. Dudley. God forbid (said he) our love for the truth should be growne so could that we should tolerate errours. I hope you doe not assume to yourselves infallibilitie of judgment." The reply to this by Cotton, gives a different view of the subject.

May 26. At a session of the Legislature, now begun,* the ensuing proceedings took place: "The holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament being written by the prophets, apostles, and holy men of God, inspired by the Holy Ghost, containing in them the infallible and whole will of God, which he purposed to make known to mankind, both for his own worship and service, and, also, for the instruction, obedience, faith, and salvation of man, which yet by heretics in former ages, and now of late by others, have been oppugned and denied so to be, which, if connived at, would manifestly tend to the overthrow of all true religion and salvation," it is therefore ordered, that "what person or persons soever professing the Christian Religion above the age of sixteen years, that shall within this jurisdiction wittingly and willingly deny, either by word or writing, any of the books of the Old or New Testament," shall be fined not above £50, or be severely whipped not over forty stripes, unless he or they recant, and then pay not above £10, or be whipt. Any person, for a second offence of this kind, "shall be banished or put to death." In this act, the books of Scripture, forbidden to be denied, are the same in name and numbers as those in our common version of the Bible.

* Mass. Gen. Court Rec.

As strangers "receiving protection from this Government have, as we are informed, uttered offensive speeches whereby their fidelity may be justly suspected, and also divers strangers of foreign parts of whose fidelity we have not that assurance which is commonly required by all Governments," it is ordered, that they have an oath of fidelity administered to them. Such an engagement requires that they pledge themselves "not to plot, contrive, or conceal any thing that is to the detriment or hurt" of this Commonwealth.

The Messengers of Churches in Charlestown, Cambridge, Lynn and Reading, report their dealing with Matthews and his Church. Part of the report follows.

Signifying unto him "what offence we took at some unworthy expressions of his in misapplying Rev. 15. 2. to impeach the civil magistrates' power in matters of Religion. We hope by what he expresseth, that in the general he doth indeed see cause more than formerly to bewail the use of any such unsound expressions in time past, and to forbear the use of them for time to come, and we in charity judge that he will make conscience of his solemn promise now made for that end; yet could also wish that Mr. Matthews did not too much labor to put too fair a gloss upon his former expressions, which in themselves are very unsavory and ungrounded upon Scripture pattern." The account given, is not entirely approved by the Court, though they "accept of it so as to pass it by."

The Confederate Commissioners had proposed sending to England for assistance to Harvard College, as a principal dependence for ministers to support their congregations. The President and Fellows of the Institution petition the Legislature to carry out such a proposal. But the latter Body conclude to delay action in this respect, until they hear from the Missionary Corporation. They also advise the petitioners to address the Elders of our churches for a voluntary contribution in their respective towns.*

June 4. Mrs. Holgrave, of Gloucester, † is presented for saying "y^t if it were not for the Law she would never come to the meeting, the Teacher was soe dead and accordinglye she did seldome come and with all perswaded Gudwife Vincent to come to her house on the Sabbath daye and reade good bookes, affirming that the Teacher was fitter to bee a Ladye's chamberman than to be in y^e pulpit."

This year, "Strength out of Weakness, or a glorious manifestation of the further progress of the Gospel among the Indians in New England," is printed in London.

Cotton answers the communication of Sir Richard Saltonstall, respecting the sentences against Clark, Crandal and Holmes. "My

* Dunster's MSS. among Belknap Papers.

† Essex MS. Court Rec.

1652.]

brother Wilson and selfe doe both acknowledge your love in the late lines wee received from you, that you grieve in spirit to heare daily complaints against us. Wee are amongst those whom (if you knew us better) you would account of peaceable in Israel. Yet neither are wee so vast in our indulgence or toleration, as to thinke the men you speake of, suffered an unjust censure. For one of them (Obadiah Holmes) being an excommunicate person himselve, out of a church in Plymouth patent, came into this jurisdiction, and took upon him to baptize, which I thinke himselve will not say he was compelled here to performe. And he was not ignorant that the rebaptizing of an elder person, and that by a private person out of office and under excommunication, are all of them manifest contestations against the order and government of our churches, established (we know) by God's law, and (he knoweth) by the lawes of the country. As for his whipping, it was more voluntarily chosen by him than inflicted on him." He then states, that persons were ready to pay Holmes's fine, so that he might be cleared from the lash, but he would not consent, as Clark did. He remarks, that men are required to attend public worship, not that they might sin but do their duty.

He proceeds: "We believe there is a vast difference between men's inventions and God's institutions. Wee fled from men's inventions, to which wee else should have been compelled. Wee compell none to men's inventions. If our wayes (rigid wayes as you call them) have layd us low in the hearts of God's people, yea, and of the saints (as you stile them), wee doe not believe it is any part of their saintship. Neverthelesse, I tell you the truth, wee have tolerated in our church some anabaptists, some antinomians and some seekers, and do so still at this daye—though seekers of all others have least reason to desire toleration in church fellowship. For they that deny all churches and church ordinances since the apostasy of Antichrist, cannot continue in church fellowship but against their owne judgment and conscience; therefore 4 or 5 of them who openly renounced the church fellowship, which they had long enjoyed, the church said amen to their act, and (after serious debate with them till they had nothing to answer) they were removed from their fellowship. Others carry their dissent more privately and inoffensively and soe are borne withall in much meeknesse. We are far from arrogating infallibility of judgment to ourselves or affecting uniformity. Uniformity God never required, infallibility, he never granted us."

"Separation Examined," is issued in London by Gyles Fyrmán, who left Ipswich for his native land, and is now minister to the church in Shalford, Essex County. His remarks bear, in some degree, on this country, whose usages and events he had attentively observed. "The quarrell is not only with you, because you are Presbyteriall ministers, the quarrell is with the whole ministry, for

this spirit hath infected even some in New England, and I believe will cause more troubles there in those churches, than even the Bishops did, though they threatened them much." He thinks more of the ecclesiastical Independency of the Colonies than of that he sees in the kingdom. "Godly Presbyterians in England are esteemed the causes of all these troubles, yea, I observe by letters, which myselfe and others have received from the Divines of New England, that some have informed them as if you were the causes of the second warres when Duke Hamilton and Lord Goring, etc. arose. Also that you are so adverse to the Congregationall churches here, that you had rather joyne with the common enemy, etc. But you have, I thinke, sufficiently cleared yourselves from these aspersions in your Vindication." He considers an objection. "But if you say, our N. E. ministers doe renounce their ordination which they had here, for they are ordained againe." He gives an answer. "Its true they are ordained againe, but I never heard it was upon that ground; for let a minister be ordained there in one Church, if there be cause of his removall and so be elected in another Church, they ordaine him againe. Our N. E. ministers have often desired and frequently admitted to preach in their Congregations those that went from hence to them, but were not ordained there. All the ordinations that I ever saw in N. E., were performed with imposition of hands. I have even seen Deacons ordained thus. A member of Rowley Church in N. E. denied singing psalms to be an ordinance of God. The Pastors of Ipswich as well as his own Pastor laboured with him. The Elders seeing obstinacy was joyned to his errour, concluded that either they must cast that ordinance out of the Church, or else cast him out, and so the Church of Rowley did cast him out."

With regard to John Norton, he says: "I wish we had a few of these Mr. Nortons in England. Though he stands much for the people's liberty, yet he so ordereth their liberty, that our ministers would be glad, if they had their Churches governed as is the Church whereof himselfe together with Mr. Na: Rogers are officers."

He considers a misrepresentation, relative to a censure of Mrs. Hutchinson's sons. When the question was put whether she should be cut off, "her sonne and sonne in law stood up to put some stop in the way. Mr. Cotton rose up and gave them a grave admonition, that though their naturall affection might now worke, for which hee did not blame them, yet he would not have them prefere their mother before Christ, nor hinder their mother from that ordinance, which might bee a meanes to save her soule. With these words they both sate downe. They never had any other censure (if this be a censure) and the Church proceeded in her excommunication."

1652.]

September. William Pyncheon* leaves his residence at Springfield, with Henry Smith, who married his daughter Anna, and his pastor, George Moxon, for England. He left a son John, who became much distinguished; and daughters, Mary, wife of Elizur Holyoke, and Margaret, wife of William Davis, of Boston. It is very likely, that the dealing which the Legislature felt themselves bound to exercise towards Mr. Pyncheon for the opinions of his book, was a main cause of his departure. His trials in this respect, and as a Commissioner to govern the place of his abode, while the contest existed on the question under what jurisdiction it should be governed, and in the matter of assessing imposts on its commerce, between Connecticut and the Bay, were more than usual. He was prominent among the Assistants of Massachusetts, and worthily sustained many important trusts. After reaching his native land, he settled, as his biographer states, at Wraisbury, or Wrasbury, contracted† for Wyrardisbury, Buckinghamshire. In the year of his return, he had issued from the London press, *The Jews' Synagogue*, concerning their manner of worship. He published a work on the Sabbath, 1655. He answered the Reply of John Norton to his volume on Redemption, twice, the last year just named, and in 1662. These productions discover uncommon talent, research, and learning. He closed his earthly career, October, 1662, aged 72. By his private and public virtues, he acquired a high reputation.

George Moxon settles at Astbury, Cheshire. He had a colleague, John Machin, and while the latter supplied the pulpit, he preached at Rushton. Both being displaced in 1660, Mr. Moxon still labors at the last place till August, 1662. After two or three removes, he resided at Congleton in 1667, and continued his pastoral connection with them till 1672, dispensing the Gospel to them privately, at his own house and elsewhere. At this date, he obtained license to perform such service publicly, and so did as long as licenses were granted, and afterwards, until worn down with age and palsy. He died Sept. 15, 1687, at the age of 85. He was an excellent classical scholar, of "blameless conversation," and faithful in the duties of his profession.‡

September 7. Nathaniel Briscoe, in London, pens§ the ensuing thoughts to his son-in-law, Thomas Broughton, in Boston: "Many do fear there will be a turn of things. All people are mightily discontented, and well they may be. The Presbyterians are continually plotting of mischief one way, and the Independents another. Mr. (John) Clark, in conference or dispute, is too hard for them all. He and I am to go down into the country very shortly to dispute the points of free-will, universal redemption, spiritual baptism,

* Pyncheon MS. Papers.

† Clarke's British Gazetteer.

‡ Calamy, vol. ii. p. 128, 9. Watts's Bib. Brit.

§ Hutchinson MS. Papers.

seeking, and some other points." As other parts of the letter reflected severely on Parliament, a copy of the whole was dated March 11, 1653, and forwarded to their Speaker. Briscoe sustained the same name as one of Watertown, who, in 1643, was fined for opposition to taxes for the support of ministers.

Sept. 20. Norton having completed his *Orthodox Evangelist*, Cotton gives an address, issued with it, to the reader. This contains the passage: "Amongst other disputes which have exercised the schoolmen of old, and still do busie the Dominicans and Jesuits, concerning the concourse of Grace and Free Will therein, the Lord hath led this our brother (Norton) with a strong hand to search out and declare the abstruse mysteries thereof, with such holy dexterity, as that if the dissenting parties were as willing to hearken to the Oracles of God, speaking in the Scriptures, and opened in this Book, as the Romanists have often applied to the Pope, and all in vain, for the compounding of this controversie, the Doctrines of Grace would be much more clearly delivered and generally accepted, with more peace and truth, not only amongst them, but amongst Protestants also." It remarks, that Norton had opened "the principal heads of Divinity with more than rational evidence, even with Scripture light, and all with such distinct solidity, as may both clear the understanding, satisfie the judgment, yea, and by grace establish the faith of the diligent reader." The production, thus highly and deservedly recommended, was printed in London, 1654. It treats of the Divine Essence, Trinity, Christ, Decrees, Efficiency of God, Preparatory means of Faith, First object of Saving Faith, Saving Faith is the effect of free special grace, according to Election and Redemption, the first saving gift applied to an Elect soul, the Soul is passive in vocations, Union of the believer with Christ, Justification by faith, Future state of the Blessed.

October 4. Thomas Cobbet dates his dedication to Cromwell, which accompanies his treatise on "Civil Magistrates' power in matters of Religion." After using the expression, "the great controversial business of these polemick times," the author observes to him: "We receiving certain information of your dear respects to the Churches here, as also to our civil State, (which I trust New England doth not, nor ever will forget,) even your cordial appearing for us, who are so much subject to the reproach of tongues at so great a distance, together with your charitable and frequent expressions of the good opinion you have of us, I was induced thus to address you."

As examples of general belief, then prevalent here, on the subject discussed by Cobbet, the ensuing passages from his work are presented. An attempt "to despoil Civil powers of that which is their glory and crown, even as Civil powers, to serve the Lord Jesus, and to improve their authority, to establish his laws and government, only within their jurisdictions, and to root out what-

1652.]

soever opposeth and undermineth the same," should not be approved. "Corruptions in Religion, outwardly breaking forth and expressed, may, yea, and must be restrained and punished, by such as are called thereunto. Church officers with their churches, in a church way, and highest Civil Authority and Rulers, in their political way, may, yea, they must restrain, and seasonably and suitably punish all grosser corruptions in Religion, manifestly crosse to the Word, when they are outwardly and openly expressed, to the just offence of the Saints and hurt of others."

The author adduces reasons for his position, and replies to objections as one who had carefully examined his theme.

After finishing such a production, Clark's "Ill News from New England" is put into his hands. At the urgent request of a leading magistrate, he writes an answer. He notices several statements in relation to the trial of Clark, Crandal, and Holmes, in Boston. The Governor remarked: "Master Clark, we are not about to sentence you for your judgment; you might have kept that to yourself, if you had pleased, and we had not meddled with you, but for matter of fact." Cobbet complains that Clark, while leaving this declaration out of his book, asserts that he was persecuted for conscience' sake. Clark relates, that the Governor said, that the accused deserved death. Cobbet declares that it was not so. With regard to the public discussion of certain points, Clark says, that after having had leave for one from the magistrates, they affixed conditions, which were as snares laid for him, so that he could not accept them. Cobbet denies this, and asserts that Clark refused to comply with what the magistrates deemed proper, and therefore he could not be allowed such a dispute. Holmes avers, that Wilson struck and cursed him in Court. Cobbet, that Wilson "only laid his hand softly and gently upon Holmes's shoulder, as he passed by," and spake to him thus: "Thou goest away under the curse of the Lord, (for indeed he was an excommunicated person,) and was this smiting before the judgment-seat, or was this cursing him, saying, The curse of God, or of Jesus, go with thee?" Clark represented that Cotton, in a sermon, after the sentence on himself and associates, advanced the opinion, that the denial of infant baptism, as to its results, was a capital offence. Cobbet affirms, that Cotton advanced no such idea.

19. Several transactions* take place at the General Court, who now commence their session. As the graduates from Harvard went abroad to seek employment, because not sufficiently encouraged at home, and thus the Churches and Commonwealth were imperiled, measures are recommended to prevent such an evil. It is proposed that contributions be made throughout the United Colonies to aid in the support of the President, certain Fellows,

* Mass. MS. Gen. Court Rec. and Papers.

and poor scholars ; that a stock of at least £120 be raised for the sole use of three fellowships, and that each minister have not less than £50 or £60 salary.

A Fast is appointed to be kept, November 10th, to “ seek the face of God for the following causes. That his hand is gone out against us in taking away many persons, men, women, and children, by an unwonted disease. For his seeming to frown upon us by unusual storms and continued rains, breaking diverse vessels, and throwing down sundry houses and barns in diverse parts of the country, and what other harms we cannot yet understand. A want of supply of meet persons for publick service in Church and Commonwealth. In regard to too much worldly-mindedness, oppression, and hard-heartedness, feared to be among us, and many other sins. In regard to England—the wars being great between them and the Hollanders. The increase of errors and heresies. That God would be pleased to give us favour in the hearts of the Parliament, Council of State, the General and Army. That the Lord will vouchsafe to make a supply of such commodities as we stand in need of.”

Oct. 20. Endicott and his Council reply to a letter* of Henry Vane, concerning the publication of Pynchon. They speak of his doctrine as dangerous and pernicious. Their words are: “ We are much grieved, that such an erroneous pamphlet was penned by any New England man, especially a magistrate among us.” We do not know “ any of our ministers in all the four jurisdictions, that doth approve of the same, but do all judge it as heretical.” They observe, that to show the justice of their procedure against Pynchon, they had obtained John Norton to answer his work. They remark, that he “ might have kept his judgment to himself, as it seems he did above thirty years, most of which time he hath lived amongst us with honour, much respect and love.” But when he published and spread “ his erroneous books amongst us, to the endangering of the faith of such as might read them, (as the like effects have followed the reading of other erroneous books brought over into these parts,) we held it our duty, and believe we were called of God, to proceed against him accordingly. We used all lawful, Christian means, with as much tenderness, respect, and love as he could expect, which, we think, he himself will acknowledge. He was then thereby so far convinced, that he seemed to yield for substance the case in controversy, signed with his own hand. But in the interim (as it is reported) he received letters from England which encouraged him in his errors, to the great grief of us all. We leave the author, together with the fautors and maintainers of such opinions, to the great Judge of all the earth. Touching that which your honoured self doth advise us unto, viz., not to censure

* Hutchinson's MS. Papers.

1652.]

any persons for matters of a religious nature or concernment, we desire to follow any good advice or counsel from you or any of the people of God, according to the rule of God's Word. Yet we conceive, with submission still to better light, that we have not acted in Mr. Pynchon's case, either for substance or circumstance, as far as we can discern, otherwise than according unto rule, as we believe in conscience to God's command we were bound to do."

October 22. Mayhew writes to the Missionary Corporation for New England. He observes, that two hundred and eighty-three Indians around him had embraced Christianity, and that the last spring, they entered into a written covenant to serve God, and elected rulers to govern them. In imitation of the plan at Natick, he states that a township is about to be laid out, "where the Indians may carry on things in a civil and religious way the better;" that thirty of their children are at school, which began January 11th, and more are coming. He adds: "The barbarous Indians, both men and women, do often come on the Lecture dayes, and complaining of their ignorance, disliking their sinful liberty, and refusing the helps and hopes of their own power, (Powows!) seek subjection to Jehovah, to be taught, governed, and saved by him for Christ's sake. The Indians themselves do indeavor to propagate the knowledge of God."

27. The fine of Matthews, and £10 of the fine imposed on the Malden Church, are remitted on their petition. It is supposed that Matthews left his people soon after this time. He is represented as preaching at Lynn subsequently to his leaving Malden, and, about 1655, taking passage for England. He became minister at Swansey, his native place, in South Wales. By the act of uniformity, he was ejected and silenced, like many others of his brethren. Still he continued his ministry in a small chapel, on the outer part of the same town. He was remarkable in all his intercourse with others for making the Gospel the chief subject of conversation. He was maintained by his children, some of whom were "sober conformists," other relatives and friends. This led him sometimes to remark, in a pleasant manner, that he was comfortably supported by "the children of God, his own children, and the children of this world." He died about 1683, after a life of trying changes, at "a good old age. He was a very pious and zealous man, and continued useful to the last."

The New Church in Boston had invited Michael Powell, of Dedham, to become their pastor, and he had accepted their call. The Legislature advise both parties to desist from any further progress, because the Church "may be competently furnished with an able minister; reasons are these, that notwithstanding the

* E. Mayhew's *Indian Converts*, p. 289, 90. Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. 3 s. vol. iv. p. 201-11.

† Noncon. Mem. Calamy, vol. ii. p. 732.

judgment of the Church concerning Mr. Powell's abilities and fitness, yet the Court are not satisfied of the expediency of their proceeding in respect of this place of such public resort, and considering the humour of the times in England inclining to discourage learning, against which we have borne testimony in our petition to Parliament, which we should contradict if we should approve of such proceedings amongst ourselves."

December 13. In accordance with the recommendation of the Legislature,* a committee is chosen by Boston, "to receive the severall sums of money, which any in this Town will underwrite towards the maintaynance of the President and Fellows, and poor scholars of Harvard Colledge." This was done several succeeding years.

As Richard Mather relates, a large assembly of ministers,† magistrates and others, gather at Natick to witness the formation of an Indian church. As preparatory for this service, in which the English churches took great interest, they had kept a day of fasting and prayer. They were supplied with the names of the Indians who were to give a reason for their hope in Christ. The Council appointed for the work find, that, as Eliot has not assistants to interpret the accounts, given by the candidates, as he had endeavored to procure for the occasion, they are unable to get through in season, and, also, more knowledge should be obtained, relative to the fitness of the Indians, who were thought of for "an able Pastor and Elder," they, therefore, defer the gathering of the Church. But notwithstanding this delay, which some had construed for evil against the mission, Mather says: "There is so much of God's Work amongst them, as that I cannot but count it a great evil, yea, a great injury to God and his goodness for any to make light or nothing of it."

23. This was the last day of John Cotton.‡ It was one of sore grief to his family, flock, and friends. His final sickness came upon him after being wet in a passage over the ferry, and while preaching. When near his end, and his colleague was praying that God would lift upon him "the light of his countenance, and shed his love into his soul," he presently answered, "He hath done it, brother." The last words he was heard to utter were in the following blessing on a member of his church, who had greatly assisted him in his sickness: "The God that made you and bought you with a great price, redeem your body and soul unto himself." His departure was the removal of a strong pillar from the comeliest supports of the Church and Commonwealth. He was taken, and they were left to mourn, that they should see his face no more, beaming with the influence of eminent piety, talent, knowledge,

* Boston MS. Rec.

† Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. 3 s. vol. iv. p. 217.

‡ Clarke's Lives, p. 227. Magnalia. Whiting's Remarks on Cotton. Hutchinson's Coll. p. 242.

1651.]

beneficence, and usefulness. Thus distinguished, he pursued his earthly pilgrimage sixty-seven years. Leaving the rich works of his hand, as named by Allen's Biography and Bibliotheca Britannica, it was as it would be expected; faithfulness in his temporal stewardship brought him the stay and consolation of his divine Master in the hour of his dissolution. An elegy of Norton has this couplet:

"In Boston's orb, Winthrop and Cotton were;
These lights extinct, dark is our hemisphere."

NOTE.—The Records of Charlestown Church show that, from December 4 to March 14, thirty were added to its members.

PLYMOUTH.

1651. March 4. Emanuel White, of Yarmouth, is presented * for "vilifying" the ministry of John Miller; and the latter, on June 2, of next year, is cited to answer for remarks on the Government.

June 5. The lands of Seipican, afterwards Rochester, are granted to the people of Plymouth, to assist them in the support of their municipal, ecclesiastical and other expenses, and thus to prevent their purpose to forsake the place, selected by the first pilgrim settlers to be the capital of their Colony.

The General Court in reply to a letter from New Haven, desiring help to aid them in settling a religious plantation at Delaware "against such as do oppose them in that respect," say that they "will have no hand in any such controversy."

As they had, the last winter, a "messenger from the French at Canada to assist them against the Mohawks, or at least have liberty to go up through these parts for their more commodious encountering with the said Mohawks," they declare themselves unwilling to comply with either of these requests. They neither wished to favor the French for their popery, nor in removing the Mohawks, who were a defence to the English.

6. They pass the following:† "Whatever person, or persons, shall neglect the frequenting the public worship of God, that is according to God in the places where they live, or doe assemble themselves upon any pretence whatsoever, in any way contrary to God and the allowance of the Government tending to the subversion of Religion and Churches, or palpable prophanacon of God's holy ordinances being duly convicted; videlicet every one that is a master or dame of a family, or any other person at theire owne

* Plymouth Col. Rec.

† Plymouth Col. Laws.

disposing, to pay ten shillings for every such default. If any in any lazy, slothfull, or prophane way, doth neglect to come to the publick worship of God, he shall forfeit for every such default, ten shillings, or be publickly whipte."

8. As Massachusetts have engaged* to relinquish Shawomet, as "yielded to them by this Court, June 7, 1650, but on condition to engage themselves to protect the English and Indians there, that have submitted themselves to their jurisdiction, and to perform their engagements to them,—they, upon consideration hereof, finding themselves unfit to take such a burthen upon themselves as the performance of those engagements of theirs, and for some other weighty reasons, thought better to let it remain as it was, and passed their vote for that end.

September 5. Obadiah Holmes is whipped thirty stripes,† in Boston, and freed from imprisonment.

22. William Leveridge writes to John Wilson:‡ "It is not unknown to you and others what singular conflicts I have met withall in my travails amongst our owne countrymen, divers of them transported with their (though not singular) fancies, to the neglecting of all churches and ordinances by a new cunning, and I perswade my selfe one of the last but most pernicious plots of the Devill to undermine all Religion." Thus the doctrine of the Seekers, who considered the ordinances of Christianity as corrupted by the introduction of Antichrist, and, therefore, not to be sustained until they should be revived by new apostles, had spread, in some degree, among the people of this Colony. Leveridge observes, that on account of such a trial and others, he should have moved away with members of his church to a more favorable location, had it not been for the persuasion of his friends. He then speaks of a small society of Indians, who lived seven miles off and had erected a wigwam near Sandwich, where he preached to them in their own tongue. He relates, that the signs among them for conversion to the Gospel, are quite favorable.

October 7. Ralph Allen, Sen.,§ and wife, George Allen and wife, William Allen, Richard Kerbey, Peter Gaunt and wife, Rose Newland, Edmund Freeman, Sen., and wife, Goodwife Turner, and Widow Knott, all of Sandwich, are presented for neglect of public worship. Their case was deferred for further consideration.

Elizabeth Eddy, for wringing and hanging out clothes on the Lord's day, in time of public worship, is fined 10/., which sum was afterwards remitted. Others were presented for a like offence, and being engaged in "mixed dancing."

November. By Dr. John Clark, of Rhode Island, Obadiah Holmes forwards a relation of his sufferings and endeavors to pro-

* Plymouth Col. Rec.

† See Rhode Island.

‡ Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. 3 s. vol. iv. p. 180-3.

§ Plymouth Col. Rec.

1652.]

mote adult baptism, to John Spilsbury, William Kiffren and others of the same denomination in London.*

Examples of discipline,† at Barnstable, towards those who had been offered in baptism by their parents, and were called the children of the church.

1652. February 22. "Martha Foxwell, dwelling with Goody Hull, summoned before the congregation in public, and dealt with for joining with her dame in beating the maid servant of Samuel Mao." On May 30, David Linnell and Hannah Shelly, charged with impure conduct and confessing it before the congregation, "were both, by the sentence and joint consent of the church, pronounced to be cut off from that relation, which they had formerly to the church, by virtue of their parents' covenant. "They both were, for their faults, punished with scourges in Barnstable by the sentence of magistracy," the following June.

March 2. "We present‡ Jonathan Coventry, of the Town of Marshfield, for making a motion of marriage unto Katharen Bradberry, servant to Mr. Bourne of the same Town, without her Master's consent, contrary to Court order." Abraham Peirse, of Duxbury, is presented for "slothful and negligent spending the Sabbath and not frequenting the public assembly." Nathaniel Basset and Joseph Prior, for disturbing the Church of Duxbury on the Lord's day, are sentenced to pay 20/. each, or on the next town meeting or training day, to be bound to a post, for two hours in some public place, with a paper on their heads, showing their offence perspicuously written. With this, Thacher's Plymouth § gives the following: Miss J. Boulton, for slandering, was sentenced to sit in the stocks during the Court's pleasure, and a paper written with capital letters be made fast unto her all the time of her sitting there. Ralph Allen, Sen., of Sandwich, and Richard Kerbey, charged with deriding God's word and ordinances, are fined each £5, or be whipped.

Public Thanksgiving is ordered through the Colony, for the great victories granted to the army in behalf of the Parliament and Commonwealth of England. This expression of love for the cause of the Roundheads, when the tables were turned in favor of the Cavaliers, was far from being a count for the benefit of the Colony.

June 2. Henry Clark, and Thurston Clark, Jr., and George Russell, of Namasakeesett, in the liberties of Duxbury, are presented for absence from "the public assemblies on the Lord's day." Indians are forbidden to work on the Sabbath.

This year, Bradford writes his third dialogue,|| mentioned in his will, between the ancient and young men of the Colony. It relates

* Relation of Holmes. Backus, vol. i. p. 229.

† Barnstable Ch. Rec. N. E. Gen. Reg. vol. x. p. 40.

‡ Plym. Col. Laws. § Page 90. || Bradford MSS. in Ms. Hist. Soc. Lib.

to Church government, "the Papists, Episcopacie, Presbyterians and Independents." With regard to the last word, he remarks, "you are to know is not a name of choyse made by any of themselves, but a title imposed by others, which are their opposits." In accordance with Cotton, he relates the benefits of Congregational order, to be the preparation of Churches in New England, as sanctuaries for the oppressed abroad, for the conversion of many impenitent emigrants, and awakening an extensive desire and purpose in England for a similar form of ecclesiastical polity there.

MAINE.

1651. March 2. Mons. Charnizay dates a letter* in Paris, for the Magistrates of Massachusetts. He states, that he had been appointed to succeed his deceased son, D'Aulney, in the government of Acadie, and hold it till the eldest son of the latter should become of age. He adds, that he has deputed and sent over Mons. De St. Mas to act in his stead, who, on his arrival, will wait on them and form a treaty, "with protestation, that it shall not be violated in any of those things, which should be kept between good friends and neighbours."

May 27. Jane Motin, widow of D'Aulney, addresses the same authorities from Port Royal. She mentions, that her husband died † "somewhat above a year since," and sends notice of St. Mas's arrival with stores and men. On the 29th, a communication from St. Mas to them proposes a friendly intercourse.

June 12-14. Endicott, as Governor, assures these three correspondents, that there will be no obstruction thrown in the way of compliance with their desire, either by himself or coadjutors of the Colony. Apprehensive of the influence exerted by Papal missionaries over the Penobscots, our fathers did not give so cordial a welcome to the advances of Charnizay as they would, had circumstances been otherwise.

September 6. The Commissioners of the Union ‡ date a letter to Governor D'Aillebout, of Canada. It appears from its connection, that Governor Winthrop and other magistrates of Massachusetts began a correspondence with him in 1648, on the subject of free trade between the French and English "in these parts of America." Accordingly, "about October, 1650," Father Dreuilletes, the Romish Apostle to the Indians of Nova Scotia, came as an Agent from D'Aillebout, to Boston. He was empowered to make a treaty with Plymouth and Massachusetts. But informed that such a

* MS. Rec. of Mass. Assistants..

† Some writers give his death in 1651.

‡ Com'rs MS. Rec. Hazard, vol. ii. p. 182, 3. Charlevoix, *Nouv. France*, vol. i. p. 286-9.

1651.]

compact could only be made by the Commissioners of these Colonies, and those of Connecticut and New Haven, he returned. With enlarged instructions, dated June 20, 1651, he and Mons. Godfrey arrived at Boston. They desired that the Commissioners, as a matter of accommodation, would meet at this capital, though their place of session, in course, was at New Haven. But so great was the inconvenience of allowing their request, it was not granted. In September, Dreuilletes appeared before the Commissioners, in behalf of Canada and the Kennebeck Indians. He showed his commission for publishing "the Christian Faith" among the latter. Of these, as he stated, some were baptized, and others were catechumens. He related, that the Mohawks had attacked and cruelly treated some of them, whom they had captured, because they professed Christianity. He therefore urged, that the Colonies would confederate with the French, and help carry on a "holy war" against the Mohawks. But the Commissioners, in the letter mentioned at the head of this paragraph, decline either to aid or abet such a warfare, however desirous to have friendly intercourse and free trade between the parties. In their reply, they say, that however regarding those of the Eastern tribes, who had "received the yoke of Christ" with more favor than others, still they had no sufficient cause of collision with the Six Nations.

October 14. The Bay Legislature,* under this date, take measures in reference to movements in the Gorges Patent. They had assurance that those there who favored Royalty and Episcopacy were about to petition Parliament, that such territory, and "many miles to the northward," might be made a distinct jurisdiction, but that a majority of the inhabitants preferred a union with Massachusetts. They also took the ground that, as their charter extended three miles "northward of any and every part" of the Merrimack, and that an obvious construction of this allowance authorized their line to be drawn eastward across the country, to the same minute of latitude on the sea-shore, it would include Maine to three miles eastward of the Casco peninsula, as within their boundary. With such considerations, they order information of them to be sent to Godfrey and his Council, and the people at large. They commission Simon Bradstreet, Daniel Dennison, and William Hawthorn, to visit and receive such of them as preferred to come under the authorities of the Bay. On the 24th, they address Godfrey, Richard Shapleigh, and others, on the same subject. On December 1, Godfrey, having convened the General Court of his jurisdiction, signs a petition† for them to Parliament. A passage from this document follows: "We were under the necessity of combining together for the purposes of government and self-protection, according to the laws of the realm. It is our humble prayer, therefore, that

* Sullivan's Me. p. 321. Mass. MS. Gen. Court Rec. † MS. York Rec.

our confederate union may be confirmed." Cleaves and others of Lygonia, who had been much opposed to those of the Gorges Patent, now sympathize with them in the project of having their separate governments confirmed by the national Government, and, on the 5th, agree to petition Parliament. Indeed, Cleaves, about to visit England, agrees to carry the Lygonian Petition and be its advocate.

October 15. As William Norman had married Margery Randall, though having another wife in England, the Court grant her a divorce from him. They banish him from the country in seven days, and if found after that time in the jurisdiction, he shall be put to death.

1652. Aware of the policy* of Godfrey, Cleaves and others, though intended to be kept secret, Massachusetts advised Winslow of it, who let it be known to the authorities in London, as a measure principally of Royalists and Episcopalians. This, with the favor which the ecclesiastical order of the Bay had with many in Parliament, rendered the exertions of Cleaves ineffectual.

In his remonstrance† against the steps taken by the Bay Authorities for the reception of Maine under their government, Godfrey remarks: "Such is the charity you have heretofore manifested towards our religion and other interests, that we trust you will excuse us, if we are the more wary of your proposals and promises." On the 12th of June, they reply to him; explain the grounds of their purpose; say they are informed that "a considerable part" of the people wish to be ruled by them, and protest against his further exercise of power, as the chief magistrate. On July 9, he answers them in severe terms. Three Commissioners, William Hawthorn, John Leverett and Henry Bartholomew, meet him and his Council at Kittery, and confer with them for the surrender of their official power, but they decline. Then Hawthorn and his associates declare Maine to be within the Patent of Massachusetts after October 10, and offer the population all the privileges, which appertain to person and property. The Protest of Godfrey and colleagues says: "We resolve to go on, till lawful power commands us the contrary, as subordinate and depending upon the Commonwealth of England."

July 19. Edward Rigby, son to the Proprietor of Lygonia, who died August, 1650, sends a communication,‡ dated in London, to the persons commissioned by his father to govern the Colony. He complains, that they had broken from his authority, requires them to conform with his commands, and states that he shall send back Cleaves and a near kinsman of his, with instructions for such men as he may commission to administer the laws. This injunc-

* Sullivan's Me. p. 323. † Mass. MS. Gen. Ct. Rec. Sullivan's Me. p. 324.

‡ York MSS. Sullivan's Me. p. 317, 21-34.

1652.]

tion prevented the co-operation of Lygonia with the Province of Gorges against the measures of Massachusetts. Indeed, it was the virtual close of all separate jurisdiction there, for the Proprietor did not carry his plans, concerning it, into execution. Thus slumbered the Plough Patent, about which much agitation had existed.

October 23. The Bay Legislature* choose Simon Bradstreet, Samuel Symonds, Daniel Dennison, William Hawthorn, Thomas Wiggin and Bryan Pendleton, to receive Maine under their jurisdiction. They empower them to summon and hold County Courts here, to appoint officers "for preserving the peace, establishing order and a civil administration of justice." To which they subjoin, "doing whatever in your wisdom and discretion, will be most conducive to the glory of God, the peace and welfare of the inhabitants, and the maintenance of our own just rights and interests."

November 15. In performance of the duty assigned them, four of the Commissioners, Bradstreet, Symonds, Wiggin and Pendleton, open a Court at Kittery. They notify the inhabitants to appear next morning. This was done. Discussions rose and continued four days, sometimes with much warmth. On the 20th, forty-one agree to a submission. Among the privileges, it is granted "that all the present inhabitants of Kittery shall be freemen of the Countrie, and having taken the oath of freemen, shall have liberty to give their votes for the election of the Governor, Assistants and other general officers of the Countrie." Thus they are not required to be members of the Church for such civil liberty in the choice of the Government, as it is and had been of the electors in Massachusetts. At the same session, the Commissioners appoint, that the territory within their bounds, beyond the river Piscataqua northwardly, with the Isle of Shoals, shall constitute and be called Yorkshire. On the 22d, they meet at Accomenticus, or Gorgeana, which they now name York. The people, "after some tyme spent in debatement and many questions answered and objections removed," yield to their proposal. They are allowed privileges like those granted at Kittery. Godfrey complied, when he saw the rest had submitted. Thus an important advance is made by the Bay Authorities towards the full exercise of their administration over the political and religious concerns of Maine. Especially is it noticeable, that, in the course of Providential dispensations, Gorgeana, intended for a splendid city, for an Episcopal See, for a chief point, whence should go forth a power of royal vicegerency, to govern the whole of British America and render it a powerful ally of the Throne for the control of the national Church and State,—has now become subject to the very Puritan policy, which it was designed to crush.

* Mass. Gen. Court Rec.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

1651. October 14. Difficulty, as to Mr. Batchelor, still continues at Hampton. Executions, issued by his order on inhabitants there, are suspended by an injunction of the Massachusetts Legislature. This Body allow Strawberry Bank all the land, not yet appropriated, between themselves and Hampton. They designate persons to hold Courts in the former town for the trial of civil and criminal cases. Thus the settlement, intended for one of the head quarters of Episcopacy, is dependent on Congregational authority.

1652. May 31. The Bay Legislature vote* to adopt the north line of their territory, as authorized by their construction of its Patent. By this means, they claim jurisdiction over the whole of New Hampshire. They appear to have done this because Joseph Mason, agent to the Executrix of the last deceased proprietor of the Colony, had taken recent measures so that he might revive the claim of the surviving heir. This purpose had little prospect of success in view of Massachusetts' boundary, now determined on, and of the principles exhibited by the national government.

RHODE ISLAND.

1651. April 17. Winslow writes† from London to the Commissioners of the United Colonies, "Yesterday, as I was informed, Mr. Coddington had something done for him at the Counsell of State, which I believe was his pattent confeirmed." This refers to the commission, granted to Coddington, as Governor of Rhode Island and Conanicut during his life. Such a privilege, of course, nullified the Charter, previously obtained by Roger Williams, for such territory. Winslow regrets, that Plymouth Colony did not enforce the instructions given by the Parliamentary Commissioners, 1647, so as to insist on the boundary of their Patent, and, as he

* With regard to this, the Massachusetts Legislature, on June 1, appointed Symon Willard and Edward Johnson, Commissioners to procure artists and other needed assistants, and have this matter accomplished. On October 19, the Commissioners hand in the report of the artists, John Sherman and Jonathan Ince, who aver on oath, that, the first day of August, they "by observation found, that the latitude of the place was 43°, 40', 12", besides those minutes which are to be allowed for the three miles more north, which run into the lake." This spot is called the Weares, through which the Winnipisiogee discharges its waters. It is the position of a rock, containing the initials of the Commissioners, and the full name of the Governor, John Endicott, all in capital Roman letters, evidently sculptured there about the date when the artists made their observation.

† Com'rs MS. Hazard Papers, vol. ii. p. 178.

1651.]

appears to imply, thus bring the Islands, assigned to Coddington practically, as well as Warwick, under their jurisdiction.

May 15. The Connecticut Legislature * adopt the subsequent measure. "The Court considering the great inconveniences that occur by reason of Rhode Island entertaining of fugitives and such as are guilty of capital crimes and other misdemeanors, from the several Colonies, cannot but judge the same to be extremely prejudicial to the peace and welfare of the said Colonies, do order, that the premises should be recommitted to the serious consideration of the Commissioners, and that some effectual course may be taken for the redress of the same."

They desire that a letter may be addressed to Plymouth, requesting them to state at the next session of the Colonial Commissioners, "under which of the Colonies," Plymouth or Massachusetts, "the Plantations of Warwick and others do stand."

May 23. William Arnold, Robert Coles, William Carpenter and others of Patuxet, complain in a communication † to the Governor of Massachusetts, of injury threatened them by persons of Providence. The Court of that Colony order, "that a letter be sent to Mr. Roger Williams, declaring to him, that if himself, or the sergeant or officer of Providence, shall proceed to molest any of the aforesaid English under our jurisdiction at Shawomet, or take away aught from them by rates or otherwise, this Court intends to seek satisfaction for the same of such, and in such manner as God shall put opportunities into their hands." The petition of James and Job Hawkins to the Bay Authorities for their mother to return and live in Massachusetts, is not allowed.

June 5. The conveyance ‡ of Shawomet by Plymouth Colony to Massachusetts, who offered to return it on condition that they protected the English, and Indians under the care of the Bay Authorities, is confirmed.

July 19. John Clark, Obadiah Holmes§ and John Crandal, of the Baptist denomination, visit William Witter, at Lynn, who had invited them to his house. The next day, being Sabbath, Clark, while preaching there, on the promise of God to those who are faithful in the season of temptation, was apprehended with his two companions, by order of a Justice, "as erroneous persons." In the afternoon, they were carried to hear the minister of the place. "Mr. Clark pulled off his hat when he went in, but as soon as he was seated in a pew, he put it on again, and fell to reading a book, while the minister was praying. The officers took off his hat, but he declared he could not join with them in their service." On Monday, as they refused to give bail for their appearance at Court, they were committed to Boston prison. The mittimus of the 22d

* Conn. Gen. Ct. Rec. † Mass. Gen. Court Rec. ‡ Plym. Col. Rec.

§ Relation in Backus, vol. i. p. 229-45.

states the reasons for such committal to be, "exercising themselves to divers of the Town in the time of public worship, for disturbing the Congregation in the afternoon, maintaining that the Church of Lynn was not constituted according to the order of our Lord, drawing aside others after their erroneous judgments and practices, and for suspicion of rebaptizing one or more among us." On the 31st, at a Quarterly Court of Assistants in Boston, Clark is fined £20, Holmes £30, and Crandal £5. If refusing to pay these sums, they are to be whipped. On August 1, Clark sends a letter to the Court, who condemned his "faith and order," and says that they remarked to him, that he could not substantiate his opinions before their ministers, and that if he wished to hold a public discussion with them, he might. He accordingly purposes to argue with the ministers where he was tried. The points he designated to maintain, are immersion; the right of Christians to ask questions in the congregation, and, if qualified, to exhort there; freedom of conscience in word and act, when accompanied with no disturbance to the rights of others. In his Narrative, he does not specify the particulars prepared by those, on the other side, which follow. "Whether Lynn Church, and others here gathered after the same order, are gathered after the order of Christ. Whether the ordinances, as administered in the churches here, be the ordinances of Christ. Whether infant baptism, as administered in our churches here, be an ordinance of Christ. Whether one that is not called into office of Pastor or Teacher may administer the seals, yea to persons under excommunication." This intended debate was noised abroad, "for Mr. Clark wrote letters to several friends, acquainting them with it, and desiring their assistance," and was the topic of much conversation. But the authorities, not being able to agree with Clark to their own satisfaction, on what should be the identical subjects of discussion, concluded to have it dropped. On the 11th, as his friends had paid his fine, unbeknown to himself, the keeper of the prison was ordered to release him. Still desirous to have a public hearing, he remained till the 14th, but, not able to accomplish his purpose, he came home to Newport. Crandal was permitted to return with Clark, on his promise to appear at the next Court, but, owing to some mistake, he did not, and his fine was paid. Holmes, charged with immersing others at Lynn, though an excommunicated person, and other allegations as offences, had his fine placed higher than Clark's. Refusing to pay his fine or have others do it, he was whipped thirty stripes, September 5th, and thus was allowed to depart for his family at Rehoboth.

Soon after this, Roger Williams writes * to John Winthrop, Jr. "I met Mr. John Clark at Providence, *recens a carcere*. There

* Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. 3 s. vol. ix. p. 293.

1651.]

was great hammering about the disputation, but they could not hit, and although (my much lamented friend) the Governor told him, that he was worthy to be hanged, etc. Yet he was as good as thrust out without paying or whipping." No doubt Williams heard that these things were so. But Cobbet states, as before observed, that the Governor denied uttering such an expression, and that the friends of Clark paid his fine.*

Not long after this date, Williams sends a reply † to Endicott, which bears on the case of Clark and Holmes. Some passages are given. "Let it not be offensive in your eyes, that I single out a point, a cause of my banishment, wherein I greatly fear one or two sad evils have befallen your soul and conscience. The point is that of the civil magistrates dealing in matters of conscience and religion, as also of persecuting any for any matter merely spiritual and religious." Remarking on zealous compliance with conscience, which may be wrong, he continues: "Let me freely without offence remember you, (as I did Mr. Clark, newly come from his sufferings amongst you,) of the story I did him, of William Hartly in queen Elizabeth her days, who receiving the sentence of hanging, spake confidently (as afterwards he suffered) what tell you me of hanging, if I had ten thousand millions of lives, I would spend them all for the faith of Rome. Sir, I am far from glancing the least countenance on the consciences of Papists; all that I observe is, that boldness and confidence, zeal and resolution, as it is commendable in a kind when it seriously respects a deity, so also, the greatest confidence hath sometimes need of the greatest search and examination. I end with an humble cry to the Father of mercies, that no sleep may seize upon your eyes until your serious thoughts have calmly and unchangeably, through help from Christ, fixed on a moderation towards the spirit and consciences of all mankind, merely differing from, or opposing yours with only religious and spiritual opposition." ‡

August. About the first of this month, Coddington reaches his home, with his Patent. Gained by special representations, this document was unpopular and destined to speedy nullification.

4. Williams had recently forwarded § a book from his own pen, published in England, called "A Sober Word to a Serious People," to Eliot. The object of this production was to discredit the ordinances and ministry of the Gospel, because considered as not descended in a pure manner from the Apostles. Such was the impression of Williams, and he was a seeker, or one who waited for the reappearance of true Apostles.

September 1. William Arnold addresses the Governor of Massachusetts. He says, that as Mr. Coddington has obtained a

* Cobbet's Reply to Ill News.

† Appendix of Williams's Reply to Cotton.

‡ Staples's Providence, p. 80.

§ Hutchinson's MS. Coll.

charter of Rhode and Conanicut Islands for himself, he has "broken the force of their charter, that went under the name of Providence, because he has gotten away the greater parte of that Colonie." He states that the Gortonists at Shawomet, and the people of Providence, were subscribing £200 for Mr. Williams, as their agent to England, so that he might secure their territory by a Patent from the Parliament. He thinks, that if Williams should succeed in this purpose, the result would be injurious to New England. He proceeds: "Under the pretence of liberty of conscience about these partes, there comes to live all the scume, the runne awayes of the country, which in tyme for want of better order may bring a heavy burthen upon the land."*

The Gortonists, of Warwick,† notify the Colonial Commissioners, that they are about to petition Parliament for the confirmation of the grant, made by the latter body for their undisturbed occupation of the place where they dwell. They refer to their past difficulties, as though endured by them "for matters of conscience." After perusing such a communication, the Commissioners make a Declaration, dated the 16th, which contains the substantial facts about the resignation of Warwick territory by Plymouth to Massachusetts, and the several offers by the latter to give up the trust, if the former will attend to its calls for vigilance and action. At the same time, the Commissioners of Plymouth being unwilling, although inconsistent with the votes of their Legislature on June 7 of the last year, and June 8, the present, to have Massachusetts exercise jurisdiction over Warwick and Patuxet, which they consider as the duty of their own Colony, they protest against recent summons or warrants issued by the Bay Authorities, on account of alleged offences, for Gortonists and others in those two places. On the 13th, the Commissioners‡ address Coddington. They speak of his being made Governor of Rhode Island by the Council of State in England. They desire that, under his administration, "Truth and Righteousness may flourish, and that the Gospell, professed by the English, in this wilderness, may not bee brought vnder any just reproach." They request that fugitives from justice, who have fled to his territory, may be delivered up on proper application.

Though the two Towns of the Island had come under a separate Government, and thus withdrawn their civil connection with Providence and Warwick, still the latter two hold to their charter privileges.

October 6. Williams addresses§ John Winthrop, Jr. "Being now bound resolvedly (if the Lord please) for our native countrey, I am not certaine whether by the way of the English (you know

* Hutchinson's Coll. p. 237. † Com'rs. MS. Hazard, vol. ii. p. 198, 9.

‡ Com'rs MS. Hazard, vol. ii. p. 196, 7. § Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. 3 s. vol. ix. p. 194.

1651.]

the reason) or by way of the Dutch. My neighbours of Providence and Warwick (whom I alsoe lately denied) with importunities have overcome me to endeavour the renewing of their liberties upon the occasion of Mr. Coddington's late grant."

About this time, the same writer, intending to take such a voyage, sends a petition to the Bay Authorities. "Although it be true y^t it pleased this honoured Government now many years since to pass sentence of banishment vpon me, which sentence and y^e consequences (bitter afflictions and miseries, losses, sorrows and hardships) I have humbly desired (through y^e help of y^e Most High) to endure with a quiet and patient mind." He speaks of the services he did for Massachusetts in preventing a league between the Pequods and the Narragansetts, and forming one between the latter tribe and the English. He desires liberty to take ship for England in some port of the Bay, and return to it when his mission thither should be accomplished. He here remarks: "Some may say you are an opposite to y^e way of our worship and beside you goe as an adversarie with complaints against vs for y^e Towne of Warwick." He replies, that millions of "God's children are at lamentable difference with you and themselues. Who knowes but vpon Christian debatements not only I, but your honoured selues, may yet see cause to put our mouths in the dust together, as touching y^e present controuersies about y^e Christian worship." He observes, that if they will select some individuals to discuss the second objection to him, "I hope (through God's assistance) to make it apparent y^t I goe not as an enemie to y^e Massachusetts, but as a professed instrument of our peaceable end of y^t sad controversie." His request is allowed.

Clark, having been appointed* agent, by men of Newport and Portsmouth, who were dissatisfied with the commission of Coddington, to visit England and obtain the repeal of this document, sails from Boston on such business. He is accompanied by Williams, who goes out to obtain confirmation of the charter privileges, which had been granted to Providence and Warwick.

November 4. At a General Assembly of these places,† Gorton is elected moderator. The members, convened, adopt a declaration of their purpose "to stand embodied and incorporated as before," for all matters of justice, peace and maintenance of civil rights.

21. The succeeding petition,‡ offered by a committee of Rhode Island to the authorities of Massachusetts, is granted. "Whereas there are now residing upon the Island such as have been and are accused, indicted and arrested for high treason," they ask, that safe conduct may be allowed to their inhabitants, who may be employed to convey and put these prisoners on board the ship Endeavor, when she is ready to sail, because, as they observe, "we

* Staples's Prov., p. 82.

† R. I. Col. Rec.

‡ Mass. MS. Papers.

have no shipping nor any other way to perform our bounden duty and faithful allegiance to the High and Mighty State and Parliament of England."

1652. April 8. Williams and Clark, being in England, present a joint petition to the Council of State. This paper appears to have asked for the repeal of Coddington's Patent, and the confirmation of the one obtained by Williams. During this month, the latter publishes, in London, his "Experiments of Spirituall Life and Health and their Preservatives," and his "Hireling Ministry None of Christ's." This work touches on the following particulars :

"1. The nationall and parishional constitution of churches, is found to be the grand idoll of the nation.

"2. The inforcing of the nation to such a Constitution is the greatest soul oppression in this nation.

"3. The hireling ministrie attending upon such assemblies or others, is none of the ministrie of Christ Jesus.

"4. The Universities of the nation, as subordinate and subservient to such ministries and churches, are none of the institutions of Christ Jesus.

"5. It is the absolute duty of the Civil State to set free the souls of all men from that so long oppressing yooke of such ministries and churches.

"Yet 6. Ought the nation and every person in it, be permitted to see with its own eyes, and to make free choice of what worship and ministrie and maintenance they please, whether parochial or otherwise?

"7. The Apostolical Commission and Ministrie is long since interrupted and discontinued.—Yet

"8. Ever since the beast Antichrist rose, the Lord hath stirred up the ministrie of prophesie, who must continue their witness and prophesie until their witness be finished and slaughters probably neer approaching accomplished.

"9. The provocation of the holy eyes is great in all Courts throughout the nation by million of legal oaths, which if not redressed may yet be a fire kindled from his jealousy; who will not hold him guiltless which taketh his name in vain.

"10. The free permitting of the consciences and meetings of conscionable and faithful people throughout the nation and the free permission of the nation to frequent such assemblies, will be one of the principal meanes and expedients (as the present state of Christianity stands) for the propagating of the Gospel of the Son of God."

About the same time, Clark's "Ill Newes from New England, or a Narrative of New England's Persecutions," is issued from a London press. His words are: "To the Magistracy, Presbytery and their dependency in Massachusetts, the author wisheth repent-

1652.]

ance to the acknowledgment of the truth as it is in Jesus Christ." He says that their worship "is not the order of the Gospel," particularly the part relative to baptizing infants. He bears testimony against the manner of their enforcing such worship. He gives a particular account of the proceedings against himself, Holmes and Crandal in the Bay, for their attendance on a meeting of Baptists at Lynn. This production was professedly, and the Hireling Ministry of Williams was evidently answered by Thomas Cobbet. On the former's being published, Sir Richard Saltonstall wrote to Cotton and Wilson, in terms which strongly disapproved of the manner in which Clark and his friends had been treated. His rebuke would probably have been less severe, had the explanation of Cotton and Cobbet been prepared and laid before him.

April 26. A letter * by William Arnold, at Patuxit, is addressed to the Governor of the Bay. Part of it follows: "Since I wrote, Gorton has gotten intelligence how I have written. He and his company are enraged against the men, thinking that they will make known to the Court the beastlike life of Gorton and some others. I hear they are making choice of a man to visit Massachusetts and speak for them, 'whose wife is greatly affected to Gorton himself.'" The faith and practice of this person and part of his followers, at this time as well as before, appear to have been loose, like those of modern Mormons.

May 18. "Whereas, there is a common course† practiced amongst Englishmen to buy negroes, to that end they may have them for service or slaves forever; for the preventing of such practice among us, let it be ordered, that no black mankind or white being forced by covenant bond, or otherwise, to serve any man or his assigns, longer than ten years, or until they come to be twenty-four years of age, if they be taken in under fourteen, from the time of their coming within the liberties of this Colony. And at the end of the term of ten years to set them free, as the manner is with the English servants. And that man that will not let them go free, or shall sell them away elsewhere, to that end that they may be enslaved to others for a long time, he or they shall forfeit to the Colony forty pounds."

26. The Bay Legislature consider a petition of John Warner, that he may return from his banishment. They decline to allow it, but grant him and his family leave to embark for England, from any one of their ports.

July. The people of Providence propose to Warwick, that the Commissioners of both places meet and prepare "letters of encouragement" for their agent, Williams, in reply to his communications, "wherein his careful proceedings are manifest."

On the 28th, Warwick give notice of their compliance. They

* MS. Mass. Gen. Court Papers.

† Col. R. I. Records, p. 243.

desire, that such Commissioners may inquire of Newport and Portsmouth, whether the four Towns may not unanimously agree to petition Parliament for the renewal of the first Charter. They offer, that a harmony of this kind would remove an objection of Williams to using his endeavor for such a restoration of their late, united jurisdiction. Another reason they present, is : " we may the better bring in the Narragansett Bay, which Coweset men so strive for, which, if granted them, will be very prejudicial to us, being we can neither have free egress nor regress by sea." *

Sept. 8. Williams writes† to Gregory Dexter, of Providence : " It is God's mercy, his very great mercy, that we have obtained, this interim, encouragement from the Council of State, that you may cheerfully go on in the name of the Colony until the controversy is determined. The determination of it, Sir, I fear will be a work of time, for our adversaries threaten to make a last appeal to Parliament, in case we get the day before the Council."

October 4. Cobbet, in his reply to Clark's Ill News, states that, in a late contention between Governor Coddington and others, arms were used by the parties and one man killed. This probably arose between the opponents and supporters of his Patent.

28. Ordered‡ by General Assembly, " that no foreigner, Dutch, French, or any other nation, shall be received as a free inhabitant in any of the Towns or have any trade with the Indians, or Indians inhabiting within our Colony, directly or indirectly ; that is to say, by themselves, or any one of them, or by any other person whatever, but by the general consent of our Colony, notwithstanding any former order to the contrary." Experience had proved, that less care in the admission of inhabitants, whatever their relation of oppression elsewhere and of profession in favor of liberty, was not well for regular society.

" As some ill affected and rude persons within this Colony are apt to carry themselves uncivilly in giving out speeches tending to the discouragement of others, by calling them out of their names, or otherways to vilify them ; yea, such as are in place and office as others, which tends much to the disparagement, not only of the government here established, but also reflects upon the State and Commonweal of England, our honourable protectors. It is enacted, therefore, by this present Assembly, that whosoever uttereth such words as are to the disparagement of another, savoring of malice or an imbittered spirit, shall be actionable in every Town of this Colony, and the party so speaking, being lawfully convicted, shall be punishable according to his fact in the judgment of his peers."

The Commissioners prepare a letter to Williams, expressive of

* Staples's Providence, p. 84, 5. † Knowles's Memoir of Williams, p. 253, 4.

‡ R. I. Colony Records, p. 245, 6.

1651.]

their gratitude to him for his exertions in their behalf. They intimate, that if the Charter were renewed, and he should be appointed Governor of the Colony for a year, it would "tend much to weighing of men's minds and subjecting of persons, who have been refractory." * But the Assembly, on the 24th of next month, seem to have become very jealous of this letter. They then say of it: "We cannot but take notice of several complaints against particulars therein contained, contrary to the liberties and freedom of the free people of this Colony, and contrary to the end for which the said Roger Williams was sent, and therefore do declare against the same." Therefore, his brother Robert presented them as faithless to the Commonwealth.†

Callender relates, that some of Clark's church embrace "the opinion of laying on of hands, as necessary to all baptized persons."‡ As Comer informs us, there were, at this time, two Baptist churches at Providence; the one of five, and the other of six principles. A member of the first Baptist church of Newport, came to Providence and received imposition of hands from Wickendon, pastor of a church, lately separated from the church under Thomas Olney, and Wickendon and Dexter returned to Newport with him.§

December 20. Hugh Bewett, of Providence, accused of treason by Samuel Gorton, begins to have his trial. On the 23d he is acquitted. It tends to increase the "divisions in this distracted Colony."

Under this year, Williams publishes a rejoinder to Cotton. It is printed and sold in London, at the west end of Paul's. It was called, "The Bloody Tenet yet more Bloody, by Mr. Cotton's endeavour to wash it white in the blood of the Lamb." Its principal contents follow: I. The Nature of Persecution. II. The Power of the Civil Sword in Spirituals examined. III. The Parliament's permission of dissenting consciences justified. Also, (as a testimony to Mr. Clark's narrative,) is added a letter to Mr. Endicott, Governor of Massachusetts.

CONNECTICUT.

1651. March 19. The Court notice complaints against William Cheesbrooke, "a smith, sometimes an inhabitant in the Massachusetts, but more lately at Rehoboth in New Plymouth, for trading

* Knowles's Memoir, p. 255, 6.

† Callender's Hist. Discourse.

‡ R. I. Colony Records.

§ Early History of Rhode Island.

with Indians. This was done in 1649, when he was at Pecatuck, on Long Island. Then the authorities of Connecticut received a bond from him to appear before them and give an account of his proceedings. He now answers, that he meant to have settled at Pequett, but could not, and, therefore, was under necessity to make his residence on Long Island. The Court say to him, that he had no right to do so without their leave; "besides it seemed more than vncomely for a man professing godliness so to withdraw from all publique ordinances and Christian society." He replied, that the charge made against him for mending guns of the Indians was not true, and that he intended, if leave be allowed, to settle the place with a "company of desireable men." They conclude that he may remain, "hee professing full agreement with the approoued churches of Christ, in all things," if he give security in £100 for his proper deportment.

May 16. The Legislature of Connecticut, having considered the escape of fugitives from the United Colonies to Rhode Island, agree to request Plymouth, that they would prepare evidence "against the next meeting of the Commissioners, to make appeare vnder which of the Colonyes the plantations of Warwick and others doe stand."* The same authorities designate the Governor and two more to attend the trial of "Goody Bassett for her life," at Stratford. She was accused of witchcraft, condemned and executed. There is incidental evidence† that another female, the wife of a Knapp, was hanged about the same time on a like accusation. She was tried at Fairfield. After the union of Connecticut and New Haven, a person was arraigned for witchcraft, but cleared.

June 12. Prudden writes to Richard Mather. "Touching the desire of such church members' children as desire to have their children baptized, it is a thing that I do not yet hear practised in one of our churches. But for my own part, I am inclined to think, that it cannot justly be denied, because their next parents (however not admitted to the Lord's Supper) stand as compleat members of the church, within the church covenant, and so acknowledged that they might have baptism. Their children are also members by virtue of their parents' covenant and membership. Baptism cannot be denied unto them." Henry Smith, of Weathersfield, sent a letter to Mr. Mather, August 23, 1647, on the same topic, and expressed similar opinions.‡

George Gardiner, in his description of America, remarks, that the North East part of Long Island is inhabited by "some English, which have been thrust from New England for their judgment. The most of them holding the Christian tenent of confession before baptism."

* Conn. MS. and Printed Court Rec. † Kingsley's Hist. Disc. p. 101.

‡ First Principles of New England, p. 24-6.

1651.]

September 4. At a session of the Commissioners of the Union, the Colony of New Haven complain, that, contrary to the engagement between them and New Netherland,* the governor of the latter had prevented their people from settling lands in Delaware. It appears that fifty men, in the spring, on their passage to accomplish this purpose, stopped at New Amsterdam, were cast into prison and compelled to return. In a petition to the Commissioners, those concerned in the matter observe, that had it not been for the opposition of the Dutch, "the Gospell might have been carried and spread amongst the Indians in that most southerly part of New England, and the United Colonies might before this time been enlarged with conveniency both for themselves and posteritie." The Commissioners authorize the owners of land in Delaware to make another effort for planting it, and promise, if need be, to grant help from the Confederation.

15. The Commissioners prepare a communication for the Dutch Governor, on several grievances. They say: "Wee protest that by these vnneighborly and vniust courses, you are the sole cause of all such inconueniencies and mischeifs as may follow thereupon." A few days before, they addressed Winslow in London, and requested him to intercede with Parliament, so that the Delaware proprietors might be sustained in their rights.

October 6. The Connecticut Legislature† consider a letter of John Mason, who asks their advice as to a proposal of these proprietors for heading an enterprise to settle their lands at Delaware. They reply, that they cannot agree to his moving thither permanently, but if he thinks that duty calls him to take part in the matter, they will consent to his being absent three months. Trumbull remarks: "This appears to have prevented his going, and to have frustrated the design." The Court order that "Wednesday next come fortnight, there be a day of fasting and humiliation throughout this Jurisdiction, for and in consideration of some diseases or infection that is among our neighbors and friends of the Massachusetts, as also for and concerning the affaires of our native country and prosperity of the Gospell of Jesus Christe."

November 14. The authorities of New Haven‡ order, "That all planters of this Town put into the Church Treasury no wampum, but silver or bills, and that they add to what they formerly gave, the sum they lately added towards the maintenance of the ordinances, that once a quarter all men make even with the Deacons and pay their debts to the Treasury in good pay, that those which receive it may be encouraged in their work."

* Hutchinson's Coll. p. 230-2. Hazard, vol. ii. p. 192-5.

† Conn. MS. and printed Rec. Hazard, vol. ii. p. 195, 6.

‡ N. H. MS. Rec.

1652. January 8. Blinman, at Pequot, afterwards New London, is still engaged in his labors to evangelize the Indians of his neighborhood.*

June 28. Aware that knowledge, under the guidance of true religion, was essential to the prosperity of the church, the prominent men of New Haven Colony, like those in the rest of New England, were desirous to promote the interests of literature. At a General Court in Guilford,† they vote, "that the matter about a College at New Haven is thought to be too great a charge for us of this jurisdiction to undergo alone; as especially considering the unsettled state of New Haven Town, being publicly declared from the deliberate judgment of the most understanding men to be a place of no comfortable subsistence for the present inhabitants there. But if Connecticut do join, the planters are generally willing to bear their just proportions for erecting and maintaining a college there. However, they desire thanks to Mr. (Stephen) Goodyear for his kind proffer to the setting forward of such a work."

October 6. The Connecticut Legislature‡ require "that no Indian shall walke or come neare vnto or amongst any English men's howses, vppon the Lord's day, except it bee in their necessary way of recoarse to the publique preaching of God's word, vppon penalty of fyne or imprisonment."

13. A church is gathered§ at Farmington, and Roger Newton is ordained their pastor. This year, Thomas Hanford, having come to New England as early as 1650, began to preach at Norwalk. Subsequently a church was formed here and he became their pastor.

November 8. The Governor of New Haven Colony had lately written to John Bower, a schoolmaster at Plymouth, to come and teach in the town of New Haven. On the 20th of December, Bower answers, that he would like to comply with the invitation, but that he is engaged there till the following April. In 1660 he was at New Haven in such employment. He was the son of George Bower, of Cambridge, and a graduate from Harvard College, 1649. He was settled|| in the ministry at Derby, moved to Rye, and died about 1688.

13. John Davenport dates his address to the reader, in his work of the following title: "The Knowledge of Christ, The True Messias, or Crucified Jesus, the Christ." It was printed in London, 1653.

In the address the author observes: "My far distance from the press, and the hazards of so long a voyage by sea, had almost discouraged me from transmitting this Copie; foreseeing that

* Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. 3 s. vol. iv. p. 194. † New Haven MS. Ct. Rec.

‡ Conn. MS. and printed Rec.

§ Trumbull's History.

|| Ibid.

1652.]

whatsoever *σφαλματα* are committed by the printer, men disaffected will impute to the author; and being sensible of my great loss of some manuscripts, by a wrack at sea, together with the lives of sundry precious ones, about six yeers since. Yet if the printer acquit himself well in this, and God be pleased to make it acceptable and profitable to the reader, I shall be encouraged to publish more, as God shall give liberty and opportunity. Farewell."

CHAPTER III.

MASSACHUSETTS. Children of the Church. — Opinion of Norris. — Dissolution of Parliament. — Preachers must be properly approved. — Letter from Salem Church. — Graduates go to England. — Objections to Mr. Powell. — Building for the instruction of Indians. — Teachers to be sound in faith and conduct. — Indian Towns. — Petition for Robert Pike. — Letter from Cromwell. — Williams gives an account of Peters. — Publications. — Worship in the army. — Intemperance. — Books of heresy to be burnt. — Deputies required to be orthodox and moral. PLYMOUTH. Arms at worship. — Fast. — Leve-ridge. — Falsehood. — Error confessed. — Scituate Churches. — Decease of Lothrop. — Government at Kennebeck. — Profanation of the Sabbath. — Death of Miss Poole. — Presentments. — Baptism. MAINE. Deputies. — Submission. — Church membership. — Privileges of freemen. — Excommunicated members. — Opponents. — La Tour. — Jordan in prison. NEW HAMPSHIRE. Recommendation of Wheelwright. RHODE ISLAND. Coddington's Patent. — Fidelity to the Commonwealth of England. — Gortonists. — Vane's Letter. — Readoption of the Patent, obtained by Williams. — Letters to Cromwell and others. — Liberty. — Sixth-principle Church. CONNECTICUT. Alarm at movements of the Dutch. — Power to declare war. — Missionary. — Address to Cromwell for help. — Hooke's letter to him. — Death of Haynes. — Fast, with its occasions. — House of Good Hope. — Temperance. — Communication to the Sweeds of Delaware Bay. — Instruction for Indians. — Youths for missionaries. — Catechism. — Emigration to Delaware. — College.

MASSACHUSETTS.

1653. January 18. Nathaniel Rogers of Ipswich, writes* to Richard Mather of Dorchester. "To the question, concerning the children of church members, I have nothing to oppose, and I wonder any should deny them to be members. They are members *in censu Ecclesiastico*; God so calls them, the church is so to account them. And when they are *adultæ ætatis*, though having done no personal act, yet are to be in charity judged members still, and till after due calling upon, they shall refuse or neglect to acknowledge and own the covenant of their parents, and profess their belief of, and subject to the contents thereof. For practice, I confess I account it our great default, that we have made no more

* First Principles of New England, p. 23, 4.

1653.]

real distinction between these and others, that they have been no more attended, as the lambs of the flock of Christ: and whether it be not the cause of the corruption and woeful defection of our youth, *disquirere permittimus*. We are this week to meet in the church about it, and I know nothing but we must speedily fall to practice."

March 4. Because "errours and heresies * are rife" in England, war between them and Holland is like to increase and involve the Colonies; "errours and heresies creep in so fast amongst vs, scarcity of comodities and decay of trade" prevail; "sin of oppression still" reigns; "want of officers in Church and Commonwealth;" the consuming "of 3 children, howses and estates of many precious ones in Boston by y^e late lamentable fire," the 23d inst. is set apart for "a solemn publicke day of humiliation."

April 5. Mr. Westgate,† who had been in New England, writes from Harlestone to Thomas Lake, of Boston. "Pray inform me in your next, whether Mr. Cotton be alive, and if he be dead, what supply the church have in his stead, and how the state of it stands, and also the state of the other church in Boston, of which I can hear nothing. Inform me whether the number of those that oppose baptizing of infants increase, and how it's taken by the magistrates and churches, and who of Boston church declare themselves that way."

John Warren and Thomas Arnold‡ are fined 20/. each for being absent more than four times from "the public ordinances."

Henry Felch, having departed over three times from the Assembly when baptism was about to be administered, is admonished by the Court for "his sin in neglecting the ordinances of the Lord, according to the Laws provided in that case."

9. On account of the "more than probable rumors of the Dutch engaging of several Indians to cut off the English," the Colonial Commissioners meet§ in Boston. These go into a scrutiny of evidences for such a report. After attending to this service, they "thought fit to draw up a declaration of former grievances and of this conspiracy." They introduce the paper thus: "That the Indians who know not God but worship and walk after the prince of the power of the air, should grow insolent and sundry ways injurious to strangers of contrary judgment and practice, cannot seem strange to any who duly consider what proportion and agreement there is ordinarily betwixt the fruit and the tree; but the united English Colonies, expecting a just and neighbourly correspondence and intercourse from and with the Dutch living at and about New Netherland, though the place fall within New England,

* Mass. MS. Rec. † Hutchinson, vol. i. p. 228. ‡ Middlesex MS. Rec.

§ Com'rs MS. Rec. Hazard Coll. vol. ii. p. 203-70.

have met with a constant course of opposition, injuries and many hostile affronts." In particularizing these charges, the Commissioners say : " We hear that some of the Dutch tell the English, they shall shortly have an East India breakfast, in which it is conceived they refer to that horrid plot and execution at Amboyna." They state, that " the peace of the English through the whole country is disturbed, they are wearied with extraordinary watchings and wardings, hindered in their plowing, sowing, preparation for planting, and other occasions, to their exceeding great damage." The Commissioners consult the Assistants and Elders of Massachusetts, how to proceed with the declaration. The latter reply, that however the Dutch Governor seems guilty through the accusations, yet " we present it to your godly wisdoms whether, in this great question, it doth not best become a People professing to walk in the Gospel of peace, having to do with a people pretending to the same profession, that the Dutch Governor answer for himself." This proposal is accepted by the Commissioners, and they select messengers to present him and two of his Council with a statement of the case. In the mean while, they had letters from him absolutely denying the charges made against him, and asserting his readiness to be examined in relation to them. Instructions for the persons who are to wait on him, are dated the second of next month.

May 3. Rev. Edward Norris addresses the Commissioners " concerning the busines about the Duch, which has caused many a pensieve hart." He fears that, if war be not declared against the Dutch, Parliament may deal with New England as neutral, and not taking a dutiful interest in their contest with Holland. He apprehends that, should hostilities not commence, after " high resolutions amongst vs by our own musterings by day and alarms by night and the boasting of our confidence in our God and his healp," the Indians will become still more insolent and " blaspheme and despisse both our God and ourselues." He is anxious lest, by the delay of such forcible means, they who live near the Dutch and Indians, may " suffer by it to blood and life." He thinks the arguments for the continuance of peace with such, are not strong. On the 17th, after messengers to the Dutch Governor departed on their anxious mission, the Commissioners proceed to make preparation for war, if he fail to clear himself from the suspected conspiracy. On the 26th, he prepares his defence, which was dispatched to the Commissioners. In it he declares, that the Dutch authorities have the mind which is conscious of right, and can justly laugh at the falsehoods of report. He remarks, that they had no knowledge of the cruelty exercised on the English at Amboyna, and, of course, had no apology to make in that particular. On the 28th, the messengers having returned without satisfaction from the Dutch Governor, and the subject being under debate with

1653.]

the Commissioners of the Union, Elders, whose advice had been desired, report "itt to be most agreeable to the Gospell of peace, which we professe and safest for these collonies to forbear the vse of the sword, till the Lord by his providence and by the wisdom of his servants sett ouer us shall further cleare off his mind either for our settled peace or most manifest grounds of war." On June 3d, the Commissioners reply to Stuyvesant. After taking a general view of the controversy between them, they say: "For your confident denials of the barbarous plott charged, will waigh little in ballence against such evidence."

April 20. As an event calculated to alarm the colonists, concerning the stability of freedom in the mother country, Cromwell, backed by the army, dissolved the Parliament. In the afternoon, he does the same with regard to the Council of State. Thus closed the Commonwealth of England, after a continuance of four years, two months and twenty days, a period of great events, of alternate hopes and fears with its best friends. Instead of summoning the people to elect a new Parliament, he nominated, on the 30th, a Council of State to administer the laws, and June 8th, he required 140 persons of the several counties to assemble at Whitehall, the 4th of July, and take on themselves "the trust of the affairs of the Commonwealth." He declared that he believed all these men to be the possessors of true faith in Christ. The most of them accordingly met and received a Parchment from him, empowering them to assume the "supreme authority and government" till November 3, of next year. He made it a rule, that they should elect none to succeed them but those whom they had cause to regard as true Christians.*

Among the population of the mother country, at this period, there were three great parties; the Republicans, who wished for an absolute Commonwealth, the Presbyterians, who preferred a return of affairs as in 1648, and the Cavaliers, who were for restoring the King. The reaction of such a state of affairs was far from being favorable to the interests of New England.

May 19. At the sitting of the Legislature, now begun, several orders are passed. "As divers of our Plantations are destitute of persons fitly qualified to undertake the work of the ministry, whereby they are necessitated to make use of such as they have, to exercise and preach publicly among them, by occasion whereof persons of bolder spirits and erroneous principles, may take advantage to vent their errors to the infection of their hearers and the disturbance of the peace of the country," no one is allowed to preach without the approbation of the Elders of the four churches, next to the place where he may be employed, or of the Court of the county in which it is located.

* Salmon, vol. i. p. 157. Neal, vol. iv. p. 71, 2.

The Court, though mourning the loss of Mr. Cotton, congratulate Norton on his acceptance of the call from the first Boston Church, and order a letter of thanks for the Ipswich Church, who so denied themselves as to consent that he should change the sphere of his labors.

June 16. Persons elected Captain and Lieutenant of the South Boston Company, are presented to the General Court for confirmation. These authorities finally say of one, "consented if the Church do dismiss him from being deacon, in regard it is conceived the places are not consistent."*

Soon after the passage of the law, prohibiting unqualified men to serve as ministers, the Church in Salem prepare a letter† on the subject to be laid before the Legislature. Extracts follow: "Wee question not the sincere intention of any, that might have a chief hand therein to prevent all erroneous opinions and unsound doctrines to be vented in the country, (a case most needfull in these times and for which wee have cause to bless God in any of his servantes and to thanke them,) yet in this waye of doing it, wee are not cleere nor can iudge it to be right and according unto the rules of Christ." Then reasons are presented for the repeal of the act. It intrenches on the liberties of the churches, and "y^f a breach be once made into these liberties, we know not howe farre it maye proceed in time, there being such a leading example as this." It operates against not only those of unsound principles, but, also, those of opposite principles. It is uncalled for, "because those companies of people in these parts, requiring such healpes are most of them (y^f not all) branches of churches who watch over they^r members, and have power to reforme any such doctrinall evils among them without calling on Elders or Courtes to suppress them." The conclusion adds: "These are but some of the groundes, wee have to intreat the repealing of this order for the present till better consydered, and further, that lawes made concerning churches in generall and they^e liberties might be with the consent of the churches first had and known therein."‡

This year, the Platform § of Church Discipline in New England, is reprinted in London, by Edward Winslow. His introduction to it, presents the following account: "Being employed as an Agent from New England these six years past to the present Parliament, amongst other papers that came to my hands from thence, I received sometimes since, this ensuing Treatise, (Platform,) from divers of the Rev. Elders there, with liberty to reprint it as I saw occasion." He speaks of some delay; had met lately with a very incorrect copy of the work and used means for its suppression. He relates

* Mass. MS. Gen. Ct. Papers.

† Annals of Salem, 1 ed. p. 533.

‡ Am. Ant. Soc. Tract 17th cent. 13.

§

1653.]

that the impression, which he now issued, was carefully examined by a copy from John Cotton's own hand. He continues: "It would be but as a drop of water cast into the great ocean, for me to go about, by my praises, to add to the worth of this work, and, therefore, such as the Elders and church messengers from their Synod at Cambridge, presented to the Churches and General Court for their consideration and acceptance in the Lord. Such and the same I declare this to be and desire the Lord to make it useful to his churches and people for finding out and true discovery of that order and government the Lord Jesus hath left in his house till his second appearing."

July 31. Thomas Dudley, aged nearly 77 years, dies at Roxbury. He was son of Roger Dudley, born at Northampton, England, in 1576. Neal * relates, that he was designed for the law; received a Captain's commission from Queen Elizabeth, who sent him at the head of a company of foot to serve Henry IV. of France, in the Low Countries. But peace being restored, he returned to Northampton, and, through conversation with Hildersham and others, embraced Puritanism. Required to conform with ceremonies, he declined and came to New England, 1630.

He sustained the offices of Assistant, Deputy Governor and Governor with prominence and faithfulness. His wife Dorothy died 27th September, 1643, and he married again the next year. His widow † became the wife of Rev. John Allin of Dedham. Among his sons and daughters was a literary writer, Anne, a poetess and wife of Simon Bradstreet. The chief purpose of Dudley, like that of most among the primitive emigrants, was to found a Colony, as an asylum for Puritans, and for no others whose profession either of forms or faith should disturb the peace of Church or Commonwealth. He steadily endeavored to carry out this plan, amid self-denials and reproaches. However many in this age and nation, under circumstances very different from those of his day, may account him bigoted, yet they must allow, that he manifested a consistency with his own idea of obligation to the cause, which he adventured all to support. Moreton's Memorial relates, that Dudley, a short time before his decease, composed something in verse, which was found in one of his pockets, after that event. Part of the piece follows.

"Let men of God in Courts and Churches watch
O'er such as do a toleration hatch."

The same author thus describes his character: "He was a person of quick understanding and solid judgement in the fear of the

* Vol. i. p. 308. † Katherine, widow of Samuel Hackburne, of Boston, had married a Dudley before 1648.

Lord ; he was a lover of justice, order, the people, Christian Religion ; the supream virtues of a good magistrate."

August 1. The will* of Robert Keayne, of Boston, presents a mode of expression, anciently adopted in the caption of some such documents. His language is : "Renouncing all manner of known errors, all Popish and Prelatical superstitions, all Anabaptistical, Enthusiastical and Familistical delusions, with all other fayned devises and all old and new upstart opinions, unsound and blasphemous errors." He left money for a Town House, which was to have a room reserved for the Elders, where they might convene when visiting Boston. He bequeathed £4 annually for ten years, to be paid quarterly, as a means of meeting the charge for their refreshment, and occasionally dinners. Assigning his reason for provision of this kind, he says : "I perceive that the Elders of the neighbouring Towns have appointed certain times in the year, chiefly in summer time, once a month, to meet together to confer about ordering things in the churches according to God, and to debate about doubts or difficult questions, that may arise in matters of Religion, and that they have no place to meet in, but at one of our Elders' houses, nor any thing to refresh themselves with but of them, which may prove too great a burden to our Elders."

24. An act is passed † by Parliament, requesting marriages to be solemnized by Justices of the Peace, which confirms the practice of New England, and is intended as an efficient means to prevent the return of Episcopal influence.

30. The Church of Woburn ‡ offer reasons to the Legislature against their late order, that no man shall preach without the approbation of the four next Churches, or of the County Court. They take the ground, that it circumvents the liberty of Christian Churches, it is not in accordance with the Word of God, and will not answer its purpose.

The General Court meet. Their proceedings follow : "Whereas at the last session of this Court, they passed an order concerning public preaching without allowance, which they understand is dissatisfactory to divers of the inhabitants, whom the Court have cause to respect, although they conceive the said order, rightly understood, to be safe and much conducing to the preservation of peace and truth among us, yet that all jealousies may be removed, this Court do repeal the said order, and doth hereby enact that every person that shall publish and maintain any heterodox and erroneous doctrine, shall be liable to be questioned and censured by the County Court where he liveth, according to the merit of his offence." The law forbidding the profanation of the Sabbath,

* Suffolk Prob. Rec. in Boston. Though the will was not executed, in the particulars specified, yet the plan of them is interesting.

† Acts and Ordinance, p. 236.

‡ Mass. MS. Rec. and Papers.

1653.]

is ordered to be posted up on the door of every meeting-house, and there remain, at least, one month.

This year, Joshua and Nehemiah Ambrose take their first degree at Harvard. The former embarked for England and received his A. M. from Oxford. Calamy informs us, that he was settled in the ministry at Darby, Lancashire, whence he was ejected. Cotton Mather states that he was living in 1697. The latter, Nehemiah, was a fellow of Harvard College. He went to England, was ordained at Kirby, Lancashire, whence he was ejected after Charles II. came to the throne.

Edward, son of Edward Rawson, long Secretary of the Colony, was classmate with the Ambroses. He went to England and was settled in 1655, as minister of Horsmunden, Kent, whence he was ejected. Dr. Walker represents him as a strong Presbyterian. This is not unlikely, for he spent most of his youth at Newbury, under the preaching of Noyes and Parker, who were of the same order. The Nonconformist Memorial says: "He was esteemed a very pious man."

September. The North Church of Boston state, in their address to the Legislature, that the County Court had forbidden them to call and ordain their brother Powell. They petition the Government to remove such an injunction, but this Body give the subsequent reply. They are not satisfied that he has such abilities, learning and qualifications as are requisite for a Pastor or Teacher. They add: "Besides, the unsuitableness of these times complying with such unsound tenets as now abound for the subversion of an able ministry." They remark, that the Church can call Mr. Powell to be a Ruling Elder, and thereby enjoy the ordinances of Christ, save the sacraments. They hope that the Church's still waiting for an able minister will not be in vain, but for their peace and comfort, and also for those of the town and country, "who are much concerned therein."

2. The Court being informed that, at the publication of the law relative to the employment of preachers without specified leave, at Salisbury, Lieut. Robert Pike asserted, that such persons as voted for it had broken their oath, that it was against the liberty of the country both ecclesiastical and civil, that several churches had called their members to an account who had acted for it, and that some Towns intended to lay their thoughts on it before the Legislature,—command him to appear and answer the complaint on the 7th day. He is accordingly arraigned and decision is made, that he had defamed the General Court. For this, he is disfranchised so as to hold no office in Town, County or Commonwealth, to plead no cause before any judicial tribunal except his own, to give bonds for good behavior, and be fined twenty marks.

6. Michael Powell addresses the Governor and Council. He gives a narrative of his coming to Boston; could not be accommo-

dated with seats for himself and wife in the first Church, joined with those who constituted the new Congregation, preached for them when they could get no better, at last they gave him a call and he accepted it, if the Magistrates and Elders should approve of it, but perceiving that they were unwilling that he should be ordained, he and the Society complied; hence the injunction of the County Court for them not to proceed was sad to him. He mentions a report that, notwithstanding such objections, he and the new Church meant to be united as pastor and flock. He says, in reference to it: "I had rather be followed to my grave than unto that which crosses the rule of Christ, or disturbs the peace of the Churches." He desires that the Governor and Assistants would not have such hard thoughts, as that he would consent to be ordained, or that the Church would take such a step, without their approbation.*

10. After a protracted discussion between the General Court and the Commissioners of Plymouth, Connecticut and New Haven, as to the authority of these officers for declaring war, it is concluded that they will attend to other business before them, and leave the question to their several Legislatures. It was contended by Massachusetts that the Commissioners of the Union had no power to order and commence hostilities, unless obviously right, with the consent of their respective Courts. On the 13th, the Bay Authorities address letters to the other General Courts of the Confederation,† with questions on the controversy, and desire to hear the conclusion of their deliberations. On the 20th, all the Commissioners, with the exception of Bradstreet, proclaim war against Ninneget for his late attack on the Long Island Indians, and assess the men to be raised by each Colony. William Hawthorne, the colleague of Bradstreet, votes with the rest for such a measure. Bradstreet remarks: "I see not sufficient light to assent." On the 24th, the Council of Massachusetts assert that they perceive no competent reasons for the decision of the Commissioners, and therefore dare not exercise their authority to levy forces. On the reception of this, the Commissioners of the other colonies confirm their former conclusion, that war with the Dutch is justifiable. They also remark, that "they apprehend the Massachusetts have actually broken their covenant, but what damages may heerby grow to the other three Collonies, they leave to such discoueries as the wise God shall please to make; to the consideration of the seuerall Generall Courts therein concerned."

Bradstreet, in his rejoinder, utters the following language: "I shall att present say onely this, that as I cannot hinder the honered Commissioners from apprehending what they declare, or declaring what they apprehend; soe neither doth the one or the other make

* Mass. MS. Papers.

† Com'rs MS. Rec. Hazard, vol. ii. p. 274-305.

1653.]

that to bee a breach of covenant which is not soe in itselfe. The Collonies are not bound to act in any offensive warr according to the determination of the Commissioners further then the same is just and according to God. If the case in question bee such, I cannot deny what is apprehended but our Counsell wanting (as they conceiue) convincing evidence thereof, it must bee left to further desquisition and clearing, which I desire may bee done in the most amicable and Christian way and manner that may bee suitable to our profession and agreeable to the mayne end of our Confederation; knowing and solemnly professing that according to my best knowlidge and vnderstanding, it is not the mind of our Counsell or General Court to oppose the determination of the Commissioners further than they conceiue the same to oppose the mind of God. Vpon this account, I earnestly request, that due regard may be had to the judgments and consciences of others, pious and prudent, that are soe deeply concerned heerin, and that in case of blood; and though att present wee cannot bee all like minded, that yett our Christian moderation may appeer as in other respects, soe espctially in refferance to an offensiue warr with Indians or others till the mind of God doe more fully appeer. Remembering it wilbee noe griefe of hart to any of vs when we come to giue vp our accounts that wee haue neither sheed blood causlesly nor drawne others to doe it vpon the grounds not clear to them however possibly satisfactory to youreselues."

28. The Commissioners return an answer to Winslow's letter of May 2. They express their gladness, that Cromwell is engaged in promoting the mission. They agree that the proposal of the Corporation for six hopeful Indians to be trained up at Harvard College, so as to learn other tongues and disperse their own there, is judicious, and shall be executed, when they prepare a suitable building for such students. They state that Mr. Eliot is composing an Indian Catechism, and that they shall hire Thomas Staunton, the most able interpreter in the country, to assist him in the work. They arrange compensation for the wife of William Daniel of Dorchester, who, for three years, had spent much of her time in teaching some Indians to read, and for her further continuance in the same duty. They express a desire, that Mr. Eliot, "when a hopefull companie of Indians present themselves," will gather them into another town, and they designate the various implements for such a purpose. They consult relative to the salaries of Messrs. Mayhew, Eliot and his brother. They order a strong, two story building to be erected at Cambridge, for the accommodation of Indian students, whose support is to be derived from the Society in England.*

December 16. As an event indicating the instability of affairs in

* Com'rs MS. Rec. Hazard, vol. ii. p. 274-305.

the mother country and suited to keep alive anxious thoughts among the colonists, as to the issue of present causes, Cromwell is declared Lord Protector* of the Commonwealth of England. Of the articles which he promises to make the basis of his administration, is, that all denominations shall be tolerated except those of Papacy and Episcopacy.

1654. February 14. A letter † is written by the President of the Society in England for missions here, to the General Court. He remarks that the Act of their incorporation had so united them to New England, "as, (using their own language,) to make us sympathize with you in every condition, especially to be most of all sensible of the late distractions between the United Colonies in their Commissioners, which soundeth so loud here to the reproach of your profession in the precious way of the Gospel, as we cannot but take up a lamentation for it among the rest of those, that wish well to Zion and pray for the peace thereof." He goes on to state, that if the Union should be broken, it would destroy the missionary enterprise, because the Act of Parliament constituted the Commissioners the directors of its concerns in this country.

He observes: "Who knows not but those instruments that kindled those sparks may occasion the State here to send a General Governor over you to unite you perforce, which in time may be of sad consequences to you all. Let this letter of ours to every General Court of the respective Governments of the United Colonies bear witness to all the world, that we are innocent as to any neglect of any duty known to us, that may any way awaken the outward maintainance of such as shall be instrumental in civilizing and drawing home unto the Lord the poor naked lost sons of Adam, that are among and live near you. And as we know not particularly who have been instrumental in this breach or interruption at least, so let us beseech you to study after peace and pursue it, and let each of you strive to go before the other three Governments in healing the least breach made among you, that as our hearts are saddened by the too familiar reports of your disagreement, so we may be made glad by the tidings of your re-uniting more firmly than ever." From this it is evident, that the late conclusion of Massachusetts not to join the other Colonies in a war with the Dutch, though their Commissioners, as well as one of the Bay, urged it, besides the difficulty of laying duties on Springfield, had produced much anxiety among their friends in the mother country, lest it should terminate the confederation and blast the hopeful indications of Christianity among several tribes of Indians.

18. The same writer ‡ sends another letter to the Commissioners. He states, that a report is spread extensively in the Kingdom, that

* Salmon, vol. i. p. 159. Neal's Puritans.

† Mass. MS. Papers.

‡ Com'rs MS. Rec. Hazard, vol. ii. p. 311, 2.

1654.]

Eliot and Mayhew receive very scanty pay for their labors among the Indians, and that it is seized on by many as a cause why they should not contribute to the missionary funds. He remarks that Mr. Peters, on such an account, had appeared not so cordial to their enterprise as was desirable. With regard to disagreement in the Confederation of the Colonies, he observes: "We hope it is healed ere now, if not wee trust our letters (for we are very sencible of the breach and the euils that may follow therevpon to the severall respective Governments,) will but heal forwards the same."

March 3. Peters writes to Mr. Gott of Wenham, one of his deacons, when he left Salem: "Nothing but want of health could detain me from New England, such is my love to the place, and lovely it will yet be." He observes, that he has given his property at Salem, conditionally, to John Winthrop, of Connecticut, who had married the daughter of his first wife, and, on the 30th of April, that he sent him a loadstone to keep, if he never returned to this country. He remarks to him: "Nothing hath troubled me more, than that you had not my company with you." He closes: "My heart is with my God and desire after him." Such communings were pleasant and mournful to his soul.*

18. Several Baptists are presented and fined by the Middlesex Court,† for absence from public ordinances on the Sabbath.

May 3. Various transactions of the General Court,‡ who now convene, present themselves: "Forasmuch as it greatly concernes the welfare of the country, that the youth thereof be educated not only in good literature, but in sound doctrine, this Court doth therefore commend it to the serious consideration and special care of our Overseers of the Colledg and the Selectmen in the several townes, not to admit or suffer any such to be continued in the office or place of teaching, educating or instructing youth or children, in the colledg or schools, that have manifested themselves unsound in the faith or scandalous in their lives, and have not given satisfaction according to the rules of Christ."

A petition from inhabitants of Hampton, Salisbury, Newbury, Haverhill and Andover, is laid before the Legislature. Its language is: "Whereas our loving friend, Lt. Robert Pike, of Salisbury, hath by occasion, as it is witnessed against him, let fall some words, for which this honoured Court hath been pleased to censure him, we, having had experience that he hath been a peaceable man and useful instrument amongst us, do humbly desire that the said sentence may be revoked, and that the said Lt. Pike may be restored to his former liberty." The reply to it follows: "This Court cannot but deeply-resent, that so many persons of several towns, conditions and relations should combine together to prevent [head]

* Annals of Salem, 1 ed. p. 529. Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. 3 s. vol. i. p. 179.
Suffolk Registry MS. Rec. Lib. viii. p. 11. † MS. Rec. ‡ Mass. MS. Rec.

such an unjust and unreasonable request as the revoking the sentence past against Lt. Robert Pike, and the restoring of him to his former liberty without any petition of his own, or the least acknowledgment of his great offence, fully proved against him, which was no less than defaming this Court, and charging them with breach of oath, etc., which the Petitioners call some words let fall by occasion. The Court doth therefore order in this extraordinary case, that Mr. Bradstreet for Haverhill and Andover, Capt. Wiggin for Hampton, Capt. Gerrish and Nicholas Noyes for Newbury, and Mr. Winsley and Mr. Bradbury for Salisbury, shall and hereby are approved Commissioners to call the said Petitioners together, or so many of them at a time as they shall think meet, and require a reason of their unjust request, and how they came to be induced to subscribe the said petition, and so make their return to the next Session, that the Court may consider how to proceed further therein."*

As John Hall had broken his marriage covenant and refused to live with his wife, Dorcas, she is divorced from him.†

June 9. Special meeting of General Court. They "having received and perused a letter from His Highness the Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland,‡ full of great and favourable respect to this Colony, which they desire to keep in grateful remembrance, and shall be ready at all times wherein they may with safety to the liberty of their consciences, publick peace and welfare, to their utmost attend to His Highness' pleasure. This Court therefore declare, that though they understand that this Colony is not in such a capacity as may be apprehended to send forth such numbers of men as might vigorously assist in that undertaking, yet do freely consent and give liberty to His Highness' Commissioners, Major Robert Sedgwick and Capt. John Leverett, to raise within our jurisdiction five hundred volunteers, furnished with all necessary accommodations to assist them in their enterprise against the Dutch, provided the persons be free from legal engagements."

A Committee are designated to prepare letters for Cromwell, the Missionary Corporation and Winslow. They are also instructed to "draw up a narrative in the way of remonstrance of all matters respecting that which is charged on this Court, concerning the breach of the Confederacy, for the vindication of this Court's actings in such respect." They are to meet at Ipswich on the 20th, about such a narrative.

Dunster, who had trouble relative to his opinions, as an anti-pædobaptist, sends in his resignation, as president of the College.§ After his resignation, Johannes Amos Comenius, a famous linguist, agreed with the younger Winthrop, then travelling through the

* Mass. MS. Papers and Rec.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid.

§ Mass. MS. Rec.

1654.]

Low Countries to come over and "illuminate the College and country in the quality of a President. But the solicitations of the Swedish Ambassador, diverting him another way, that incomparable Moravian became not an American."*

13. The Natick Indians assemble at Roxbury to have another examination from the Elders with reference to their being constituted a Church. Eliot gives several particulars. After the candidates had been questioned, "Mr. Ezekiel Rogers having first privately conferred with such of the Elders as sat near him, spake words of acceptance and encouragement." In their former trial, the Indians "expressed what experience they had found of God's grace in their hearts, turning them from dead works, to seek after the living God, and salvation in our Saviour Jesus Christ. In this second, they have in some measure, declared how far the Lord hath let in the light of the good knowledge of God into their souls, and what taste they have of the principles of Religion, and doctrine of salvation." It is concluded, that the final step of gathering them into a church state be put off, principally because some of them need greater preparation to rule the affairs of God's house "in the absence of such as look after their instruction."†

23. News arrived, that peace had taken place between England and Holland, which stopped preparation for the invasion of New Netherland.‡ But Sedgwick and Leverett, who had direction of the expedition, turned their attention to the conquest of Nova Scotia from the French, who were unwelcome neighbors to the English, for their zealous support and promotion of Romanism. Such peaceful tidings removed a serious occasion of different views and measures between Massachusetts and the other confederate colonies.

July 7. The dedicatory epistle to an Exposition of Ecclesiastes, by John Cotton, is dated by Anthony Tuckney, D. D., Master of St. John's College, Cambridge. An address to the reader, of an Exposition of Canticles, also by Cotton, is dated July 24, 1655, by Tuckney. The first of these works was commended to the civil authorities and others of Boston, Lincolnshire, to whom both of them were interesting, because Cotton and Tuckney were ministers together. Such productions were printed in London.§

An able work on the Sabbath, the production of William Pynchon, and probably most finished while he was at Springfield, is published in London.

This year a practical discourse on Prayer, from Thomas Cobbett, is from a press of the same city. His preface to it is dated October 24, 1653. Cotton Mather says, that of all this author's works, "none deserves more to be read by the world or to live."

* *Magnalia*, vol. ii. p. 10. † *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.* 3 s. vol. iv. p. 277-87.

‡ *Holmes's Annals*, vol. i. p. 301. § They are rare, and contained in the Old South Library, Boston, Mass.

The subsequent work of John Cotton is published in London. The Covenant of Grace, being the substance of several sermons, and showing the difference between the Legalist and the Christian. It was taken from the author's mouth, when delivered, and handed to him for revision. He corresponded with Thomas Allen, who returned to England a year before his decease, about this discourse, and, also, eleven questions for uniting the Congregational and Presbyterian Churches. Allen, when having these questions printed this year, added another, making twelve of them.

12. Roger Williams informs Winthrop of Connecticut, that he had visited Peters at his lodgings in Whitehall, which "I was told was Canterburies, and he himself told me, that the Library, wherein we were together, was Canterburies, and was given him by Parliament." He states, that Peters was grieved, that his wife had been excommunicated, which was probably from the Salem church. It is likely that she acted irrationally, and was dealt with as though she had the right use of her reason. Williams proceeds: "His wife lives from him, not wholly, but much distracted. He tells me he had but £200 a year, and allowed her £80 per annum of it. He told me, that his affliction from his wife, stirred him to action abroad, and when success tempted him to pride, the bitterness of his bosom comforts was a cooler and a bridle to him." Thus these two men of distinguished talents and learning, and much alike in their temperament, communed together in the spirit of Christian sympathy,* though the one had been constrained by the call of his office, to publish the excision of the other from his church.

30. According to a subsequent indictment, Henry Dunster, late President of the College, addressed the congregation at Cambridge "in the time of public ordinance to the interruption thereof without leave, which was also aggravated in that he being desired by the Elder to forbear and not interrupt an ordinance of Christ, yet notwithstanding he proceeded in way of complaint to the congregation, saying I am forbidden to speak that in Christ's name, which I would have testified. And in his following speech, he asserted as his testimony in the name of Christ these things. That the subjects of baptism were visible penitent believers and they only. That there was an action now to be done, which was not according to the institution of Christ. That the exposition as it had been held forth was not the mind of Christ. That the Covenant of Abraham is not a ground of baptism, no not after the institution thereof. That there were such corruptions stealing into the Church, which every faithful Christian ought to bear witness against."†

August 16. As a long desired event with the Colonists, Nova Scotia submits to the authority of England at the capitulation of Port Royal to her forces, under Sedgwick and Leverett. From

* Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. 3 s. vol. x. p. 1-4.

† Middlesex Ct. MS. Rec.

1654.]

the last of these persons, we have the ensuing extract to Cromwell: "Our Body Politick is various from the present condition of our native Country, and one kind of Physick will not serve both, as your Honour well knows. We choose this place neither for pleasure nor profit, but chiefly for renovation of government in point of laws, magistracy and ministry. Now the Lord having answered our desires, what remains but our answering his expectation in humble obedience, the which our countrymen will see cause ere long to make room for, provided liberty prove a trusty harbinger: and verily obedience to godly government and righteous laws, is so hard a task, that some there be who would make use of any shifts to avoid it and rather urge a necessity of new moulding our frame of government, which we see no cause for. We believe you will well approve of our present government, and the rather seeing we are not able to bend the proud and mighty oaks of Bashan, (as the Lord hath enabled your Honour to do,) but are necessitated to bend them in the twig, which we presume is the cause of more than a little complaint against us, and more especially in these times when men are addicted to cover their crimes with religion. We presume (in the Apostle's words) to say, Our God shall supply all your wants, for which we pray and bless His name, who hath begun to abolish all human inventions, and caused not only Ecclesiastical but Civil government to acknowledge no other Lord nor Law Giver, but Christ alone."*

22. Another session of the General Court begins. They agree upon communications for the missionary corporation, Winslow and Cromwell, as previously designated. As hostilities had ceased between Holland and England, the non-intercourse act between the Colony and the Dutch is repealed.

"Forasmuch as it highly tendeth to the advancement of the Gospel, that the ministers thereof be comfortably maintained, and it being the duty of the civil power to use all lawful means for the attaining of that end, and that henceforth there may be established a settled, encouraging maintenance of ministers in all towns and congregations within this Jurisdiction,—This Court do order, that the County Court in each Shire, shall upon information given them of any defect of any congregation or township within the Shire, order and appoint what maintenance shall be allowed to the ministry, and shall issue out warrants to the Selectmen to assess and the Constables of the said Towns to collect the same and to distrain the said assessments on such as shall refuse to pay. And it is hereby declared to be our intention that an honourable allowance be made to the ministry respecting the ability of the places, and if any town shall feel themselves burdened by the assessment of the

* Hutchinson's MS. Papers, p. 199. Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.

† Mass. MS., Rec.

County Court, they may complain to this Court, which shall at all times be ready to give just relief to all men."

On the 24th, the Court directed their letter to Cromwell. An extract follows: "It hath been no small comfort to us, poor exiles, in the utmost ends of the earth (who sometimes felt and often feared the frowns of the mighty) to have had the experience of the good hand of God, in raising up such, whose endeavours have not been wanting to our welfare; amongst whom, we have good cause to give your highness the first place; who by a continued series of favours have obliged us, not only while you moved in a lower orb, but since the Lord hath called your highness to supreme authority, whereat we rejoice and shall pray for the continuance of your happy government, that under your shadow not only ourselves, but all the churches may find rest and peace!" Then a relation is given of what force had been allowed to be raised by his Commissioners, and of the objections entertained by the Bay Authorities to a war with New Netherland.*

An order is passed, that all the inhabitants, "who have any of the books, lately brought out of England under the names of John Reeves and Lodowick Muggleton, who pretend to be the two last witnesses and prophets of Jesus Christ, which are full of blasphemies, and shall not bring and send in all such books, now in their custody, to the next magistrate, shall forfeit £10, for every such book," found upon them "after one month's publication hereof." At their next session the Legislature, "sensible of the great dishonour, that daily redounds to the great and sacred name and truths of God by the many notorious, heretical and blasphemous books, which so frequently fly up and down in other parts of the world and lately have crept in amongst us under the name of Lodowick Muggleton and John Reeves, do therefore order, that as many of those books as are or shall be in custody, shall, on the next Lecture day, be burnt after the Lecture in the market place by the executioner of Boston."

In view of the hopeful appearance of government in England, "in that way and in those hands" by which "we have great cause to expect through the strength of our God, that the people's liberties will be preserved and the peace of the nation established;" of the restoration of harmony between them and the United Provinces "after so sharp a war;" of a good crop here, "though the Spring was drier than ordinary and some threats of great rains this harvest," and "a threatening war prevented," Thanksgiving is ordered to be on the 20th of September.†

Michael Powell makes a communication to the magistrates. He recurs to the answer, which he made to their requisition, that he should not become Teacher of the new Church in Boston.

* Hutchinson, 3d ed. vol. i. p. 452, 3.

† Mass. MS. Rec.

1654.]

He states that his words had been understood, as if he promised to take on himself no such charge without their consent, but this was a mistake, "for thereby if civil authority were so disposed, the Church could have no officers." He observes, that if the congregation with whom he had labored near three years, still continue their call, that he may settle with them, he shall consider himself as a violator of duty, if he decline their invitation. He continues: "I freely acknowledge my own unworthiness for so great a work. Not doubting of your pious and tender care for the good of the Church of Christ, and that you will seriously weigh the rule and attend thereunto, which only brings peace unto a soul and to the Israel of God."

September 18. The Commissioners of the Confederation address Mr. Eliot with reference to several topics.* They observe: "Wee conceived, that twenty pound per annum" [from the missionary funds,] "aded to what you yearly receive from the Lady Arramina and others out of England with the mayntenance allowed by the Church att Rocksburrow might proue comfortable and satisfying for youer selfe and family as in other respects soe for the due education of youer children and thought you accepted it; though wee then knew it must prove chargeable to yourselfe or others in the low condition of New England to bring vp soe many sonnes att learning in a Collegiate way as you propounded." They now agree to allow him £40 a year. They remark: "If wee find cause wee shall enlarge further, though wee hope that the worke will spread over the Countrey and many instruments may bee imployed in it and soe the charge increasing heerin wee shall freely affoord our best healp and rejoyce that the saving health of our Lord may bee knowne among all these nations of Indians." They add: "Wee desired that Thomas Stanton's help might haue been vsed in the Cattachisme printed and wish that noe inconvenience bee found through want thereof; and shall now advise that before you proceed in translating the Scriptures or any parte of them, you improue the best healpes the Countrey affoards for the Indian language, that it may bee these South West Indians (some of whome wee are now informed desire healp both for reading and to bee instructed in the things of God and Christ) may understand and haue the benefitt of what is printed." Their postscript reads: "Wee desire you would bee slow in withdrawing Indian professors from paying accustomed tribute and performing other lawfull services to theire Sagamores till you haue seriously considered and aduised with the Majestrates and Elders of the Massachusetts, least the passage and spreading of the Gospell be hindered thereby."

Having received a communication of the 16th ult. from Mr. Mayhew, the Commissioners return him an answer: "Wee doe

* Mass. MS. Papers.

rejoyse att the information you giue vs of the blessing of God vpon your labours among those poor barbarous people vpon the Island etc. and theire dayly coming in to imbrace the Gospell of Christ.”* They observe, that for a schoolmaster and one or two other persons qualified to instruct the Indians, £10 each a year are appropriated; £40 salary for himself, in addition to what he had otherwise; £10 for sick and well deserving Indians; £40 towards a meeting-house for them, and £8 for a missionary boat to ply between the Island and the main. They request him, as they had Mr. Eliot, not to discourage any of the Christian Indians in paying accustomed tribute to their Sagamores without advice from Elders and Magistrates, lest the mission should be thereby injured.

23. They provide for finishing the building † at the College to accommodate Indian youths, who are designated for missionary service.

25. In their instructions ‡ to the commander of the expedition against Ninegret, is the subsequent clause: “Above all the rest, we commend to your Christian care the upholding the worship of God in your army and to keep such watch over the conversation of all those, under your charge, that all profaneness, impiety, abuse of the sacred name of God, luxury and other disorders may be avoided or duly punished, that the Lord may be pleased to go forth before you, prosper all your proceedings and return you to us in peace, which we shall daily pray for.”

October 17. The General Court begin a session, § in which they make the following regulations:

“Forasmuch as, according to the present form of government in this jurisdiction, the safety of the Commonwealth, the right administration of justice, the preservation of the peace and purity of the churches of Christ therein, under God, doth much depend upon the piety, wisdom and soundness of the General Court, not only Magistrates, but Deputies, it is therefore ordered by this Court and authority thereof, that no man, although a freeman, shall be accepted as a Deputy of the General Court, that is unsound in judgment concerning the main points of Christian Religion, as they have been held forth and acknowledged by the generality of the Protestant orthodox writers, or that is scandalous in his conversation, or that is unfaithful to this government. And it is further ordered, that it shall not be lawful for any freeman to make choice of any such person, as aforesaid, that is known to himself to be under such offence or offences before specified, upon penalty of five pounds, and that the case of such persons be tried by the whole General Court.”

* Com'rs MS. Hazard Papers, vol. ii. p. 316-7.

† Sewall says, under May, 1698: “Begining of this month, the Indian College (brick) pulled down, sold to Mr. Wells, builder, of Stoughton.”

‡ Hutchinson's Coll. p. 265.

§ Mass. Gen. Court Rec.

1654.]

Perceiving that the voluntary contributions for the support of the President and Fellows of the College were not likely to be enough, the Legislature adopt the subsequent course. "Whereas we cannot but acknowledge the goodness of God towards his people in this wilderness, in raising up schools of learning, and especially the College, from whence there hath sprung many instruments both in Church and Commonwealth, both to this and other places, and whereas at present the work of the College hath been several ways obstructed,"—and "fearing lest we should show ourselves ungrateful to God, or unfaithful to posterity, if so good a Seminary of knowledge and virtue should fall to the ground through any neglect of ours, it is therefore ordered, that besides the profits of the Ferry, formerly granted to the College, which shall be continued, that there shall be yearly levied, by addition to the country rate, an hundred pounds, to be paid by the Treasurer of the country to the College Treasurer, for the behoof and maintenance of the President and Fellows, to be distributed between them according to the determination of the Overseers of the College and this to continue during the pleasure of the Court." *

"Notwithstanding the great care this Court hath had and the laws made to suppress that swinish sin of drunkenness, and persons addicted to that vice, find out ways" to elude the laws, it is therefore ordered, that "none licensed to sell strong waters, nor any private house-keeper shall permit any persons to sit tippling strong-water, wine or strong beer in their houses, on the penalty of 20/. for the first offence, or be put in the stocks one hour; for the second, forfeit license and 20/. and the private house-keeper pay £5, and for the third, to be bound in £20 for good behaviour."

18. "Whereas Shawannon, Sagamore of Nashaway is lately dead and another is now suddenly to be chosen in his room, they being a great people that have submitted to this jurisdiction, their eyes being upon two or three of the blood, one whereof is very debased and a drunken fellow, and no friend of the English, another is very hopeful to learn the things of Christ,—this Court doth therefore order that Mr. Increase Nowell and Mr. John Eliot shall and hereby are desired to repair to the Indians and labour, by their best counsel, to prevail with them for the choosing of such an one, as may be most fit to be their Sagamore, which would be a good service to the country." †

On the 31st, the Committee about the case of Lt. Pike, having reported, that most of the subscribers to the petition for his release from the sentence against him, confessed that they had done wrong, while others justified the act, the Legislature require the latter to give bonds of £10 each for appearance at their respective County Courts to answer for their conduct.

* Mass. Gen. Court MS. Rec.

† Ibid.

On a prominent subject before our fathers, as to the relative membership, sustained by children of professing Christians to the church, John Norton, termed by Increase Mather, "that judicious and eagle-eyed seer," presents this year, the ensuing propositions.*

1. "Children are capable of confederating in a public person." One of his reasons stated, that it was so "from the nature of community, where the absent, yea, those that are unborn, are obligated by the deed of their plenipotentiary acting legally, 2 Sam. 21. 1. Joshua 9. 7, 15, 18. Joshua's covenant with the Gibeonites bound Saul."

2. "Children by divine Institution, have confederated and do still confederate in their parents as public persons." Among his several proofs, is one in reference to mankind considered in Adam, Gen. 2. 17. Rom. 5. 12. 1 Cor. 15. 22.

3. "By virtue of this confederation, children are made church members."

4. "This distinct membership gives them a proper right unto baptism." One of his explanations on this point is: "The children of the Jews in covenant had a proper right to circumcision. In case of the parent's ceremonial uncleanness, notwithstanding their membership," they "were suspended from their communion in holy things; yet was the child, even then, notwithstanding the parent's suspension, to be circumcised the eighth day."

November 9. A letter† from the Council of Massachusetts is directed "to the Reverend and much honored Mr. Hugh Peters." They apologize for their long silence. They proceed: "Yet such is our confidence of your zeal for God, your real and cordial affection to the cause of God and the liberties and welfare of his people here, that we are encouraged; our necessities, at this time, also compelling us to make use of all our friends, amongst whom we cannot but rank yourself among the chief, and are confident you will not suffer us to be mistaken therein, but that, in due time, we shall see Amicus return." They continue: "Some few among ourselves and others of our confederates, offended at our peace, address themselves to England, and, by what means, or upon what pretence, we know not, prevail with his Highness to send a fleet of ships under the command of Mr. Sedgwick to assist us against the Dutch." They relate, that peace having been made between Holland and England, the fleet sailed against the French of Nova Scotia, took their territory, and then applied to Massachusetts for forces to secure the conquest, but the authorities thereof declined unless the Commissioners showed their warrant for such a course. They subjoin: "Least our action and answers should be misrepresented to his Highness, we thought it our duty briefly to present things as they are, relating to the French, as formerly we have

* First Principles of N. E. p. 14-22.

† Felt's Memoir of Peters, p. 47.

1653.]

done in reference to the Dutch. We earnestly entreat you would be pleased so far to tender the welfare of this place, the comfort and well-being of the people of God here, his honour and cause, to the perpetual good of posterity as to your utmost interest with his Highness, or any other whom it may concern, as opportunity may present or occasion require, for the obtaining our just desires and establishing our rights and privileges to us and our posterity forever, whereby you will do acceptable service to God, and forever oblige your true and faithful friends and brethren."*

10. Dunster, while stating objections to the removal of his afflicted family from his college residence, till a more suitable season, remarks: "If a place be found, that may be comfortable for them, myself will willingly bow my neck to any yoke of personal denial, for I know for what and for whom by grace I suffer." The General Court grant him leave to remain till the Spring.†

11. As some overseers of the College are taken away, part by death and others gone to England, Rev. Messrs. John Allin of Dedham, John Norton of Boston, Samuel Whiting and Thomas Cobbet of Lynn, are appointed to supply their places. The Court, "having perused and seriously considered the agreement of their Commissioners at their last meeting at Hartford, as to ending all former differences and offences betwixt the Government and the rest of their Confederates, do approve thereof and consent thereto, professing their resolution to act accordingly, and therefore do order, that letters be sent to the other three General Courts to certify the same."

NOTE.—May 18, 1653, John Guppy, "being vnder a great fine for putting in more cornes than one for the choyce of a magistrate, vpon his request to this Court, hath his fine abated to twenty shillings."

PLYMOUTH.

1653. March 1. An order of Court reads:‡ "Whereas we have intelligence out of our native Countrey of danger that may be towards us in regard of the great variances betwixt the two nations of Holland and England," a special meeting of Deputies and Magistrates is to be summoned, "to conclude on such milletary affaires as through God's blessing may probably tend to our present and future safety." On the 6th of April, such a Convention assemble. Among various regulations for defence, is this: "That

* MS. Mass. Gen. Court Papers.

† Mass. Gen. Ct. MS. Rec.

‡ Plymouth Col. MS. Rec.

one third of every milletary companie shall bring their armes with powder and shott to the meetings on the Lord's day both forenoone and afternoone, on paine of forfeiting for every one that shall neglect, two shillings and sixpence for every default." They elect a Council of War. On the 12th of May the latter body conclude, that, if the Commissioners of the United Colonies agree on a war with the Dutch "by the authoritie of the State of England," Plymouth, as one of such a Confederation, "will be in reddiness through the healp of God to assist and engage therein according to theire proportions and vtmost abillities."

30. A day of humiliation* at Barnstable "for the preservation of God's people in this land from the purposed invasion of the Indians, especially the Narragansetts, being instigated thereunto by the Dutch, even to cut off all the English, and also for our own Country being at war with the Dutch." On the next May 11, there was another such an occasion for "the present conceived dangerous estate of the English," etc.

April. William Leveridge, from Sandwich, visits Long Island, and with others from the former place, purchases of the natives a large tract of land at Oyster Bay, for a new settlement.† Shortly after he moved hither, Wood supposes that he divided his labors between the adjacent English planters and Indians. For his instruction of the latter, from 1653 to 1658, he was allowed some compensation by the Commissioners for the Missionary Society in England. In the last year, the people of Huntington appropriated land to him as their minister, and in 1662, enlarged the quantity. He continued to be their pastor till 1670, when he took up his abode at Newton, and dispensed to its inhabitants the doctrines of Revelation. Here he died in 1677, leaving two sons, Caleb and Eleazer. In a volume of Newton records, there is a laborious and learned Commentary on a large part of the Old Testament in his hand-writing and an abbreviated form. Hubbard called him "our able and worthy minister."

June 9. The Legislature enact, that any person of sixteen years old, "whoe shall wittingly and willingly make or publish any lye, which may bee pernitius to the publicke weale or tending to the damage of any particulare person, or with entent to deceive and abuse the people with false newes or reports," shall be fined 10/. for each offence, or set publicly in the stocks not above two hours. William Barstow confesses his error‡ for asserting that the Rev. Charles Chauncey, of Scituate, was the death of his brother George, because he "sent his Bulls abroad to the Church at Cambridge," and thus hindered him from communion with them,

* Barn. Ch. Rec. N. E. Gen. Reg. vol. x. p. 39.

† Wood's Long Island, p. 44, 5. Thompson's do. vol. ii. p. 145, 6. Hubbard's N. E. p. 221. Hist. of Newton, L. I.

‡ Plym. Col. Rec.

1654.]

which, occasioning him excessive grief, brought him to his end. He engages to make such retraction not only at Scituate, but at Boston and wherever he uttered the said "slandrous speeches," and before Mr. Chauncey and all persons who have heard them.

30. As William Witherell, pastor of the New Church at Scituate, and others, addressed* the Old Church under Mr. Chauncey, on the 5th of March, to know why there was not communion between them, Chauncey replies, that the cause of separation between them was well known, after several Councils had considered the subject. This brings out a rejoinder, on July 8, that such distance was not so strongly founded, as had been represented. As Mr. Chauncey retired from Scituate in the autumn, the discussion dropped. Then the debates on his opinions, that children and adults should be immersed, that the Sacrament should be administered every Lord's day and in the afternoon, became quiescent.

September 13. The Commissioners of the Confederation address† the Government of Rhode Island about the capture of a vessel, belonging to Samuel Mayo of Barnstable, by one of their cruisers. It appears that the prize had the goods of Rev. William Leveridge of Sandwich, on board, bound to Oyster Bay on Long Island, where he intended to form a settlement with others. She was captured at Hempstead, whose inhabitants were suffering for their attachment to the English. The Commissioners require satisfaction for the act.

When Mr. Leveridge moved away from Sandwich, Richard Bourne and Thomas Tupper preached to the congregation. They agreed, that the one who, on the Sabbath, had the most adherents present, should officiate. They also gave religious instruction to Indians with much zeal and success.‡

November 3. The learned, able, faithful and useful minister of the Gospel, John Lothrop, "fell asleep in the Lord." He accompanied the first settlers of Barnstable from Scituate, and continued breaking to them the bread of life till his days on earth were finished. He had children, Thomas, Samuel, Joseph, Benjamin, Barnabas, John, Jane and Barbara. Though he wrote his name, as here presented, yet many of his descendants have spelt it Lathrop. Morton, who knew him well, says that he was "willing to spend and to be spent for the cause and church of Christ."

1654. March 7. The Legislature provide for the government of their trading place on the Kennebeck River.

Josiah Hallet and Thomas Gage are presented for profaning the Lord's Day, by putting forth to sea out of Sandwich harbor, and fined according to order.§

* History Scituate, p. 84-7. † Com'rs MS. Rec. Hazard vol. ii. p. 287.

‡ Baylies' Mem. of Plym. vol. ii. p. 282. § Plym. Ct. MS. Rec.

May 21. As a benevolent and efficient helper in advancing the spiritual welfare of the Colony, Miss Elizabeth Poole, of Taunton, is called to exchange worlds, at the age of sixty-five years. The state of her mind on the near approach of her last end, may be learned from her will, dated four days before she died: "Being sick and weak, under the visitation of the Lord, yet being of perfect memory and understanding, and willing to set my house in order according to the direction and message of the Lord unto Hezekiah, when he was sick, that I might leave mine affairs so as might be peaceable and comfortable to my friends remaining behind me, I therefore commit my body to the grave according to the appointment of God, who took me from the dust, and saith we shall return unto the dust, there to remain until the resurrection, and my soul into the hand of God, my heavenly Father, through Jesus Christ, who is to me all in all, and hath, as I believe and am persuaded through mercy of God, reconciled me unto God, and taken away the guiltiness of sin and fear of death, which would otherwise have been heavy to bear, and makes me willing to leave the world, and desire to be with Christ, which is best of all." This is a farewell, learned in the school of Emmanuel, and infinitely more pertinent to the nature, necessities and obligations of the soul, than any other, essentially different, however adorned with the highest of worldly wisdom. There is cause to believe, that she entered on the fruition of its hopes, which has abounded and will continue so to do in endless progression.

June 6. John Smith is presented for needlessly travelling from Taunton to "Munkateesett" and back again on the Sabbath. "William Chase, Sen., of Yarmouth, is presented for driving one pair of oxen in the yoke upon the Lord's day, in time of exercise, about five miles."*

Edward Perry, for delaying to have his marriage ratified before Mr. Prence, as the General Court had required, is fined £5, and so is to be at every session of the Court, on which he thus disobeys.

Robert Titus, of Rehoboth, about to move from the Colony, having received "Aaron Ordway and a woman, persons of evil fame, with children" into his house, is commanded to carry these away with him, or give security so that the Town may not suffer damage.

15. The Legislature answer a communication from Sedgwick and others. They say, that having deliberated on the command of Cromwell, by the help of God, we intend to close with you in your intended enterprise against the Dutch at the Manhatoes, with such small help as we are able to afford. On the 20th, men are ordered to be pressed for this expedition. On the 23d, tidings of peace between England and Holland arrive, and render such hostile preparation no longer needed.

* Plymouth Ct. MS. Rec.

1653.]

20. At their June Session,* the Legislature enact, that whoever holds "solemn conversing or compacting with the devil by way of conjuration and the like," shall suffer death, and that theft shall be punished by restitution of three or four-fold.

October 3. The General Court order men to be raised, so that they may unite with other forces of the rest of the confederated Colonies, to march for the residence of Ninigret, the Niantick Sachem, and compel him to terms, if he refuse.

18. John Reyner leaves the Plymouth Church and visits Boston, where the Legislature recommend him to the new church for a teaching Elder. But the lot was divinely cast for him in Dover, New Hampshire. Soon after his departure, as Morton states, John Cook, who appears to have been an anabaptist, causes great divisions in the Barnstable Church.

November 2. Chauncey, having gone from Scituate to wait in Boston for a passage to England, so that he might comply with a call to resume the charge of his former Congregation there, receives an invitation to become President of Harvard College. The Committee, Messrs. Mather and Norton, of the Overseers, offer him £100 salary, and signify to him, as they are authorized, "that it is expected and desired, that he forbear to disseminate or publish any tenets concerning immersion in baptism and celebration of the Lord's supper at evening, or to oppose the received doctrine therein." Chauncey was inaugurated on the 27th of the same month. While his predecessor at the College believed that infants should not be sprinkled at all, he believed that they should be immersed. This is one of the instances, wherein extremes are not unfrequently held by good and learned men.

MAINE.

1653. May 18. The Bay Legislature at their Session, now commenced,† pass various orders in reference to Maine. As a noticeable novelty, in the enlargement of their Deputies, they have John Wincoll from Kittery, and Edward Richworth from York. The voice of these places, which had been for legislation to favor Episcopal influence, is now for that which sustains Congregationalism.

Dissatisfied with the French under La Tour, who had married the widow of his rival, D'Aulney, and who exercised authority at Penobscot and farther eastward, all provisions are forbidden to be carried thither. Still, as several persons of Boston had agreed to

* Plym. Col. Rec.

† Mass. Gen. Ct. MS. Rec.

send a small vessel, laden with such articles to him, they allow them, a fortnight after, to dispatch her on the voyage.

July. Richard Bellingham,* having finished the business of the quarter Court in Yorkshire, with Commissioners for that purpose, appears at Wells to receive the submission of the other places in Maine, to the jurisdiction of Massachusetts. For this end, eventful to the people immediately concerned, he is joined by Daniel Denison, Edward Rawson, Thomas Wiggins and Brian Pendleton. These Commissioners had notified the inhabitants of Wells, Saco and Cape Porpoise to convene, on the 4th, at Rev. Joseph Emerson's house. On the first day only six took the oath of freemen, including the minister. William Wardwell, when his name was called, remained silent and left the room with a contemptuous air. But brought back in the afternoon by a constable, to answer for his conduct, he apologized. The next day, he and about nineteen more took the like oath. Several others did the same subsequently. Thus the last section of Gorges' restricted Patent, comes under the control of men, whom he was once royally empowered, though ineffectually, to govern.

5. With regard to Saco and Cape Porpoise,† of the Lygonia Patent, seventeen of the first and twelve of the second place, yield in a similar manner. The three Towns are promised all the privileges which such corporations have in Massachusetts, and to be included in Yorkshire. They, as Kittery and York, are exempted from taxes, except for Town and County, and permitted to enjoy all political rights without the condition of being members of the Church.

While the Board were in session at Wells, cases in relation to the Church here, are brought to their cognizance. On complaint of Morgan Howell, John Baker is arraigned before them "for abusive and opprobrious speeches, uttered by him against the minister and ministry, and for upholding private meetings and prophesying to the hinderance and disturbance of public assembling, etc." They require him to give bond for regular behavior, and forbid him to preach publicly any more in this jurisdiction. Another case was, that Mr. Permott‡ and William Wardwell had been dismissed from the Church there, but they still claimed all its privileges. The Court advise them no longer to press their demands, lest they subject themselves to penal liability. At Cape Porpoise the Church was so constituted, that they were unable to transfer their civil relations to any other Colony. The Board disannul such obligation, so that they may promise allegiance to Massachusetts.

* Mass. Gen. Ct. MS. Rec. Maine MS. Rec.

† Mass. Ct. MS. Rec. Maine MS. Rec. Sullivan's Me. p. 360, 1.

‡ Not unlikely Pormont, who left Boston for Exeter with Wheelwright.

1653.]

The people of Saco,* though desirous of employing an educated minister, were unable to obtain one. The Commissioners grant them leave to employ Robert Boothe, a pious man, to lead their religious assemblies, until they can be more suitably supplied.

They summon George Barlow before them, charged with entertaining visionary opinions, and expressing them to the disturbance of the public peace. They caution him not to preach or prophesy any more in the Town, on penalty of £10 and costs.

Having made all the needed arrangements for the government of these places, the Board close their present labors with a Protest, which they order the Marshal of the County to proclaim publicly. A passage from this document follows: "We protest against all persons whatever, that shall challenge jurisdiction, or that shall exercise any act of authority over them or over any other persons, inhabiting within the limits of our patent, but what shall be derived from us as Commissioners, or from the General Court of Massachusetts."

Though the submission was so bloodlessly finished, yet there were strong men, who refused to be numbered among its partakers. Of these were George Cleaves of Casco, John Bonython of Saco, Henry Joscelyn of Black Point, and Robert Jordan, an Episcopal clergyman, of Spurwink.

The whole enterprise of receiving Maine under their protection and control, was conducted by the Bay Authorities with a firm, but kind and liberal policy. Different opinions of their conduct, in reference to this concern, have been expressed. That a fair construction of their Charter allowed them so to do, is evident from its language. Still, such a construction plainly spread over the soil which was originally patented to Mason and Gorges. Here is the issue for and against the transaction.

Such infringements existed, from the conflicting grants of charters, in all the settlements of America. New England was thus claimed by the Dutch, English and French, and its Colonies were patented so that they long trenched on each other's soil. Hence, in that period of unsettled boundaries, it was no strange thing for one claim of territory, when laid out, in thought or action, to its farthest limits, to cover another claim, equally strong. When Massachusetts notified Godfrey, that they intended to comprise Maine within their jurisdiction, he spiritedly asked them why, if it belonged to them, they had not taken such a step before. They replied: "It was some years after we came hither, before we knew the extent of our line, the date or validity of other Patents contained therein or bordering thereupon, as we now do, and therefore were slow to do any thing that might occasion any clashing therein, till all doubts in that respect were removed, as you cannot but observe

* Mass. Court, and Maine MS. Rec.

in our proceedings with those of Piscataqua, so in regard of yourselves, though we have been long satisfied, by those whom we employed to run our northerly line, that the place where you inhabit did fall within our jurisdiction. You seem to set out the limits of our Patent three miles N. E. of Merrimacke river at the sides which then was knowne, and the River is of another denomination upwards. If you had well perused the words of our Patents and the true sense of them, we believe you would change your mind." They had mentioned the fact, that while Parliament acknowledged the Charter of Massachusetts, they had nullified that of the Plymouth Company, on which the Patents of Maine and New Hampshire depended for existence. They add for substance, that while the population had regularly constituted governments here, and the proprietors, residing in England, exercised a care towards them, they thought it not expedient to move in the concern; but when the reverse was true, and a large majority of the inhabitants, on account of their disturbed, uncertain and anxious condition, sought for their protection, they judged the time had arrived for them to grant the request. They might have further remarked, that, however their Charter swept westward, even to the Pacific, they had not seen the day when they should attempt to bring the Dutch of New Netherland and directly within their range, under their laws; but that they would have none infer from this delay, that they had the least intention to surrender or forget their claim in such a direction. Nor was it an unheard of event for men in power to alter territorial lines and legislative policy. The very original Patentees of New Hampshire and Maine did, when Bishop Laud was at the head of the Commission for English America, unite their counsels and efforts with his to destroy the Companies of New Plymouth and Massachusetts, and bring them and all the rest of the Colonies under one General Governor for the overthrow of Congregationalism and the promotion of Episcopacy. Gorges himself was appointed such a Governor, and waited only for an opportunity to execute his orders. He and Mason thought themselves, from their relation to the Throne and the national Church, justified in their purpose and conduct. No less justified did the Rulers of the Bay consider themselves, when changes occurred sufficient, in their judgment, to require the extension of their bounds so as to include the soil previously patented to Gorges as well as to Mason. From the wish of Cromwell and the Parliament to suppress Episcopacy and Royalty, and to spread the influence of Puritanism in this as well as in the mother country, and from their avowed friendliness to the Bay Authorities, there is reason to believe, that these had encouragement from those, so to extend their control eastward. Whatever views may be taken of this subject, there can be no just doubt but that the change was highly beneficial to the inhabitants of this Province.

1654.]

1654. March 7. The General Court* of Plymouth elect and empower Thomas Prince to form and administer government in their Patent at Kennebeck. This is done in compliance with letters from the Council of State in London. Of his instructions, we have as follows: When the inhabitants shall be convened by his order, he shall administer to them an oath of allegiance to the State of England, and of fidelity to Plymouth authorities. He shall grant them, thus obligated, leave to choose Assistants for him in the government of the people. He was excused from requiring them to conform with the peculiarities of the present Colony, such as the demand for them to be church members before they could vote for the Legislature, or be elected to this body. This modification was similar to what Massachusetts had allowed other parts of Maine and New Hampshire.

May 23. According to summons from Prince, the inhabitants of Kennebeck assemble at the house of Thomas Ashley at Merry Meeting. Among various regulations adopted, three call for present notice. One, which forbids the capital offence of "solemn conversing or compacting with the Devil by way of conjuration." Another requires the "wilfull prophaning of the Lord's day to be punished according to the discretion of the Assistants." The third appoints judicial trials by a jury of twelve men. Of those who take the oath of fidelity, is Thomas Purchase, "gentleman," who is elected an Assistant of the government.

August. The tidings of peace having suppressed the busy preparation for the invasion of New Netherland, the Commissioners, authorized by Cromwell, turn their collected forces against the French of Nova Scotia. On the 16th, as the signal for the submission of such territory to the English, Port Royal capitulates. Thus a country, which was ceded to the Court of St. Cloud, at the treaty of St. Germain, much to the dissatisfaction and alarm of New England, is regained and brought under their control. The people of Maine were particularly relieved by this event, in the prospect that the strong dominant influence exerted by the Romish priests over the Eastern Indians would be diminished, and they should be free from the peril of invasion by civilized neighbors, who had no religious sympathy with them.

October 9. Robert Jordan, in Boston prison,† petitions for release. He is probably thus situated for his resistance to the Bay Authorities.

20. The Commissioners of Cromwell desire Massachusetts to protect the eastern territory, conquered from the French. Their words are: "That you would be pleased to declare, that if the English inhabiting in the country of Acadia, be at any time assaulted with an enemy, or in any occasion of needing help from

* Plym. Col. Rec.

† Mass. MS. Papers.

this government, you will assist us with such men as we may stand in need of, we paying for them according to the custom of paying soldiers in this country. We hope that respect and compliance with England will be argument enough to admit this favour, in which we hope we attend much the good of these plantations."

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

1654. May 3. The Bay Legislature,* having received a petition from Hampton, make the following reply: "The Court doth declare, though they are not willing to recall those uncomfortable differences that formerly passed between this Court and Mr. Wheelwright, concerning matters of Religion or Practice, nor do they know what Mr. Rutherford and Mr. Wells† hath charged him with, yet judge meet to certify Mr. Wheelwright hath long since given such satisfaction both to the Court and Elders generally, as that he is now, and so for many years has been, an officer in the Church of Hampton, within our jurisdiction, and that without offence to any, so far as we know, and we are informed he hath been a useful and profitable instrument of doing much good in that church."

The next August 24, the Secretary gave the following certificate: "Hearing that Mr. Wheelwright is by Mr. Rutherford and Mr. Weld rendered in some books printed by them as heretical and erroneous, they now signify that Mr. Wheelwright hath, for these many years, approved himself a sound, orthodox, and profitable minister of the Gospel among the churches of Christ."

About this time, Mr. Wheelwright published a vindication of himself against representations made of him by Mr. Weld and Mr. Rutherford.

RHODE ISLAND.

1653. February 18. William Dyer having arrived ‡ from London with an order from the Council of State there revoking the patent of Coddington, writes to the freemen of Providence, that "upon Tuesday come seven-night," he will meet them and others immediately concerned at Portsmouth. Newport dates a letter, on

* Mass. MS. Rec.

† Rev. Messrs. Samuel S. Rutherford and Thomas Weld of England.

‡ Staples's Providence, p. 88, 9.

1653.]

the subject of re-union, for the former of these two places. A few days before, Dyer made a similar communication to the inhabitants of Warwick.

25. Commissioners from the last town and Providence assemble. They reply to individuals of the Island, who appear to have made proposals for a re-union with the Main. A Committee are appointed to consider the matter, but nothing appears to have been effectually done.

Some ideas, from a communication forwarded by Providence to Roger Williams, indicate how they regarded the subject so agitated. They express their dissatisfaction with Dyer's procedure in treating the towns on the Main as having less concern in the commission, which he brought, than those on the Island. They represent that he declared that Mr. Clark had co-operated with Mr. Williams and himself to obtain such a document. They observe, "In our meeting, our agitations were many, and somewhat fiery." They mention persons, who "strove to persuade us upon the Main, so to account ourselves as being in disorder, a confused rout, or as one acknowledged the Island was, and that all officers, places, orders of courts, law, and cases depending, were all to be accounted null, and that we must all come to a popular meeting, as scattered stones, to lay a new foundation of government for the Colony of Providence Plantations."

They proceed: "But we being still in the same order you left us, as also observing two great evils such a course would bring on us, first, the hazard of involving all in the disorder and bloodshed which had been committed on Rhode Island since their separation from us; secondly, the evading and frustrating of justice in divers weighty causes, then orderly depending in our Courts."

March 7. Probably as a means of gaining the favor of the Authorities in England, and thus affording aid to the efforts of Roger Williams in London, twelve men of Providence sign the following: "I do declare and promise, that I will be true and faithful to the Commonwealth of England, as it is now established, without a King or House of Lords." It appears that, previously, Robert Williams was not pleased with the conduct of some among Gorton's people on this subject. His words are: "I do hereby certify that the sub-committee at Warwick have declared disloyalty unto the Commonwealth of England, for the said Committee declare, then dated the 24th of December, 1652, against the letter of credence ordered and sent unto our agent, Mr. Roger Williams, supplicating their honours' favour and pleasure in these parts."

April 1. Being at Belleau, the residence of Sir Henry Vane, Roger Williams addresses* his friends of Providence and Warwick. He mentions the difficulties which he encounters, as to the

* Backus, vol. i. p. 285-8.

object of his visiting England. One obstruction is: "Our adversaries, Sir Arthur Haselrig and Col. Fenwicke, who hath married his daughter, Mr. Winslow and Mr. Hopkins, both in great place; and all the friends they can make in the Parliament and Council, and all the Priests, both Presbyterian and Independent; so that we stand as two armies ready to engage, observing the motions and postures of each other, and yet shy each of other. Under God the sheet anchor of our ship is Sir Henry, who will do as the eye of God leads him, and he faithfully promised me, that he would observe the motion of our New England business."

June 4. The Commissioners of the Main* assemble and protest against the late acts of those on the Island, and especially that, granting leave to commit reprisals on the Dutch. They hold the ensuing language: "Which is like, for aught we see, to set all New England on fire, for the event of war is various and uncertain, and although the honored Council of State's direction to us is, videlicet, to offend the Dutch as we shall think necessary, yet we know not for what reason or for what cause the said inhabitants of the Island have given forth the said Commission." About this time, they disfranchise the persons, who allow the validity of the Island commissions against the Dutch.

June. In reply to the appeal of William Arnold and others of Patuxet, the Bay empower them to bring actions against all who attempt to exercise jurisdiction over them; without their orders.

September 5. He notifies† the Massachusetts Court, that "Gorton and his confederates" are preparing strong accusations against them to lay before Cromwell.

13. The Commissioners‡ of the Union address the Authorities of the Island, relative to the capture of a Plymouth vessel by one of their privateers. They represent the act as altogether wrong, and require that due satisfaction be made. Their words, as continued, are: "If you refuse wee shall be necessitated to thinke of som other course to preserue and vindicate the vnited Collonies from such injuries and insolences as are or may bee committed vnder pretence but by abuse of commission from England."

1654. February 8. Roger Williams intending to embark for Providence, Henry Vane dates a letter,§ to be taken by him, for the people of this territory. He addresses them as sincerely desirous for their highest good. He asks: "How is it, that there are such divisions amongst you, such headiness, disorders, tumults, injustice, the noise whereof echoes unto the ears of all, as well friends as enemies, by every return of ships from those parts? Are there no public self-denying spirits that, at least, upon the

* MS. Gen. Ct. Rec. Staples's Annals. † Hutchinson Papers, p. 251.

‡ Com'rs MS. Rec. Hazard, vol. ii. p. 287.

§ Backus, vol. i. p. 289-93. R. Is. Col. Rec.

1654.]

grounds of common safety, equity and prudence, can find out some way or means of union and reconciliation for you amongst yourselves, before you become a prey to common enemies, especially since this State, by the last letter from the Council of State, gave you your freedom, as supposing that a better use would have been made of it than there hath been. Surely, when kindly and proper remedies are applied and are ineffectual, it speaks loudly and broadly the high and dangerous distemper of such a body, as if the wounds were incurable." He proceeds and remarks, that he hopes better things of them, and that they will become united and thus encourage their friends and silence their enemies.

Early in the summer, Roger Williams reaches home. He accompanies the letter of Vane with one of his own, frankly stating what sacrifices he had made for Providence, and earnestly desiring them to come under the patent government with the other three towns. Some of his expressions* are given: "I have spent almost five years' time with the State of England. It hath been told me that I labored for a licentious and contentious people; that I have foolishly parted with town and colony advantages, by which I might have preserved both town and colony in as good order as any in the country about us. This, and ten times more, I have been censured for, and at this present am called a traitor by one party, against the State of England, for not maintaining the charter and the Colony; and it is said that I am as good as banished by yourselves, and that both sides wished I had never landed, that the fire of contention might have had no stop in burning. Indeed, the words have been so sharp between myself and some lately, that at last I was forced to say, they might well silence all complaints if I once began to complain, who was unfortunately fetched and drawn from my employment, and sent so vast distance from my family, to do your work of a high and costly nature for so many days and weeks and months together, and there left to starve or steal, or beg or borrow. But blessed be God, who gave me favor to borrow one while and to work another, and thereby pay your debts there, and to come over with your credit and honor, as an agent from you, who had, in your name, grappled with the agents and friends of all your enemies round about you."

July 12. In a letter † to John Winthrop at Pequod, Roger Williams mentions various subjects. He speaks of leading men in England, of Major General Harrison as "most high flown for the kingdom of the saints and of the fifth monarchy now risen," and as placed under duress by order of Cromwell. He continues: "I mourn that any of our parts were so madly injurious to trouble yours. I yet have hopes in God, that we shall be more loving and peaceable neighbors. I had word from the Lord President to

* Staples's Ann. of Prov. p. 98.

† Mass. Hist. Coll. 3 s. vol. x. p. 1-4.

Portsmouth, that the Council had passed three letters as to our business. First, to encourage us; second, to our neighbour Colonies not to molest us; third, in exposition of that word, dominion, in the late frame of the government of England, viz., that liberty of conscience should be maintained in all American plantations, etc. Sir, a great man in America told me, that he thought New England would not bear it. I hope better, and that not only the necessity, but the equity, piety, and Christianity of that freedom will more and more shine forth, not to licentiousness, (as all mercies are apt to be abused,) but to the beauty of Christianity and the lustre of true faith in God and love to poor mankind, etc." Williams refers to his having taught scholars while in London, which he did as a means for his support. "It pleased the Lord to call me for some time and with some persons, to practice the Hebrew, Greek, Latin, French and Dutch. The Secretary of the Council, (Mr. Milton,) for my Dutch I read him, read me many more languages." Such association with the great poet, must have been to Williams the source of no ordinary satisfaction.

August 27. The Providence people reply * to the letter of Henry Vane. The communication savors of Roger Williams's thoughts and style as they really were. Some passages of it follow: "From the first beginning of the Providence Colony, occasioned by the banishment of some from Massachusetts, we say, ever since, to this day, we have reaped the fruits of your constant loving kindness and favor toward us." It rebukes Coddington for obtaining his patent and thus causing disturbance, and also the course of Dyer. It reverts to the abuse which the inhabitants made of their liberties, as a source of trials. On this point it observes: "We have not known what an excise means; we have almost forgotten what tythes are, yea, or taxes either to Church or Commonwealth." It thanks Vane for the frank exhibition of his benevolence to the Colony in reproof, and hopes that it may prove effectual in their greater harmony and more regular deportment.

31. The General Assembly, † composed of Commissioners from Providence and Warwick, Portsmouth and Newport, form a reunion. They agree, that, as "there have been differences and obstructions among" these four towns, "arising by Mr. Coddington's commission,"—"all the transactions done by the authority" of the two Island corporations from the date this document went into operation, until Mr. Dyer brought over orders from the Council of State in 1652, shall be valid for them—and "all the transactions" of the two Main corporations, for the same period, shall be of like authority for them. They further agree, that the transactions of the two Island towns and of part of the two Main towns, with them, since Mr. Dyer's arrival to this day, and,

* Backus, vol. i. p. 293-6. R. Is. Col. Rec.

† R. Is. Col. Rec.

1654.]

also, that transactions of "the rest of the inhabitants of Warwick and Providence, in the said time," shall remain on their respective accounts.

The Court agree "that they are willing to order this Colony by the authority of the Charter granted to us by this Honored Parliament of the Commonwealth of England, bearing date the fourteenth day of March, 1643-4."

September. It is ordered * that no Colonist shall sell liquors to any Indians, on penalty of £5 for each offence; that every Town appoint one or two houses to entertain strangers, and that all others are forbidden to retail beer, wine and strong liquors, on penalty of the same amount.

"Whereas there have been several complaints to this Assembly against the incivilities of persons, exercised upon the first day of the week, which is offensive to divers among us; and whereas it is judged that the occasion thereof ariseth because there is no day appointed for recreation; it is therefore referred to the consideration and determination of each Town to allow what days they shall agree upon for their men servants, maid servants and children to recreate themselves, to prevent the incivilities which are amongst us exercised on that day."

It is ordered that all those inhabitants, in this Colony, that have been received freemen to act in any Town or Colony since Mr. Coddington's Commission was exhibited, shall be owned freemen† of the Colony.

September 13. At a Court for election,‡ letters of thanks are ordered for Cromwell, Henry Vane, Mr. Holland, and John Clark. All legal processes are required to be in the name of the Protector. As an expression of gratitude to Roger Williams and of respect for his public spirit, the electors choose him President of the Colony.

Soon after Williams's election, some one forwarded a paper§ to the town of Providence, containing the position, "that it was blood-guiltiness and against the rule of the Gospel, to execute judgment upon transgressors against the public and private weal." To this Williams replied: "That ever I should speak or write a tittle that tends to such infinite liberty of conscience is a mistake, and which I have ever disclaimed and abhorred." He compares a community of different denominations to a ship's company. "If any of the seamen refuse to perform their service, or passengers to pay their freight; if any refuse to help in person or purse, towards

* R. Is. Col. Rec.

† In 1655, the rolls of freemen for each town, are laid before the General Assembly and put on record. They follow. Providence, 42; Portsmouth, 71; Newport, 95; Warwick, 38. Reckoning these in comparison with the population to be as 1 to 4, it would give to such places about the number of inhabitants, as follow:—Providence, 168; Portsmouth, 284; Newport, 380; Warwick, 152.

‡ R. Is. Col. Rec. MS. Ct. Rec. Backus, vol. i. p. 296. § Ibid. p. 297.

the common charges or defence ; if any refuse to obey the common laws and orders of the ship, concerning their common peace and preservation ; if any shall mutiny, and arise up against their commanders and officers ; if any should preach or write, that there ought to be no commanders nor officers, because all are equal in Christ, therefore no masters nor officers, no laws nor orders, no corrections nor punishments ; I say, I never denied but in such cases, whatever is pretended, the commander or commanders may judge, resist, compel, and punish such transgressors, according to their deserts and merits." However these observations approve themselves to the friends of law and order, still others faulted them. One who then supported his course, but subsequently, being united with the Quakers, even Richard Scott, dissented from him, and used the following language : " Though he (Williams) professed *liberty of conscience*, and was so zealous for it at the first coming home of the charter, that nothing in government must be acted till that was granted, yet he could be the forwardest in their government to prosecute against those that could not join with him in it, as witness his presenting of it to the Court of Newport." The charter or patent here spoken of was the one obtained by Williams. The passage quoted shows that while he complained of the Bay Authorities for not allowing freedom of conscience to a sufficient degree, others did the same in reference to himself.

October 5. Williams writes to the Governor* of Massachusetts : " At my last departure for England, I was importuned by y^e Narraganset Sachems, and especially by Neneconant, to present their petition to the high Sachem of England, that they might not be forced from their religion ; and for not clearing their religion, be invaded by war. For they said they were daily visited with threatenings by Indians, that came from about Massachusetts, that if they would not pray, they should be destroyed by war." Such fears may have arisen in the minds of the Narragansets, or may have been suggested to them by Indians, who did not know the purpose of the Bay Authorities, or who were inclined to misrepresent it, if they did. There is no proof that such authorities ever intended to force their religion on any of the natives at the point of the sword.

CONNECTICUT.

1653. February 23. The report being spread, that a plot existed between the Dutch and Indians to destroy the English, the inhabitants of New Haven and Connecticut are much alarmed. The General Court of the latter thus express† themselves : " Being

* Knowles's Memoir of Williams, p. 273. R. Is. Col. Rec. † Conn. Ct. Rec.

1653.]

willing to attend all the wayes of God's providence for the preservation and safety of the plantatyon of Sebrooke with all other within this Jurisdiction, according to the power and means that is in their hands, doe order," that additional preparations for defence be made at Saybrook.

April 15. They advise the inhabitants of this place, who dwell in its outer parts, "that they would, till they receive farther advice, speedily gather their families together into the towne as they tender their own safety." They require the Indians, within their bounds, to deliver up their arms as "an evident testimonye of their fidelity to the English," and, if they refuse, to be treated as conspirators.

September 8. The Connecticut Court pass the subsequent regulation. "Whereas it is observed that many seamen weigh anchor in the harbors of several Plantations within these Liberties and pass out on the Lord's day, to the grief and offence of the beholders," such conduct is forbidden, except license be obtained from the "head officer" of the Town next to the harbor where any vessel lies, whose captain sails thence on the Sabbath.

20. After a long and anxious discussion,* the Commissioners of the United Colonies conclude, with the exception of Simon Bradstreet, that they are "called by God to make a present war against Ninnegret, the Niantick Sachem, and such as cleaving to him shall maintain his late hostile and bloody proceedings." They apportion the men to be raised by each Colony. The Council of Massachusetts declare on the 24th, that they cannot carry this order into effect, because they see no sufficient reasons. Immediately, the Commissioners from the other Colonies give their opinion that Massachusetts had not complied with the articles of the Confederation, and that war with the Dutch was justifiable. The latter of these positions was repeated in a few days after. Bradstreet made an able reply to his colleagues.

On the 28th, the Commissioners allow Mr. Pierson, of Branford, £12 "towards his charge and paines in fitting himselfe to teache the Indians."

October 12. The Legislature of New Haven assemble.† They resolve "that the Massachusetts had broken their covenant with them, in acting contrary to the articles of Confederation," for not consenting to a war with the Dutch. The Colony, so accused, judged very differently.

On the 21st, the Connecticut Court‡ choose a Committee to visit New Haven and confer with a similar body there, about their perils and application to England for aid to carry on the war with the Dutch.

* Com'rs MS. Rec. Hazard, vol. ii. p. 291-3, 303.

† N. Haven Gen. Ct. Rec.

‡ Conn. Gen. Ct. Rec.

On the 29th, the Committee order that the writings, prepared for this purpose, shall be forwarded to their friends in London. Among these is a relation* of the circumstances of both Colonies, who, in their address to Cromwell, use the following language: "That unless the Dutch be either removed, or so far, at least, subjected, that the Colonies may be free from injurious affronts, and secured against the dangers and mischievous effects which daily grow upon them, by their plotting with the Indians, and furnishing them with arms against the English; and that the league and confederation between the four united English Colonies be confirmed and settled, according to the true sense, the peace and comfort of these smaller western Colonies will be much hazarded, and more and more impaired."

A principal inducement for this step was the great discontent which many entertained, because immediate aggressions were not made upon the Dutch. Insurrectionary movements were even begun for such action, especially in Fairfield and Stamford.

November 3. Rev. William Hooke, of New Haven, writes † to Cromwell, on the same subject. He mentions the disinclination of Massachusetts to unite with the three other Colonies of the Union, in a war with the Dutch. He observes: "We are like to feele the sad effects hereof, for greate discontents are risen in the mindes of many in the countrey farr and neare, who are willing to shake off all yokes. A language of mutiny and sedition, and of renouncing the present authority, is heard among us, whereby we are endangered as well from within as from without ourselves." He proposes to the Protector the supplying of two or three frigates to clear the coast of Dutch vessels of war. He remarks that if he and the Parliament should require obedience here to the Rulers, and the Bay to assist the other members of the Confederation, in case of hostilities with New Netherland, "it may please the Lord to heale our breaches and present distempers, and to cause us to live againe, wherein you shall do a singular service to many churches of Christ, and be (through grace) an instrument in God's hand, of effecting greate things in these four Colonies, as God hath used you to accomplish greate matters in three kingdomes." This application was received favorably.

23. The Legislature of Connecticut allow that the £20, previously granted for a fellowship at Harvard College, shall be paid in the spring.

This year, Davenport's "Messiah already come," is published in London.

1654. March 1. John Haynes, Governor ‡ of Connecticut, departs from this life. He emigrated to Cambridge, Massachusetts,

* Conn. Gen. Ct. MS. and Printed Rec. † Thurloe's State Papers, vol. i. p. 364, 5. ‡ Farmer's Gen. Reg. Trumbull, vol. i. p. 223, 4.

1654.]

from Copford Hall, in Essex, with the Rev. Thomas Hooker, 1633; was chosen Assistant in 1634, 6, and Governor 1635. He moved to Connecticut 1636, took up his residence at Hartford, was elected Governor 1639, and so every other year till his death. He had two wives and eight children, who were Robert, Hezekiah, John, Roger, Mary, Joseph, Ruth, and Mabel. The *Magnalia* observes: "To him is New England many ways beholden." He was an eminent exemplification of the doctrines and duties of the Gospel, for the free enjoyment of which he made large sacrifices, and tasked his talents and attainments.

6. Connecticut rulers pass * the following: "In respect of a sad breach God hath made amongst us, in regard of the sudden death of our late Governor, and the like mortality of our neighbors in the Bay, and some eminent removals of others; spreading opinions in the Colonies; the condition of our native country; the alienations of the Colonies in regard of the combination; it is therefore ordered, that there may be a day of humiliation throughout this jurisdiction on the 15th day of this month." In view of promised aid from the Council of State in London, for hostilities against the Dutch, they give instruction for the seizure of the house, called the Hope, with all its appurtenances, near Hartford. Such property was taken June 27 of the preceding year, by forces under John Underhill. Acquainted with the sad consequences which attend the use of intoxicating liquor by the Indians, they forbid any person to supply them with "strong water, sack, or wine," on penalty of 40/. for the least quantity, and £5 for a pint. At their session of October 3, they put cider, metheglin, and beer, except common household beer, which is to be given, under a like ban.

June 8. Governor Eaton, of New Haven, receives a letter† from Cromwell, stating that he sent ships and supplies to reduce the Dutch. This communication is accompanied by another from Robert Sedgwick and John Leverett, commissioned to command in such an enterprise, in which they desire that commissioners may be appointed to consult with them in Boston.

On the 9th, the General Court take‡ measures accordingly. They vote the requisite men and provisions. They lay an embargo for the furtherance of the expedition.

10. The Deputy Governor, Thomas Wells,§ of Connecticut, answers a letter from Sedgwick and Leverett. He states, that the Colony will be ready to co-operate with them against the Dutch, as the Protector had required them. He remarks: "I am glad to heare of your safe arrivall after so long and tedious a voyage, and hope you are preserved to be instruments for the good of the Church and Commonwealth." On the 13th, the Legislature, in

* Conn. Gen. Ct. Rec.

† Trumbull, vol. i. p. 227.

‡ N. H. Ct. MS. Rec.

§ Conn. Gen. Ct. Rec. Hutchinson's Coll. p. 252, 3.

conformity with his statement, choose and instruct two commissioners to contract with Cromwell's agents for their quota of soldiers. On the 23d, tidings which were received of peace between England and Holland, arrested the spirited preparation for an attack on New Netherland, and relieved the people from the anxious suspense of doubtful issues and anticipated invasion.

The New Haven Legislature * order provisions for an expedition against the Dutch.—They, “considering the great weight of this business, and that all good success depends upon God's blessing, did therefore order, that the 4th day of the next week shall be set apart by all the Plantations in this Jurisdiction, to seek God in an extraordinary way, in Fasting and Prayer for a blessing upon the enterprise abroad, and for the safety of the Plantations at home.” But this intended expedition was relinquished, and the commanders for it undertook another against the French forts on St. John's river, and reduced them to English authority.

July 5. They order a letter for the “Swedes at Delaware Bay, informing them of the propriety which some of this Colony have to large tracts of land on both sides of Delaware Bay and River, and desiring a neighborly correspondence with them both in trading and planting there and an answer hereof.” On the 11th, the non-intercourse between the Dutch and “other forreigne nations is repealed” by Connecticut, and they order letters for the Missionary Corporation, General Monk and Mr. Hopkins in England. September 14, they adopt the subsequent order: “Notwithstanding former provision made for the conveyance of the knowledge of God to the natives amongst us, little hath hitherto been attended through want of an able interpreter, this Court being earnestly desirous to promote and further what lies in them a work of that nature, wherein the Glory of God and the everlasting welfare of those poor, lost, naked sons of Adam is so deeply concerned, do order that Thomas Mynor of Pequot shall be written unto from this Court and desired, that he would forthwith send his son, John Mynor, to Hartford, where this Court will provide for his maintenance and schooling, to the end he may be for the present assistant to such elder, elders or others, as this Court shall appoint, to interpret the things of God to them, as he shall be directed, and in the mean time fit himself to be instrumental that way as God shall fit and incline him thereunto for the future.”†

September 23. The Commissioners address‡ the Swedish Governor relative to the lands of New Haven on both sides of Delaware Bay and River. They remark that they hope “the peace and good accord in Europe, betwixt England and Sweden, will have a powerful influence on our spirits in these parts of America.”

* N. H. Ct. MS. Rec.

† Conn. Ct. MS. and Printed Rec.

‡ Com'rs MS. Rec. Hazard, vol. ii. p. 320, 2, 6.

1654.]

On a proposition from the General Court of Connecticut for the instruction of Indians in their territory, and the employment of John Mynor as an interpreter of Messrs. Newton, Stone and others, when they preach to them, and for his being placed under the tuition of Mr. Stone, the Commissioners make provision accordingly.*—They order, that Thomas and John, sons of Thomas Stanton, who are skilled in the Indian tongue, and whom their father is willing to give up for the missionary cause,—be educated at Cambridge, “to be helpful in teaching such Indian children as shall be taken into the College.” They desire Mr. Rawson to provide accommodation for the two Stantons at the College, or some private house till the new building for the Indians be ready.—On the 25th, they allow Mr. Pierson for “fitting himself for the Indian work,” £15, and New Haven Commissioners £5 “for such Indians as desire to be instructed in the knowledge of Christ.”—They write William Steele, President of the Missionary Corporation, that Mr. Pierson is composing a catechism for the Indians of his neighborhood, as Eliot had already for those in Massachusetts.

October. The Commissioners having concluded to send forces against Ninnegret, whose hostile attitude alarmed Connecticut and New Haven, both of these Colonies raise their proportion of soldiers.—On the 3d, the Court of the former Colony require the 5th day of the next week, to be set apart for public fasting and humiliation, “to seek the presence and blessing of the Lord upon the expedition to the Narragansetts, wherein our future peace and comforts are much concerned.” The chief result of this enterprise was the surrender by Ninnegret of the Pequods under his protection.

November 2. The people of New Haven † are informed by the Chief Magistrate, of the correspondence between the Swedish Governor at Delaware Bay, and others, and a Committee are raised to hear proposals from any of New Haven, who intend to move thither and occupy lands purchased by some of the latter place.—On the 27th, the Committee report, that there is a general desire of the Church in New Haven that the proposed emigration be carried on “according to God” and “on foundations laid as here.”—On the 11th of December, Mr. Daniel Eaton and another agree to lead this enterprise, if the Town of New Haven express a corresponding desire.

This year, Davenport brings ‡ up the subject of founding the College at New Haven, previously proposed. This Town grant land, and Milford give £100 for so laudable a purpose.

* Com’rs Rec. Hazard Coll.

† N. H. MS. Rec.

‡ Holmes’s Annals, vol. i. p. 302. Stiles’s Judges, p. 40.

CHAPTER IV.

MASSACHUSETTS. Church relation of children. — Mission. — Dunster. — Call to him from Dublin. — Norton's leaving Ipswich. — Malden apology. — N. Rogers's death. — College. — Mission. — Baptism. — Mayo. — Powell. — Levrett. — Protector. — Mrs. Mather. — Papacy. — Witchcraft. — Emigration to Jamaica. — Publication. — Children of the Church. — Quakers. — Difficulties. — Plymouth admonished. — Support of ministers. — Examination of Quakers. — Mission. — Law against Quakers. — Synod proposed. — Death of Noyes. — Cromwell. — Moral decline of Rhode Island. — Baptists. — Gookin. — Cobbet. — Baptism of children. — Regal title for Cromwell. — Families of ministers suffer. — Mission. — Baptists. — Publication. — Catechism. — Result of Council. — Excommunication. — Endicott's letter. — Quakers. — I. Mather. — Cawdrey. — Situation of ministers. — Quakers. — Mission. — Parsonage house. — Support of ministers. — Release of Pike. — T. Mayhew, Jr., lost. — Lay preaching. — Publication. — Inquisition. PLYMOUTH. Worship. — Reyner. — Winslow. — Reasons of Bradford. — Support of the ministry. — Denial of the Scriptures. — Sabbath. — Gaming. — Prejudice against an able ministry. — Standish. — Quakers. — Bradford. — Ministers. — Arms at meeting house. — Oath. — Newman as a missionary. — Letter to Rhode Island. — Quakers. MAINE. French forts. — Submission of inhabitants. — Sabbath violation. — Publication of marriage. — Remonstrance. — Treaty. — Lygonia. — Religion to be Protestant. — Trouble at Wells. — Fletcher. — Disaffection. — Josselyn. — Jordan. NEW HAMPSHIRE. Browne. — Maud. — Reyner. — Dudley. — Witchcraft. — Wheelwright. — Worcester. — Quaker books. RHODE ISLAND. Enforcement of Laws. — Cromwell's letter. — Submission. — Government denounced. — Offences. — Prisons. — Stocks. — Dissensions. — Williams's request. — Gorton's Saltmarsh. — Vane. — The Pope. — Rescue of a prisoner. — Coddington's engagement. — Laws. — Williams. — Quakers. — Baptists. — Moral decline. — Charge of treason. — Quakers. CONNECTICUT. Emigrants for Delaware. — College laws. — Pequods. — Mission. — Hartford Church. — Cromwell's proposition. — Prudden. — Haynes. — Quakers. — Catechism. — Memorabilia. — Synod. — Hooke. — Will of Hopkins. — Answer of N. Haven. — Questions. — Synod. — Connecticut proceedings. — Freemen. — Fast. — Fenwick. — Winthrop. — Blinman. — Divorce. — Quakers. — Missions. — Quaker books. — Publication.

MASSACHUSETTS.

1655. March 2. The Dorchester Church,* under Richard Mather, had taken the relation, which they thought the children of their members sustained to them, into consideration, and they voted, that the children of such members, as held to their fathers' cove-

* Dorchester Ch. Rec.

1655.]

nant, should be baptized. But as some, whose parents had belonged to the church, were not fit to profess religion nor vote on ecclesiastical questions, doubts arose, and letters were sent, for advice, to Boston, Roxbury, Dedham and Braintree Churches, to be answered within a month or six weeks. Replies are received from them except that of Braintree. Boston Church desires the Dorchester Church to forbear, and declares two votes on what the latter had done. Dedham Church "sees not light to go so far as we of Roxbury, though divers of them fear it might make the practice bring in the corruption of Old England, which we fled from, yet have voted that they see no cause to dissuade us."

21. Pres. Steele of the Missionary Corporation, addresses* the Commissioners of the Union. An extract follows: "We perceive, that through the blessing of Him who is love itself, the Commissioners did comfortably close as in the affairs of the Corporation, so also in the business of the Confederation, which is no small joy to us, not only in regard of the happiness which attends it, but also in respect of the work wherein we labor, which otherwise in human probability would have been wholly obstructed. We together with yourselves (are) prostituted to all the malicious tongues and pens that the wit of man could do or say against us. We hope that the same spirit of love and union so becoming the Gospel of peace which we all profess, will so strongly breathe in you and us, that the work of the Lord wherein we are mutually engaged might prosper in our hands."

April 4. Dunster, in his reply† to the presentment for what he said at Cambridge on the Sabbath and before the Congregation against the ordinance of infant baptism, then administered, makes various comments. He denies having spoken anything in contempt of God's Word. He allows, that as to the manner of some of his remarks, it was unseasonable, but as to the matter of them, he declares his belief that it was right in the sight of God.

May. Edward Roberts writes‡ to Dunster from Dublin in Ireland. "I am wholly a stranger to you, further than as to report, which hath spread itself to the rejoicing of many that fear the Lord; and hearing that your portion hath been to suffer in some measure for the cross of Christ, myself and some others, that truly love you on the ground aforesaid, made it our request to the truly virtuous Lord Deputy, to provide for you in this land, who readily embraced the same and ordered fifty pounds for the bringing over yourself and family. You need not fear accommodations here, though I hope that will not be your chief motive, but rather the honour of the Lord and his great name. You may, through mercy, have free liberty of your conscience, and opportu-

* Com'rs MS. Rec. Hazard, vol. ii. p. 327, 8.

† Middlesex Ct. MS. Rec. ‡ Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. 1 s. vol. iv. p. 218, 9.

nity of associating with saints and free publishing the Gospel of truth, which is greatly wanted amongst us, there being but few able and painful men, who make the service of God their work." Though Mr. Dunster did not comply with so kind a communication, it must have yielded him no small consolation amid his afflictions.

May 23. Transactions* of the General Court follow. A Committee, designated by them, report on the case between the first Boston Church and the Ipswich Church. They state, that great and increasing discord prevailed in the latter, relative to Mr. Norton's having left them to preach for the former. It is related, that on the request of the Boston Church for that of Ipswich to give him up, the matter was submitted, February, 1653, to a Council. The Boston applicants understood from a vote of the Ipswich people, that these consented to part with their teacher, though the latter afterwards said it was not so. The want of agreement between the parties caused another Council the next November, who advised that Mr. Norton continue in Boston. Ipswich demurred at the result. Hence difficulties arose, "which threaten the dissolution of Ipswich Church," while the Boston Church are disappointed and the country in danger of losing Mr. Norton, because of the contention. Therefore the Court propose that a Council of twelve churches sit at Ipswich the second Tuesday of June, and appoint a committee to attend for expressing their wish, that Mr. Norton remain in Boston.

On the petition of Edward Saunders, that his "sentenced halter" might be left off from his neck, it is allowed, because he had shown evidence of reformation. Individuals of Malden "acknowledge the offence they gave to the Court and several churches about the ordination of Mr. Matthews," and desire to be freed from the rest of their fine. Chauncey is granted 500 acres of land, if he continue three years as President of the College.

July 3. Nathaniel Rogers of Ipswich, aged 57, dies† of what appears to have been the influenza, which prevailed throughout New England. He was long subject to a depression of spirits and of spitting blood, as trials of his faith. He kept a diary, which probably contained many historical memoranda of value and interest. But, at his express solicitation, two of his friends committed it to the flames. The *Magnalia* says that, while at Ipswich, "he went over the five last chapters of the Epistle to the Ephesians, in his ministry; the twelfth chapter to the Hebrews; the fourteenth chapter of Hosea; the doctrine of self-denial and walking with God; and the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah, to the great satisfaction

* Mass. Gen. Ct. MS. Papers and Rec.

† History of Ipswich, p. 219-21. Hubbard's N. E. p. 54. *Magnalia*, Book iii. chap. 14.

1655.]

of all his hearers, with many other subjects more occasionally handled. It was counted pity that the public should not enjoy some of his discourses. But his physician told him, that if he went upon transcribing any of his composures, his disposition to accuracy would so deeply engage him in it, as to endanger his life.* Wherefore, he left but few monuments of his ministry, but in the hearts of his people, which were many." He left a manuscript in Latin, of which he was complete master. It was a plea in favor of Congregationalism,—a subject which commanded some of the ablest pens in Old and New England. Perceiving that the use of tobacco made him its slave, he resolutely and entirely broke from its thralldom. In the last years of his life, the circumstances connected with the invitation of his colleague, Norton, to succeed Cotton in Boston, were the occasion of much uneasiness to him. One of his last acts, in imitation of patriarchal example, was to bless the three children of his daughter, Hubbard, who was remarkably faithful in all her duties to him, as a parent. As his spirit was about to forsake its clayey tenement, he was heard to express words of communion with his covenant God, "My times are in thy hands." Besides the worthy child, Margaret, already mentioned, he had sons, John, Nathaniel, Samuel, Timothy and Ezekiel. His afflicted helpmeet, Margaret, mourned his departure but for a short period. Her mortal put on immortality, the 23d of next January. He is thus described by the son-in-law, before named: "He had eminent learning, singular piety and holy zeal. His auditory were his Epistle, seen and read of all that knew them."

Among events, unfavorable to the religious influence of the College on the country, was the trouble it experienced in requiring the students to study there four instead of three years. Seventeen of the scholars left on this account. Cotton Mather remarked of the seceders: "This disaster hindered not their future serviceableness in the churches of the faithful, and some of them indeed proved extraordinary serviceable."

September 15. The Missionary Corporation writ[†] to our Commissioners: "We are ordered by the Council at Whitehall to give an account of receipts and disbursements," and therefore desire the same from the Overseers of the Mission in New England. They relate, that complaints are made, that the ministers and schoolmasters, employed to instruct the Indians, are scantily paid for their labors, and that this tends to injure the cause at home. They desire that, if the report be true, it may be rectified.

* Hubbard's N. E. p. 554. "In 1655 was another general faint cough that passed through the whole country of New England. It was so epidemical, that few persons escaped a touch thereof; few were able to visit their friends, or perform the least testimony of respect to any of their relations at a distance."

† Com'rs MS. Rec. Hazard, vol. ii. p. 330-3.

They order a coat of coarse cloth for the Sagamore of Agawam, for encouraging him "to learn to know God and excite other Indians to do the like; the schoolmasters and interpreters are to be allowed their yearly pensions as formerly." They assign pay to Mr. Leveridge for previous service.

This year, Thomas Gould* of Charlestown, has a child born. He has a meeting of many friends at his house to thank God for mercy to his wife. He soon receives notice to call on the Elder and give a reason for withholding the child from baptism. In the course of some days, he appears before the church, and when asked the cause of such omission, he replies, that he did not see his way clear. This disagreement continued to increase. In its progress for about two years, as Gould related, "The Deputy Governor, meeting me in Boston, called me to him and said unto me, Goodman Gold, I desire you, that you would let the Church baptize your child. I told him that if the Church would do it on their own account, they should do it, but I durst not bring my child. So he did call at Mistress Nortowen of Charlestown, and prayed her to fetch Goodman Gold's child." But this part of the agreement was not fulfilled. Many of the brethren then said, "If I would not let my child partake one ordinance, it was meet I should not partake of the other." Then Elder Green remarked, "Brother Gold, you are to take notice, that you are admonished of three things," withholding the child from baptism; "irreverent carriage in time of administration of a baptism;" and not complying with your word. "Therefore you are not to commune with us till you give us satisfaction."

November 9. John Mayo, who had preached at Eastham, is ordained† over the new Church in Boston. Powell, whom they had earnestly wished to assume such an office among them, but not allowed by the General Court, because they thought his qualifications of education insufficient, becomes their Ruling Elder.

Peter Bulkly, in a communication to the Legislature, mentions‡ servants and children of some families, who are disobedient and go abroad "in the nights, and run into other sinful miscarriages, not to be suffered under a Christian Government." He desires that every Magistrate may have power to correct such offenders, by fining the older of them and having the younger whipped. He remarks, "It is time to begin with more severity than hath been, unless we will see a confusion and ruin coming upon all."

23. The Commission§ for Leverett to London is dated. Among his instructions is, that he would desire Cromwell not to act on any complaints against Massachusetts until they were made acquainted

* Willard's Answer to Russell, p. 13, 4. Gould's Relation. Backus, vol. i. p. 357-66.

† Robbins's Second Ch., Boston, page 9.

‡ Mass. MS. Papers.

§ Hutchinson's Coll. p. 271-5.

1655.]

with them and had opportunity to answer. The Court recommend him to Edward Hopkins for assistance in his agency. They thank the latter for his co-operation with Winslow, deceased, and observe that their prayer has been for a reward to him and "many others, whom the Lord hath stirred up to wish well to his exiled ones in these parts."—In their address to the Protector they remark: "We have desired Capt. Leverett to give your Highness a true account of all our actings, not doubting but the clearing of our innocency will be most acceptable to your Highness, being confident no impression to the contrary will be received, before we have had the opportunity to vindicate the same from any aspersions that may occasionally be cast upon us."

This year, Catharine,* the wife of Richard Mather, dies. She was daughter to Edmund Houlst of Bury, in Lancashire, "a godly and prudent maid," and was married to Mr. Mather, September 29, 1624, over ten years before the requisitions of conformity drove him and his family to New England. She had four sons, prior to such emigration, and two afterwards. The life of her husband, gives her the subsequent character: "That which of outward afflictions did most aggrieve him was the death of his dear wife, who had been for so many years the greatest outward comfort and blessing which he did enjoy; which affliction was the more grievous in that she, being a woman of singular prudence for the management of affairs, had taken off from her husband all secular cares, so that he wholly devoted himself to his study and to sacred employments." What was a fuller indication of her correct acquaintance with heavenly wisdom, was her private conversation with her youngest son, Increase. She told him, at times, when a child, there were two things, which she mostly desired for him, "Grace to fear and love God, and learning, that might accomplish him to do service for God." Child, she said to him, "if God make thee a good Christian and a good scholar, thou hast all, that even thy mother asked for thee." Her frequent maxim to him was, "Seest thou a man diligent in business, he shall stand before kings; he shall not stand before mean men." On her death-bed, when he was fifteen years old, she exhorted him to become a preacher of the Gospel, and set before him the scriptural encouragement, "They that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament, and they that turn many to righteousness, as the stars forever and ever." How exceedingly different from, and how vastly superior is this, to the vain ambition of most parents, who urge their children forward in the way of earthly promotion, which excludes Gospel piety, as unfit to be its fairest grace and its noblest object! Though through her exemplary life, Mrs. Mather had fears of death, yet

* Life of Richard Mather, p. 25. Memoirs of Remarkables of Increase Mather, p. 3, 4.

when its hand was upon her, she was strong in the Lord and in the power of his might. She calmly looked at the darkness of the grave and the realities of eternity; she departed in the brightness of unclouded hope, saying, "Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, nor have entered into the heart of man the things which God hath prepared for them that love him."

On occasion * of further cause for fear lest the interests of Papacy be subverted among the natives and another powerful resistance be set up among them to the spread of the Reformation in the country, our fathers are called to notice that, this year, a large number of the Onondagoes visit Quebec; solicit and obtain missionaries from the French, who proselyte several of their chiefs.

1656. April 13. The Missionary Corporation address† the Commissioners. They mention, that over £1,259 in stock, now here and in the hands of the overseers, "will answer the charge of carrying on the work this year." They desire, that as Eliot and Mayhew are the principal laborers among the Indians, the Commissioners would propound it to "the Churches and University, that some other persons, whose hearts the Lord shall draw out, might receive such encouragement, as might best conduce to the attainment of the ends," for which the society was constituted.

May 14. The General Court assemble. Some of their proceedings follow. The Indian town at Patucket, bordering on Chelmsford, by a petition of Eliot, who preached to the natives there, is allowed enlargement. The extension is to embrace Sagamore John's planting-ground.

Mrs. Anne Hibbins‡ is condemned for witchcraft, and ordered to be executed, June 19, immediately after the Lecture at Boston. Having considered a communication from Cromwell to them, and his instructions to Daniel Gookin for encouraging emigrants to Jamaica, the Court vote a reply to him, expressive of their gratitude for his favor.

Fast is appointed§ on June 11, for abounding errors, "especially those of the Ranters or Quakers,|| that the Protector may be preserved from the machinations of evil-minded persons, that the Lord's presence and blessing may be on the naval and land forces of our native country, at home and abroad, that He would go out with the Protestant armies against Anti-christ and his adherents,

* Univ. Hist. vol. xxxix. p. 457, 8. Charlevoix Nouv. France i. 320.

† Com'r's MS. Rec. Hazard, vol. ii. p. 352, 3.

‡ She was executed, though contrary to the exertions of such men as John Norton. Hutchinson, vol. i. p. 173, 3d ed.

§ Mass. Gen. Ct. Rec.

|| Roger Williams, in his dispute with some of this denomination, says that they were called Quakers by "Gervase Bennet, a Justice of Derby, and others, 1650, from that strange and uncouth possessing of their bodies with quaking and shaking of their bodies even in publick assemblies, which extraordinary motions I judged to come upon them, not from the Holy Spirit and Power of God, but from the spirit and power of Satan." But Fox says, it was because "we bid him (the Justice) and his company tremble at the word of God."

1656.]

grant peace and unity among the Churches, that the ordinances of Christ may become more effectual to all, especially to children and servants."

This year, a book, treating of duties from children to parents, and parents to children, by Thomas Cobbet, is printed in London. Not very friendly to new modes, which the young imitated more than he thought for their benefit, he catechises them in plain style. "How tender were your parents of their dealings with men, to discharge a good conscience therein; of their very outward garb, what they wore, and of what fashion; but you, their children, regard not what you do, nor how you deal with others, nor what you wear, nor of what fashion, so the newest. Did ever your good father or grandfather wear such ruffianly hair upon their heads? or did your godly parents frisk from one new-fangled fashion to another, as you do?"

The subsequent regulations* are adopted by the Ipswich Church.

1. "We look at children of members in full communion, which were about fourteen years old when their father and mother joined the Church, or have been born since, to be members in and with their parents. 2. We look at such children as under the care and watch of our Church, and as they grow up to be about fourteen years old, to be liable to our Church censures, in case of offence and scandal. 3. We look at it as the duty of the Elders and brethren to endeavour in their respective places to instruct them, and to call upon them to know the Lord, and to carry it according to the rules of the Gospel. 4. We look upon it as the Elders' duty to call upon such children, being adults, and are of understanding, and not scandalous, to take the covenant solemnly before our Assembly. 5. We judge that the children of such adult persons, that are of understanding, and not scandalous, and shall take the Covenant, shall be baptized. 6. That notwithstanding the baptizing the children of such, yet we judge that these adult persons are not to come to the Lord's Supper, nor to act in Church votes, unless they satisfy the reasonable charity of the Elders or Church, that they have a work of faith and repentance in them."

Hubbard† relates: "Baptism unto this time had been administered unto those children only, whose immediate parents were admitted into full communion in the churches where they lived. But now the country came to be increased, and sundry families were found, that had many children born in them, whose immediate parents had never attempted to join to any of the churches, to which they belonged, and yet were very much unsatisfied, that they could not obtain baptism for their children; the cause occasioned many debates between the ministers of the country. Many of their people were scrupulous about any innovation."

* Ipswich Church Records.

† History of New England, p. 562.

July 11. The Council pass the following : * "Whereas, there are several laws, long since made and published in this jurisdiction, bearing testimony against heretical and erroneous persons," yet Simon Kempthorne, of Charlestown, master of the ship *Swallow*, of Boston, hath brought two women from the Island of Barbadoes, Mary Fisher,† and the wife of one Austin, who, on examination, are not only transgressors of former laws, "but hold many very dangerous, heretical, and blasphemous opinions;" and they have confessed, that they came hither expressly to propagate the said errors and heresies, bringing "with them, and spreading here sundry books, wherein are contained many most corrupt, pernicious, heretical, and blasphemous doctrines, contrary to the truth of the Gospel professed amongst us." The Council, therefore, regarding the preservation of the peace and truth enjoyed and professed in this country among the Churches of Christ, order such books‡ to be searched for, collected, and burnt by the common executioner, and the said Mary and Anne to be kept close prisoners, and none to communicate with them without leave from authorities, "to prevent the spreading of their corrupt opinions," until put on board of some vessel, and sent out of the Colony; and the said captain to transport, or cause them to be transported directly to Barbadoes, whence they came, at his own charge, for which he is required to give bond for £100 sterling, and, if refusing, to be imprisoned until he complies.

Hull, in his diary, speaks of these persons as follows: "This summer, two women, called Quakers, came from the Barbadoes to oppose the ministry, and also to breed in the people contempt of Magistracy, but were cut short of their intents, being kept in prison until opportunity was of sending them whence they came, which was done. They were persons uncivil in behaviour, shewing no respect to any, ready to censure and condemn all; themselves would be thought the only knowing persons, and their spirit infallible, carrying a semblance of humility, but exceeding proud."

Nicholas Upshall, an aged member of the first church in Boston, became much interested in Fisher and Austin. He supplied them with provisions, and zealously embraced their principles. After being confined about five weeks, the two females were sent back to Barbadoes.

28. Boston pass the following order : § "If any young persons

* Mass. MS. Papers. Bishop's N. E. Judged, p. 2-12, 22, 3.

† Bishop relates, that she went to Adrianople for delivering a message to the Grand Vizier; and that, being near his camp, she desired a man to inform him, that an English woman had something to declare from the Great God to the great Turk. She was allowed an introduction to him. He heard her exhortation with great civility, and offered to have her guarded safely to Constantinople, which she declined.

‡ Mass. MS. Papers.

§ Drake's Boston.

1656.]

or others be found without either meeting-house, idling or playing during the time of publick exercise on the Lord's day, the Constable shall bring them before the Magistrate."

August 7. More Quakers arrive at Boston, in the *Speedwell* of London, commanded by Robert Locke. Their names are William Brend, Thomas Thurston, Christopher Holder, John Copeland, Richard Smith, Mary Prince, Dorothy Waugh, Sarah Gibbons, and Mary Witherhead. They are apprehended and imprisoned.

Smith was of Long Island. He attended public worship, and after the minister was done, publicly requested that, as the Governor desired him to converse with some of the ministers, so that they might convince him of his error, if such were present, they would accordingly address him. When told that the proposed interview was intended to be private, he wanted it otherwise. After three weeks' detention, he was sent home by water.

Persons of such a denomination * were very active in the mother country. Some of them sent letters to Cromwell, denouncing judgments, unless he pulled down the remains of Anti-Christ, i. e., Church ministers and their maintenance.

14. The Assistants, having written † to the Churches of Haverhill and Salisbury to settle differences between them, but without the desired effect, appoint a Council of two messengers from the Churches of Boston, Cambridge and Ipswich, to assemble the 27th, at the two first towns, and give their advice. Questions are drawn up for the General Court, relative to a case of defamation between a member of the Haverhill Church and another of Rowley Church. On September 5, as the Assistants had recently desired the Sudbury Church to compose their troubles, but they had not, they appoint other Churches to meet in Council, by their messengers, October 7, for such a purpose.

September 2. The Magistrates prepare a communication ‡ for the Commissioners. They refer to the covenant of the United Colonies not only "to strengthen the hearts and hands of each other in the propagating and maintaining of Religion in its purity, but also to be assisting to each other where any deficiency in such respects may appear. In the right improvement of such means and ordinances as the Lord hath appointed all his to use and improve for the edification of the body, whereof Christ is the Head till his second coming, having heard sometime since, that our Neighbours, Colony of Plymouth, our beloved brethren, in a great part, seem to be wanting to themselves in a due acknowledgment of, and encouragement to the ministers of the Gospel, so as many pious ministers have (how justly we know not) deserted their stations, callings and relations. Our desire is that some such course might

* Neal's Hist. of Puritans, abridgment, vol. ii. p. 215.

† Mass. MS. Papers. ‡ Com'rs. MS. Rec. Hutchinson's Coll. p. 283-6.

be taken as that a pious orthodox ministry may be re-stated amongst them, that so the flood of error and principles of anarchy which will not long be kept out where Satan and his instruments are so prevalent as to prevail to the crying down of ministry and ministers, may be prevented." They pass to a subject of recent occurrence. "There have arrived among us several persons professing themselves Quakers, fit instruments to propagate the kingdom of Satan. For the securing of ourselves and neighbors from such pests, we have imprisoned them till they be dispatched away to the place whence they came; one of whom, Richard Smith, we have let out of prison to return to his family at Southampton, whence we hope and doubt not our neighbors of Connecticut will be careful so to order it as he may not do the least prejudice, and that some general rules may be also commended to each General Court to prevent the coming in amongst us from foreign places such notorious hereticks as Quakers, Ranters," etc.

4. The Commissioners, having considered these suggestions, remark: "We cannot but acknowledge the godly care and zeal of the gentlemen of Massachusetts to uphold and maintain those professed ends of coming into these parts and of the combination of the United Colonies, which, if not attended in the particulars aforesaid, will be rendered wholly frustrate, the profession miserably scandalized, ourselves become a reproach in the eyes of those, that cannot without admiration, behold our sudden defection from our first principles. We cannot therefore but with all earnestness commend it to the wisdom and justice of the several Jurisdictions, to take effectual care and make answerable provision, that Religion and the ordinances of Christ professed, may be upheld and maintained, which cannot be but by a due encouragement of an able and orthodox ministry, and a discountenancing of that which is heterodox, and an effectual course to keep out heretics, the great engine of Satan in these times to overthrow the truth." Among their remarks on the particular reasons for clerical encouragement and support, they observe, that a minister sustains a relation "to the whole Society, whether in church order or not," and that they are bound to pay him the salary contracted for, though some of them may refuse; and that they should have power to compel such delinquents to pay their proportions. They recommend to the Legislatures of their respective jurisdictions to pass such orders as may secure these ends. In connection with this subject, they observe: "If any Society or Township shall be wanting either out of neglect or opinion to procure and maintain an orthodox ministry according to the Gospel, we conceive by the rules of Scripture and practice of not only Christian governments but even of Heathen, who not only held their Sacra in veneration, but took care of those that had the keeping of them and the charge of making known their mysteries,—the several General Courts stand charged with

1656.]

the care, that the people professing Christianity own and live according to the rules and ordinances of their profession, and that the dispensers thereof be encouraged."

Sept. 8. An examination * of the persons who landed at Boston from the vessel of Capt. Locke, takes place before the Assistants.

1 Q. "Whether you own not yourselves to be such as are called by y^e name of Quakers?"

Ans. Wee are all so called. Wee are all of one minde.

2 Q. Whether you brought not over hither severall bookes wherein are contained the severall opinions of y^t sect or people?

Ans. Mary Prince and another, yea, those y^t were taken from vs.

3 Q. Wherefore came you into these parts?

Ans. By all,—to doe y^e will of God, whateuer he should make known to be his will.

4 Q. How doe you make it appear y^t God called you hither?

Ans. Dr. Waugh,—he that beleives hath y^e wittness in himself. Brend,—by the power of y^e Spirit of y^e Lord. It was a crosse to my will. I would not have come, but the Lord hath brought me downe to obey him in his call.

5 Q. Doe you acknowledge y^e light in every man's conscience, y^t comes into y^e World is Christ and y^t y^t light would saue him if obeyed?

The answer to y^s in their bookes is,—The light is but one, which is Christ, who enlightens euery one, and all are enlightened with one light, as in y^e 3d page of y^t booke and in y^e close of y^e booke, adding y^t y^s is called y^e light of your conscience, the true teacher, and said to be the first step to peace. Mary Prince, doe you owne the letter you sent me, which was shown to her?

Ans. Yes, and said, it was y^e eternall Word of y^e Lord, which must stand foreuer—and should stand; and said further, she wrote this as a prophesie of the Lord and was guided by y^e infallible Spirit of y^e Lord.

6 Q. Whether you owne, that the Scriptures are the Rule of knowing God and living to Him?

Ans. The eternall Word is the Rule of their liues and not y^e written Word, and, in answer to y^t question propounded from thence, that if you had not the Scriptures to direct you, yett you have y^t within you, which was before Scripture, y^t would guide you aright. To which Mary Prince answered, yea, and it was a sufficient guide.

7 Q. Doe you acknowledge y^t Christ is God and Man in one person?

This they will not acknowledge.

8 Q. Doe you acknowledge one God subsisting in three persons, Father, Sonne and Holy Ghost?

* Mass. MS. Papers.

Ans. They acknowledge no Trinity of persons.

9 *Q.* Whether you acknowledge y^t God and Man in one person remaine foreuer a distinct person from God y^e Father, and God y^e Holy Ghost, and from y^e Saints, notwithstanding theire vnion and communion with him?

This they will not acknowledge.

10 *Q.* Doe you acknowledge yourself a sinner?

This they will not acknowledge.

11 *Q.* Doe you acknowledge Baptism with water to be an ordinance of God?

This they will not acknowledge."

William Brend addresses* a communication to the Governor and Magistrates. A few extracts follow: "Feare the Lord God and abuse not his messengers which he sends vnto you and will send, though you imprison and abuse them and put some of them to death for being obedient to his call, and though you make laws never so strict to keepe them out, the Lord will find a way to proclaim and set vp his owne name in this place. The Lord of this Campe whom y^e world derides, persecutes and, in scorne, calls Quakers, will by them dash y^e nations to pieces. Therefore, repent and turne to y^t of God in your consciences, which condemns for all iniquity, and for opposing y^e Lord in any of his servants by fines, imprisonments or banishments. This from a messenger sent by y^e most high God of heaven and earth into New England, though you will not believe it, you shall know it."

About this time, as Hutchinson † relates, the following occurred: "As the Governor was going from public worship on the Lord's day to his own house, several gentlemen accompanying him, Mary Prince called to him from a window of the prison, railing at and reviling him, saying, Wo unto thee, thou art an oppressor; and denouncing the judgments of God upon him. Not content with this, she wrote a letter to the Governor and Magistrates, filled with opprobrious stuff. The Governor sent for her twice from the prison to his house, and took much pains to persuade her to desist from such extravagancies. Two of the ministers were present, and with much moderation and tenderness endeavoured to convince her of her errors; to which she returned the grossest railings, reproaching them as hirelings, deceivers of the people, Baal's priests, the seed of the serpent, of the brood of Ishmael and the like."

Sept. 15. The Commissioners, as agents of the Missionary Corporation in England, write ‡ to their President. They state: "We have agreed to allow Mr. Eliot and Mr. Mayhew £50 a year, to either of them, out of the stock here, with due encouragements to schoolmasters, interpreters, and some youths, both English and

* Mass. MS. Papers.

† Hutchinson, 3d ed. vol. i. p. 181.

‡ Com'rs. MS. Rec. Hazard, vol. ii. p. 354-8.

1656.]

Indian, to be trained up at school and at college for after times with other helps." They request that £1,000 may be forwarded for the work, in English goods, according to the invoice. They observe: "We approve your care in purchasing lands there, so we desire some considerable stock may ever remain here to answer such losses or casualties, as the wise God may herein exercise with, though we hope he will accept and bless our joint aims, labors, and adventures in this service." They name the individuals employed in the mission, assistants to Mr. Eliot; his brother Francis Eliot, at £30 a year; Sosaman, Momquason, and Job, who are Indian interpreters and schoolmasters, at £10 each: assistants to Mr. Mayhew, Peter Folger, at £30 salary; Hiacoomes and Punuppaqua, interpreters, at £10 each: Mr. Weld, for the board and instruction of eight Indian boys and one girl, £85; and Abraham Pierson, of Connecticut, £15; Thomas Stanton, for teaching the Indian language to his son John, and furthering "him for the work," £20.

At the request of Mr. Chauncey, the Commissioners permit the Indian Building at Cambridge to accommodate some English students.

17. The Commissioners answer* a letter of the 22d ult., from the Governor of New Netherland, concerning the delivery of fugitive servants. The communication of the latter person has the subsequent passage: "It hath pleased the bountiful God to quiet and change that sad and bloody war of our superiors in Europe, into a desirable peace, in a nearer union and firmer confederacy. I have been hitherto, and am also still desirous, that the fruits thereof may redound to the good of both nations, which, by the Providence of God, were dispersed in these remote parts of the world, far from their native countries, left unsettled amongst multitudes of barbarous savages, whose intent and practice hitherto have been, and do continue the ruin of the Christian nations, therefore the same union and further combination amongst Christians of one profession, the more requisite both for the honor of God, and welfare of men."

At the conclusion of their session, the Commissioners make the following proposal: † "To the end that the works of God and his goodness, which hath been great towards his people in their first planting of this desolate wilderness, may never be forgotten, but to be kept in a thankful and perpetual remembrance to the praise of his grace, and the comfort of posterity, and that the generations to come may truly understand the main ends and aims in our transmigration hither from our dear native country, and the great things God hath done for their fathers, we thought it no less than our duty to commend it to the several General Courts, that they would

* Com'rs MS. Rec. Hazard, vol. ii. p. 364, 5.

† Ibid. p. 367.

please to appoint some meet persons in each Jurisdiction, to collect the special and most remarkable passages of God's Providence towards us, since the first arrival of the English in these parts, which Collections, being brought to the next meeting of the Commissioners at Boston, some one, qualified, may be appointed, and desired to compose the same into a history, and prepare it for the press."

About this year, John Whiting* begins to assist Mr. Norris, of Salem, in the ministry. He was son of William Whiting, of Hartford, and a graduate of Harvard College, 1653, where he was a tutor. He was employed at Salem, not far from three years. He moved thence with his wife, Sybil, daughter of Deacon Edward Collins, of Cambridge, and children, to his native place, where, in 1669, he was settled.

October 14. The Legislature assemble. With their views of a religious Commonwealth, as the great and constant end of the Massachusetts Company, and of the means which they deemed essential for its preservation, they pass the ensuing law. They were aware of its severity, and of the consequent accusations to which they would be exposed. However others might differ from them with regard to its nature and necessity, they felt persuaded, that it was a barrier absolutely requisite to arrest the flood of errors, ready to cross the Atlantic from England, and bear down all the institutions for which they had toiled and suffered. Whatever may be the diversity of our opinions relative to their motive and action, they were fully persuaded, that an exigency in their affairs had come, which demanded a strong remedy, though a cross to their own benevolence, and the occasion of much misery to those who would not be warned to keep from its violation, and from purposely and perseveringly rushing upon its penalties. "Whereas there is a cursed sect of hereticks, lately risen up in the world, which are commonly called Quakers, who take upon them to be immediately sent of God and infallibly assisted by the Spirit of God, to speak and write blasphemous opinions, despising government and the order of God in Churches and Commonwealth, speaking evil of dignities, reproaching and reviling magistrates and ministers, seek to turn the people from the Faith and gain proselytes to their pernicious ways. This Court taking into consideration the premises and to prevent the like mischief as by their means is wrought in our native land, doth hereby order," that the captain of every vessel, who brings any persons of such a denomination or "other blasphemous heretics" into this jurisdiction, shall pay £100, unless he was ignorant of their being such, and he shall have them carried back at his own charge. They also order, that Quakers coming into their boundaries shall be confined in a

* Annals of Salem, vol. ii. p. 626.

1656.]

House of Correction, be severely whipped when put there, kept constantly at work and debarred from conversation with other persons. They further require, that whoever imports the books of that denomination shall be fined £5 for each of them, and the same amount, if spreading and not giving them up; and if he defends their doctrines, shall pay 40/. for the first offence, £4 for the second, and for the third, be imprisoned till banished. They direct, that this law be published in several parts of Boston by beat of drum.*

Desirous to prevent disorder and irreligion at the College, of which there had been recent development, the Court empower † the President and Fellows to punish delinquent scholars, "either by fine or whipping in the Hall openly, as the nature of the offence shall require, not exceeding 10/. or ten stripes for each offence."

Thanksgiving to be November 5th, to "God that hath given us the Gospel of his Son, and caused us to cleave unto and embrace the same, in some measure, in these backsliding times," granted us peace and abundance from the earth, "supplied our churches with officers beyond our expectation, made up some breaches, as also for the preservation of our nation in all the difficulties and dangers they have passed through."

A warrant is ordered for the marshal general, or his deputy, to impress a suitable boat and sufficient hands to deliver the Quakers, brought in by Capt. Locke, on board of his vessel, so that he may carry them back.

21. Nicholas Upshall, having reproached the magistrates, and censured the law against the Quakers, is fined £20, and ordered to continue in prison until the same is paid. It is further required, that when he has satisfied the demand, he shall depart from the jurisdiction within a month; and if he return, shall be kept a close prisoner until he publicly retract, before some County Court, the offensive speeches he has uttered. A few days after, Dorothy, his wife, petitions that the remainder of his fine may be remitted, and it was granted. His mind, for years, had not been settled as to the order of the churches. He was admonished, August 10, 1651, by the First Church of Boston, for withdrawing from communion with them, and declining to give the reason.

A letter ‡ from Connecticut is read. It proposes a Synod of Elders, who belong to the Confederation, for the purpose of considering questions which appertain to the Churches. Accordingly, Mather, Allin, Norton, and Thatcher, of Suffolk, Bulkley, if he can come, Chauncey, Symmes, Sherman, and Mitchel, of Middlesex, Norris, Ez. Rogers, Whiting, and Cobbet, of Essex, are selected by the Legislature to assemble the 5th of next June, in Boston, to unite

* Mass. MS. Gen. Ct. Rec. and Papers.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid.

with other Elders from the rest of the Union, so that they may deliberate and decide on the questions which may come before them. Robert Turner is appointed to entertain the Synod, and the charges thereof are to be paid by the Treasurer. A copy of this resolve, and of the letter and queries from Connecticut, are ordered for the rest of the confederate Colonies, with a request, that they will assist by their Elders at the time and place designated.

22. James Noyes, teacher with Thomas Parker, pastor of the Newbury Church, dies,* in his forty-eighth year. Though partial to Presbyterianism, yet he held his opinions with charity for his opponents. His conditions of admission to the Church were repentance and faith, and submission to Gospel ordinances. He baptized children of parents who were neither church members, nor owners of a covenant, but were simply baptized. He and his colleague regarded the commencement of the Sabbath as on Saturday evening. He bore the long and tedious illness, which brought him to the grave, with Christian resignation. His last end was eminently that of the righteous. He left a wife, Sarah, who died September 13, 1691, and six sons and two daughters, all of whom were married and had children.

Besides his *Temple Measured*, and a *Catechism*, published, he left in MS. his *Moses and Aaron*, printed after his decease. In the Epistle dedicatory of this work, Mr. Parker says, that Mr. Noyes's death, as supposed, was hastened by the sadness which he felt at the execution of Charles I., and the defeat of his son, Charles II. The same true, surviving friend, gives the subsequent portraiture of the departed: "He was a man of singular qualifications; in piety excelling, an implacable enemy to all heresy and schism, and a most able warrior against the same. He was of a reaching and ready apprehension, a large invention, a most profound judgment, a rare, tenacious, and comprehensive memory, fixed and unmoveable in his grounded conceptions, sure in words and speech, without rashness, gentle and mild in expression, without all passion or provocative language; and as he was a notable disputant, so he never would provoke his adversary, saving by the short knocks and heavy weight of argument. He was of so loving and compassionate and humble carriage, that I believe never any were acquainted with him, but did desire the continuance of his society and acquaintance. He was resolute for the truth, and in defence thereof, had no respect to any persons. He was a most excellent counsellor in doubts, and could strike at a hair's breadth, like the Benjaminites, and expedite the entangled out of briars. He was courageous in dangers, and still was apt to believe the best, and made fair weather in a storm. He was much honoured and esteemed in the country, and his death was much bewailed. I

* *Magnalia*, 2d Am. ed. vol. i. p. 436-40.

1656.]

think he may be reckoned among the greatest worthies of his age."

24. The Court answer * the proposal of Cromwell for some of the colonists to settle at Jamaica. They say that it was laid before the people, "in compliance with your highness' good and pious intentions of planting the place with such as, through the blessing of God, may hopefully promote a design so religious." They desire that, if the report of mortality there should prevent such emigration, he would regard the want of compliance with his wish as no sign of their neglecting his communication. They observe that, without his favorable support, "we cannot be secure from the clamors and calumnies of some, whose endeavours may be to render us obnoxious to your displeasure." Hutchinson informs us that only a few families accepted the invitation.

December 10. Leverett writes † to Endicott. He mentions an interview which he had with Cromwell. The latter said, "that he did apprehend the people of New England had as clear a call to transport themselves to Jamaica, as they had from England to New England," and that the tendency of settling this port with such emigrants would be "to the overthrow of the man of sin." He remarked, that Capt. Gookin informed him that "some considerable numbers would go" thither. While such conversation was in progress, one of the Council came in and expressed himself "concerning New England's rigidness and persecution." Cromwell replied in their favor, "that they acted like wise men, and God had broken the designs of evil instruments, bearing witness with them against evil seducers which had risen up among them, mentioning one or two." The gentleman answered: "The miscarriages of particular persons proved not God's bearing witness against the body of them, that departed from them for their rigidness." Leverett rejoined: "If Rhode Island and those parts were intended, that then God had borne witness against them in general, as well as against particulars, which would appear by that looseness and profaneness they were left to, so that they had not only declined in Christian religion, but moral observations."

30. Thomas Gould is admonished ‡ by the Middlesex Court for denying baptism to his child, and thus putting himself and descendants in peril of the Lord's displeasure, as in the case of Moses and others. They allow him further time to consider the matter.

This year, Daniel Gookin, § being one of the Assistants, is elected, by the Legislature, Ruler over the praying Indians within their jurisdiction. His only encouragement, for the first years of his arduous duties, was the enlarged opportunity of experiencing the pure and precious incomes of Christian benevolence and effort.

* Hutchinson, 3d ed. vol. i. p. 176, 7. † Graham's U. S. vol. i. p. 287.

‡ MS. Middlesex Rec.

§ Gookin's Hist. Coll. Mass. Hist. Coll. 1 s. vol. i. p. 177.

Thomas Cobbet lothfully leaves * Whiting at Lynn, and goes to supply the place of Norton at Ipswich, which continues to be noted, as having an unusual proportion of highly educated and talented inhabitants.

1657. January 14. The Chelmsford Church, under John Fisk, adopt the subsequent rules. Professors' children are to be baptized. Those of them, being fourteen years old and above, are under the watch and discipline of the Church. Those younger, are responsible to the Church, through their parents or guardians. All of them, whatever be their age, are to be encouraged by the Church to learn the principles of Religion, and to seek preparation for full communion.

29. The first Church ‡ of Boston decide the following question in the affirmative. "Whether the relation of immediate children of church members be such, as giveth y^e Church a church-power over them, and, consequently, whether y^t it is y^e dutye of y^e Church to exercise y^t power regularly vpon them, that their knowledge and life may be answerable to y^e ingagment of their relation. And whether it be y^e Churches minde, y^t solemne notice be given to them seasonably." On February 22d, Ann Gillam, for withdrawing from the fellowship of the same Church, is excommunicated by silent consent of the brethren. On March 23d, these appoint Norton and William Davis for messengers to attend a Council, at Hartford, to advise about difficulties in the Church there.

April 4. After the subject † of making Cromwell a king had been long agitated, Parliament vote that it would be a great benefit to the nation, if he would accept of such a title. At his request, they appoint a Committee to wait on him and confer about the proposal. On the 13th, the Committee urge him to be King. The officers of the army, on the 20th, petition against this. May 8, Cromwell concludes to remain as he is, Protector, and not King. On the 25th, Parliament enlarge his powers as Lord Protector.

11. The Missionary Corporation § send a letter from Cooper's Hall in London to the Commissioners. They remark that, on account of peril from the pirates at sea, and other considerations, they think it better, according to the act of Parliament for their formation, to invest their contributions in land, and appropriate the income thereof to the mission, instead of sending over goods as they had done. They authorize the Commissioners to expend £500 for "carrying on the work this year." They mention John Black-leech as very suitable for a missionary among the Indians.

May 6. As various families || of ministers, deceased, suffer to "the reproach of the Churches and to the scandal of our profession," the Legislature appoint a Committee for each County to

* Felt's Hist. of Ipswich.

† MS. Rec.

‡ Salmon, vol. i. p. 164, 5.

§ Com'rs MS. Rec. Hazard, vol. ii. p. 374, 5.

|| Mass. MS. Gen. Ct. Rec.

1657.]

inquire into the truth of such a statement and report to them, so that they "which are, by God's promise, nursing fathers to the Churches, may see that there be meat in God's house."

June 1. The Records of the first Church of Boston read: "Our sister Fogg for her disorderly singing and her idleness, and for saying shee is commanded of Christ so to doe, was admonished with y^e consent of y^e Church," and was excommunicated on the 12th of July, for persisting in the same course.

4. Eliot writes* to Atherton, of Dorchester, and thanks the people there for allowing the preparation at Puncapoag, and desires that an entry may be made in their Town Records, that they approve and permit the Indians there "to sit down and make a town and enjoy such accommodations as may be sufficient to maintain God's ordinances among them another day."

16. Several cases† are brought before the Middlesex Court. Dunster appears to answer a presentment at Cambridge, April 7, for neglecting to have his child baptized, and non-compliance with a previous summons. He replies that, as all well knew, his faith rejected infant baptism. He is admonished of the danger in cherishing such opinions, and required to give bond for his appearance before the Court of Assistants. Thomas Gould is alike dealt with for a similar charge. Mary, daughter of Stephen Gates of Lancaster, is complained of for bold and unbecoming speeches in the congregation, on the Sabbath, and especially against Mr. Rowlandson, the minister there. She confesses the irregularity, is admonished and required to pay costs of the suit.

The Libertine Schooled,‡ by Claudius Gilbert, minister of Limerick, Ireland, and printed in London, 1657, has the following in its preface.—Some oppose all kinds of magistratical power; others, limitations of it. "Specially Mr. Thomas Cobbet, in 1653, of New England, hath found abundant cause to praise the Lord for the due exercise and vindication of that power, the neglect and opposition whereof was like to have proved their overthrow in Civils and Ecclesiasticals. The same spirit of error hath struggled there so hard for libertinism, (it) hath gotten too much strength and favor in these nations."

A catechism,§ composed by John Fisk, is printed this year, in Cambridge, at the request and expense of his congregation. It was called the "Watering of the Plants in Christ's Garden, or a shorter catechism for the entrance of our Chelmsford children."

19. Twenty-six ministers of the confederate Colonies, who assembled by request of magistrates at Boston, on the 4th instant, give in the result of their deliberations. The occasion of their being so convened, follows. The Platform adopted in 1648, had

* Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. 1 s. vol. i. p. 99, 100.

† Middlesex Ct. MS. Rec.

‡ Am. Ant. Soc. Lib. Tracts, 1650-90.

§ Hist of Chelmsford, p. 123.

been the rule of the Churches. It allowed no children to be baptized, except those of parents who were members in full communion where they resided. This, in connection with the regretted fact, that many parents made no profession of religion, caused a large number of children to continue without baptism. Such a state of things produced wide-spread dissatisfaction, and led to many consultations on the means of providing a remedy. Connecticut, who did not require church membership as a condition of being freemen of their company, as other Colonies of the Confederation did, were more urgent and active for the session, than they. Indeed, New Haven opposed the proposition for it, fearful of its purpose and tendency. In 1656, the former of these two Colonies sent a committee of magistrates to consult with similar officers in Massachusetts, who mutually agreed to invite the Synod to meet as already mentioned. The substance of their conclusions* was published in England about two years afterwards, and was entitled, "A disputation concerning church members and their children, in answer to twenty-one questions." This publication contained the subsequent queries and replies.

Question 1. Whether any children of confederate parents be under their parents' covenant, and members with them?

Answer. Some children of confederate parents are, by means of their parents' covenanting, in covenant also, and so members of the church by divine institution. 1. Because they are in that covenant, for substance, which was made with Abraham, Gen. xvii. 7, compared with Deut. xxix. 12, 13, etc.; 2. Such children are by Christ affirmed to have a place and portion in the kingdom of heaven, etc., Matth. xix. 14, Mark x. 14, Luke xviii. 16; 3. Else no children could be baptized, baptism being a church ordinance, and a seal of the covenant of grace, etc., with many others.

Q. 2. Whether all children, of whatever year or conditions, were so; as 1, absent children never brought to the church: 2, born before their parents' covenanting: 3, incorrigible, or seven, ten, or twelve years old: 4, such as desire not to be admitted with their parents of such an age?

A. Only such children as are in their minority, covenant with their parents; for adult children are to covenant in their own persons. The whole household of Lydia, the jailer and others were baptized; and a child at the ages mentioned, is infans in foro ecclesiæ.

Q. 3. Till what age shall they enter into covenant with their parents, whether sixteen, twenty-one, etc.?

A. As long as in respect to age or capacity they cannot, according to ordinary account, be supposed able to act for themselves, so

* Hubbard's New England, p. 563-9. MS. Coll. of the Am. Ant. Soc.

1657.]

long they shall enter in by means of their parents' covenant; because, whilst they are children, and in their minority, they are not otherwise capable of covenanting. Ishmael was admitted to the seal by his father's covenant, at thirteen years of age. Gen. xvii. 25.

Q. 4. What a child is subject to, from seven to sixteen years old?

Answer 1. Church discipline is taken either more largely, for the act of a church member, dispensed to a church member as such by way of rebuke, etc.—Luke xvii. 3, 4; Matth. xviii. 15: or more strictly for the act of the whole church, dispensed to a member thereof, as in case of public rebuke, etc.—Matth. xviii. 17; 2 Cor. ii. 3; 1 Tim. i. 20. In the first sense, children in their minority are subject to church discipline immediately, but not in the second.

2. It is the duty of the elders and church to call upon parents to bring up their children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. Eph. vi. 4.

3. Beside their subjection to ecclesiastical discipline, they are also subject to civil discipline, whether domestical, scholastical, or magistratical.

Q. 5. Whether a father may twice covenant for his children in minority in several churches?

A. 1. When a parent is called to remove from one church to another, he is also called to enter into covenant in that church to which he removes.

2. When the parent, thus removing, entereth into covenant, his children then in minority covenant in him; the child, and the power of government over him, must go together.

Q. 6. Whether the end of a deputy covenant be not to supply personal incapacity, or whether children, ripe for personal covenanting in respect of age, should covenant by a deputy, as others that are unable thereunto?

A. 1. Children in minority, whose immediate parents are in church covenant, do covenant in their parents, as in answer to question 1.

2. Children adult ought to covenant in their own persons, as may be gathered from Deut. xxvi. 17, 18, 19, and xxix. 10, and Josh. xxiv. 18, 27: Nehem. ix. ult. and x. 28.

Q. 7. Whether as large qualifications be not required of a member's child to the participation of the Lord's supper and other privileges, as were requirable of his parents at their first entrance?

A. The holding forth of faith and repentance with an ability to examine themselves by way of confession to the judgment of charity were all requirable in the parent for admission into the church to full communion, and the same is requisite to the regular admission of the parents' child, being grown adult, unto his full

communion with the church. The sum of the answer amounts to thus much : 1, that they are to have faith and repentance ; 2, that this faith and repentance must appear to others.

Q. 8. Whether by covenant seed, is meant the seed of immediate parents only, or of remote also ?

A. The gospel, by covenant seed, intends only the seed of immediate parents in church covenant, as appears from 1 Cor. vii. 14. It can no where else expediently be bounded. *Depinge ubi scitum.*

Q. 9. Whether adopted children and bound servants be covenant seed ?

A. Adopted children and infant servants, regularly and absolutely subjected to the government and dispose of such heads of families as are in church covenant, though they cannot be said to be their natural seed, yet in regard the scriptures (according to the judgment of many godly learned) extend to them the same covenant privileges with their natural seed ; we judge not any churches who are like-minded with them for their practice herein. All which, notwithstanding, yet we desire at present to leave this question, without all prejudice on our parts, to after free disquisition.

Q. 10. Whether the child, admitted by his father's covenant, be also a deputy for his seed, without or before personal covenanting ; or without or before like personal qualifications in kind, as his father was to enjoy when he became a deputy ?

A. It is the duty of infants who confederate in their parents, (as in answer to question 1,) when grown up to years of discretion, though not yet fit for the Lord's supper, to own the covenant they made with their parents, by entering thereinto in their own persons ; and it is the duty of the church to call upon them for the performance thereof ; and if being called upon they shall refuse the performance of this great duty, or otherwise continue scandalous, they are liable to be censured for the same by the church. And in case they understand the grounds of religion, are not scandalous, and solemnly own the covenant in their own persons, wherein they give up both themselves and their children unto the Lord, and desire baptism for them, we (with due reverence to any godly, learned, that may dissent) see not sufficient cause to deny baptism unto their children.*

Q. 11. Whether children, begotten by an excommunicate person, he so remaining, are to be baptized ?

A. We cannot, for the present, answer the arguments for the

* "This proposition was consented unto by a synod, called to meet at Boston in 1662. They add, that the same may be said concerning the children of such persons who, being dead, or necessarily absent, either did or do give the church cause, in judgment of charity, to look at them as thus qualified, or, had they been called thereunto, would have thus acted."

1657.]

negative, for the promise made to the seed belongs only to the seed of immediate parents in covenant now under the gospel ; and such as are excommunicate, are to be looked upon as heathen and publicans.

Q. 12. Whether a child born of a person justly censurable, yet not actually excommunicate, be to be baptized ?

A. We answer affirmatively, for divine institution, which is the foundation of the covenant membership of the child, imputes only the covenant, and not any other act of the parents to the child.

Q. 13. Whether a member's child's unfitness for seals disableth not his seed for membership or baptism ?

A. This question is answered in the tenth, agreeing in scope therewith.

Q. 14. Whether a member's child be censurable for anything but scandalous actions, and not also for ignorance and inexperience ?

A. A member's child, (like as it is with all other members,) is censurable only for scandalous sins, consequently for ignorance and inexperience, when scandalous. Matth. xviii. 15, 18. 1 Cor. v. 11.

Q. 15. Whether a member's child must only examine himself, and may not be examined by others, of his fitness for seals ?

A. It is a duty of a member's child to examine himself, and yet he is also subject to the examination of others, because the elders are to give an account, Heb. xiii. 18, and therefore must take an account ; and it appertaineth to them to see that the holy things be not defiled by the access of any unclean or unworthy person.

Q. 16. Whether any officers must examine in private, or else in public before the church ?

A. Concerning their examination in private before the elders, the former reasons conclude affirmatively. It is spiritual wisdom by preparing the stones beforehand, to prevent after noise in the building. 1 Kings, vi. 7.

Q. 17. Whether the same grown member's child must not be examined of his charitable experience before baptism, as well as before the Lord's supper ?

A. We think the elders do well to take an account of children concerning the principles of religion, according to their capacity, before they be baptized. But if children be yet in minority, their right unto baptism being founded upon the covenant made in their parents, this examination is to be looked as conducing to the better application, but not to the being of their baptism.

Q. 18. Whether baptized children, sent away for settlement, and not intending to return, are continually to be accounted members ?

A. Baptized children, though locally removed from the church unto which they do belong, are to be accounted members, until dismission, death, or censure, dissolve the relation.

Q. 19. Whether historical faith and a blameless life fit a mem-

ber's child for all ordinances and privileges, and he must be examined only about them?

A. Not only historical faith and a blameless life, but also such an holding forth of faith and repentance as, unto judgment of charity, sheweth an ability to examine themselves and discern the Lord's body, is requisite to fit a member's child for all ordinances and privileges; and his blameless life notwithstanding, a member's child is to be examined concerning the other qualifications.

Q. 20. Whether if a church member barely say, it repents me, though seventy times seven times following he relapse into the same gross evils, as lying, slander, oppression, etc., he be to be forgiven, and not censured?

A. Notwithstanding a brother offends seventy times seven times, i. e. many times, a definite number being put for an indefinite, yet whilst God enables him to repent, it is our duty to forgive. But to say in words, I repent, and to gainsay it in deeds, is, according to Scripture, not to repent; yet an ingenuous and solemn profession of repentance, nothing appearing to the contrary, is to be accepted as true repentance in the judgment of charity. 1 Cor. xiii. 7.

Q. 21. Whether a member under offence, and not censured, or not with the highest censure, can authoritatively be denied the Lord's supper, or other church privileges?

A. None but the church can authoritatively deny to the member his access unto the Lord's supper, because the power thereof is only delegated to that subject. Matt. xviii. 17. Neither can the church deny unto a member his access to the Lord's supper, until she hath regularly judged him to be an offender; and the first act whereby he is judicially declared so to be, is admonition, whereby he is made judicially unclean; Levit. xxii. 3-6; and is thereby authoritatively denied to come unto the Lord's supper. All which notwithstanding, there are cases wherein a brother apparently discerned to be in a condition rendering him an unworthy communicant, should he proceed to the Lord's supper, may and ought regularly to be advised to forbear, and it is his duty to hearken thereunto; yet none should forbear to come worthily, which is their duty, because to their private apprehension, another is supposed (at least) to come unworthily, which is his sin.

Though this document was carefully and prayerfully prepared, yet, while it met the wishes of a large proportion among the ministers and their congregations, it did not those of the rest. Particularly did the half-way covenant, as comprised in the tenth question and its accompanying reply, excite the fears of several eminent ministers and various church members, lest it should prove too lax, and be thereby injurious to true religion. So un-

1657.]

easy did the public mind become in view of this consideration, that it was the principal occasion of the Synod assembled five years afterwards, whose transactions became the theme of printed discussions.

June 28. A young man of twenty-one years old, whose parents had presented him in baptism, when a child, having refused to hear the rebukes of the First Church in Boston,* for his immorality, is excommunicated. Another of twenty, connected with them by baptism, is admonished the next August, for misconduct.

29. Endicott answers † a letter of Leverett. The latter desired testimony to lay before Cromwell, relative to the case of Clark and Holmes, and Rhode Island. The former promises, that this shall be done, and that it would be enough to satisfy his opponent, if "a lover of the truth." He remarks: "What the end is of that point of State to make the Protector king, I cannot fathom it, unlesse their proffering and his deniall thereof ingratiate him the more in the hearts of the people." He adds: "Great motions there are in the world, which the Lord direct and turne to his glorie, the overthrow of his enemies, and the peace and welfare of his owne people."

July. The Essex Court ‡ admonish Cassandra, wife of Laurence Southwick of Salem, for absence from public worship. This was the beginning of many prosecutions of herself and husband for adherence to the Quakers.

3. Having graduated at Harvard the year before, Increase Mather embarks for England. He visited his relatives in Lancashire, and then his brother Samuel, recently ordained in Dublin. To advance in his already eminent scholarship, he entered Trinity College and there took his A. M., performing the exercise required on the occasion, with great applause. He was elected a Fellow of this College, but declined the honor. Though he had attractive offers to continue in Ireland, he went back to England and there preached, some time, for the congregation of John Howe, at Great Torrington in Devon, not far from his brother Nathaniel, at Barnstable. On Mr. Howe's return, he accepted an invitation from Col. Bingham, Governor of Guernsey, to preach there, which he did. Thence, at the earnest request of Rev. James Forbes and others, he went to labor in his profession at Gloucester. He returned to Guernsey, and was there at the Restoration. On his refusal to sign a paper sent thither by General Monk, to be subscribed by those who held public trusts, he was threatened with the loss of his salary, above £100, but escaped such an evil. On Sir Hugh Pollard's being made Governor of the Island, Mr. Mather resigned his station, because he could not be a conformist. He returned to England, and was offered an eligible living, if he would

* MS. Rec.

† Hutchinson's Coll. p. 309, 10.

‡ MS. Rec.

comply with the requisitions of the National Church. But his heart cleaved to the Congregational order, and his tongue was too true to falsify his belief and induce him to play the hypocrite. He therefore took passage for New England, and in due time landed at Boston, "the first of September," 1661, where he soon had opportunity to show that he was thoroughly furnished for the multiplied and difficult duties of his profession.*

9. A preface to the following publication † is dated: "A Review of the True Nature of Schism," from Daniel Cawdrey, minister of Biling, in Northamptonshire, by John Owen, D. D. The last divine relates that not long after he wrote a treatise in 1643, owing therein his preference for Presbyterianism, he examined Cotton's Keys, and, after much examination, was induced to embrace the principles of this work. The next year Owen's reply to Cawdrey was prefixed to and published with the subsequent work, "A defence of Mr. John Cotton from the imputation of self-contradiction, charged on him by Mr. Daniel Cawdrey, written by himself not long before his death."

22. A report ‡ concerning the situation of clergymen, as ordered by the Legislature, is made. Hingham has one hundred families. Mr. Hobart has twelve persons in his family, £90 a year, payable one-third in wheat, one-third in peas, one-third in Indian corn and rye, which is cleared off annually. He carries on no farming. Weymouth has sixty families. Mr. Thatcher has a family of seven persons, and £100 salary "in all sorts of corne." He cultivates no land. Braintree has eighty families. Messrs. Flint and Thompson have each £55 a year in produce. The former has seven or eight persons in his family, and the latter three. "These Elders depend generally vpon publike contribution."—Another report of September 24, similar in its character, is presented. Dorchester has one hundred and twenty families. Mr. Mather has a family of six or seven persons; a salary of £100, paid generally at the close of the year, partly in work; has a competent stock of cattle and good accommodation in land for "corne and haye." Roxbury has eighty families. Messrs. Eliot and Danforth have each £60 salary, paid generally in corn or otherwise, to the content of the parties, and once a year. Eliot's family consists of eight persons, and Danforth's of six. Both have estate of corn and cattle. Dedham has sixty-six families. Mr. Allin receives £60 a year, in corn and work; has a family of seven persons; a good stock of cattle and accommodation in corn-land and meadow. Meadfield has forty families. Mr. Wilson's salary is £50, paid in course of the year, principally with corn. He has a family of six, cattle and

* Memoir of Increase Mather, p. 15-23. Wilson's Dissenting Churches, vol. i. p. 230.

† Hanbury, vol. iii. p. 126, 471.

‡ Mass. MS. Papers.

1657.]

corn with good accommodations. Boston New Church, Messrs. Mayo and Powell* have each £55 salary, besides other help from friends. The family of the one has six, and of the other seven persons. Hull has twenty families. Its minister's salary is £40.

August 16. Copeland and Holder, who had been sent back to England† the last year, having landed at Rhode Island, appear at Martha's Vineyard. They relate: 'We went to their meeting-house, and after Priest Mayhew had done his speech,' "one of us spake a few words, and then was both of us by the constable thrust out of doors and forthwith the doors were shut." They add, that an Indian was ordered to carry them from the Vineyard. Thence they passed to Plymouth Colony.

29. Mary, the wife of John Clark,‡ merchant tailor in London, "being moved by the Lord" to leave her husband and six children, so that she might warn the people of Boston, accordingly delivers her message here, is arrested, whipped twenty stripes, imprisoned twelve weeks and then banished.

September 12. The Commissioners of the Confederation, being informed that Quakers, coming this summer to Rhode Island, had been entertained there, address§ the Governor of that jurisdiction on the subject of such accommodation. They advert to the arrival of some, belonging to such a denomination, at Boston, to "disperse their pernicious sentiments," to the care which the Massachusetts rulers exercised in laying the matter before themselves for advice; and how they commended to the Colonies, under their government, that each of them adopt measures to exclude the sectarians in view from its jurisdiction, and that this had been accordingly done. They proceed to state that, if the Island countenance the Quakers, it will much impair the means used to keep them out of the country, and thus greatly encourage opposition to the Christian Religion, and therefore, earnestly desire their co-operation. They request them to communicate their decision to the Bay Legislature.

A motion|| is made to the Commissioners by Eliot and other elders, that Daniel Gookin and Humphrey Atherton "might be encouraged to assist in carrying on the Indian work in respect of civil government." As the proposition referred only to Indians of Massachusetts, the Commissioners conclude that it properly belongs to the direction of this Colony.

19. The Commissioners reply to a communication from the Missionary Corporation. They calculate the charges for the Mission,

* From a vote of their church in 1661, it appears that, though Powell was chosen Ruling Elder, yet that he served and was paid as a minister, as they and he wished, but not as the legislature ordered. Robbins' Hist. of Second Ch., Boston.

† New Eng. Ensign.

‡ Bishop's N. E. Judged, p. 50.

§ Com'rs MS. Rec. Hazard, vol. ii.

p. 370, 1.

|| Ibid. p. 374, 6, 7.

the present year, between £600 and £700. They give a detail of the persons employed in the mission. Eliot had his son, his brother Francis, and five Indian interpreters and schoolmasters, as assistants. Mayhew had his father, an English schoolmaster, and two Indian interpreters, to aid him in his labors. Messrs. Pierson, Richard Bourne, Blinman, Leveridge, Newman and Tompson had been engaged to assist the mission. John Stanton was still supported, as well as nine Indian children, in preparation for missionaries.

21. Copeland and Holder, who had landed at Rhode Island, been ordered from the Vineyard and Plymouth, attempt * to address the congregation at Salem, after the minister had closed his service, are stopped and carried out. While men are forcing them from the house of worship, Samuel Shattuck, of the same place, interposed in behalf of Holder. For this, he and the Quakers were taken to Boston and imprisoned. On the 23d, the two last are whipped thirty stripes each. They were kept in jail nine weeks. Shattuck was confined till he gave bond of £20 to answer at the next Court, and not to associate with any of such a denomination.

With regard to Copeland and Holder, Gookin gives † the ensuing passage: "Certain Quakers, landing upon the Island, (Martha's Vineyard,) went to some of the Indian wigwams. They told the Indians, that they had a light within them that was sufficient to guide them to happiness; and dissuaded the Indians from hearing Mr. Mayhew, or reading the Scriptures; and said that those ministers that preached from, or used the Scriptures, were as Baal's priests and hirelings. And at last the Quakers offered the Indians some of their pamphlet books, which they always carried with them, exhorting the Indians to read them, and they would be of greater benefit to them than the Bible. The Indians heard all this discourse patiently; and then one of the principal of them, that could speak English, gravely answered: 'You are strangers to us, and we like not your discourse. We know Mr. Mayhew, that he is a good and holy man; but you we know not. You tell us of a light within us that will guide us to salvation; but our experience tells us that we are darkness and corruption, and all manner of evil within our hearts. You dehort us from using the Bible, but offer your books, and commend them to us. We cannot receive your counsel, contrary to our own experience, and the advice and exhortations of our ancient and good teachers. Therefore, we pray you, trouble us no further with your new doctrines, for we do not approve them.' So the Quakers, not long after, departed from the island, and never since have they been infested with them."

* Bishop's N. E. Judged, p. 50, 1.
vol. i. p. 203.

† Gookin. Mass. Hist. Coll. 1 s.

1657.]

October 8. A letter from John Eliot to the Treasurer of the Missionary Corporation, mentions that he had been confined by sickness, and was partly able to resume his mission. He states that he had received £11 worth of supplies, the last of a donation left by a deceased friend to the Indians, and some books from Mr. Jessy.* He recommends Jonathan Ince, about to embark for England, "as a godly young man, a scholar who hath a singular faculty to learn and pronounce the Indian tongue," and desires that, on his return, he may assist him in teaching the Indians. A brother of Mr. Eliot, being about to close his labors as an assistant to him, was the reason of such a request.

14. The Legislature assemble.† Still considering themselves as obligated to stand against what they believed heresy, and to use more severe means to accomplish this object, because some of those banished on such an account had returned without leave, they pass a law, additional to what already existed, in reference to the Quakers. It is ordered, that any one who brings them or "other blasphemous hereticks" hither, shall be fined £100, and imprisoned till the sum be paid, as before required; whoever entertains or conceals them, knowing them to be such, shall pay 40/. for every hour he thus does; if Quaker men, after having the present law executed upon them, come back to this jurisdiction, they shall, for the first offence, have each one ear cut off, and be kept at hard work in the house of correction, till they can be sent away at their own charge; for the second offence, shall have the other ear cut off, and confined as aforesaid; if women of the same denomination so do, they shall, for the first and second offences, be severely whipped and similarly confined; if such persons, of either sex, come back the third time, they shall have their tongues bored through with a hot iron, and as previously stated, be kept at hard labor till they can be carried off at their own cost; and all of the inhabitants who become Quakers, shall be alike treated. The punishment of boring the tongue with a hot iron was not executed in this Colony. The order for it appears to have been an imitation of one passed by Parliament, December, 1656, in reference to James Naylor.

Report is made, that the controversy between Haverhill and Salisbury churches is hopefully settled. The two towns are required to meet the charges of the Council, though the Colonial Treasurer pays them for the present. It is ordered that, for the future, the delinquents in such cases, shall be answerable for the expenses.

The subject which had excited much public attention, and drawn forth a labored, legal report from Samuel Symonds, comes

* Mr. Jessy was minister of the Church in Southwark, formed by Henry Jacobs, and "before his settlement there was much pressed to go to New England." He was lost in a vessel with the missionary, Mayhew.

† Mass. MS. Gen. Ct. Rec.

before the General Court. It relates to a vote in Ipswich, taken February 25, 1656, by a majority, for £100 towards a house for Mr. Cobbet. Part of the minority contended that, as they gave no consent for the levy of such a sum, they ought not to become responsible for its payment. The question having been submitted, and the parties heard, the Deputies decide,* on the 20th, that the minority are not bound; but the next day the greater part of them give a different opinion, which was concurred in by the Assistants. Hence the conclusion of the Legislature is, that the Ipswich vote was in force not only for those who favored it, but also for those of its opponents. What lent to this discussion no small interest, was the belief of many Colonists, that the salaries of ministers should be paid only by voluntary contributions. Such persons maintained, that it was inconsistent with true liberty for any individual to have his property taken to meet public taxes, for which he did not give his vote. But experience has long proved, that the compulsory system, for many public interests, has less evil connected with it than the voluntary.

23. As by the reports, a number of ministers are not sufficiently supported and some towns are destitute of them, the County Courts are instructed to rectify these things, and wherein they are unable, to inform the Legislature.

As Robert Pike has paid his fine for resisting the order of the General Court, as to the settlement of ministers, and now desires favor of them, through Mr. Worcester, pastor of the Salisbury church, who appears to plead his cause, they "release him from the other part of the sentence."

The Legislature considering that Mr. Dunster, while President of the College, was very useful, for which he had no adequate compensation, discharge him from a debt of £40 or £50 to the Colony, "as a gratuity for his good service." This was some alleviation of his trials, occasioned by his profession of antipedobaptism.

On representation of Mr. Eliot in behalf of the Indians at the location, afterwards named Marlborough, an order is issued that 6,000 acres there, be laid out for them before winter. On December 7, the inhabitants of Dorchester appoint a committee to lay out 6,000 acres of land at Puncapoag, as a settlement for the Christian Indians, as Eliot had requested. A measure, so favorable to the mission, was carried into effect.

November. Thomas Mayhew, jr., leaves the Vineyard † and sails from Boston with Capt. James Garrett, his wife's own brother, for England. He was accompanied by a pupil of his, a son of Moxes, an Indian of noted piety. His object in taking the voyage was to

* Hutchinson's Coll. p. 287, 309.
Conv. p. 76-80.

† Gookin's Coll. Exp. Mayhew, Ind.

1657.]

confer with the Missionary Corporation and so promote the evangelization of the Indians. For his office he had well fitted himself, being acquainted with the Latin, Greek and Hebrew languages. Thus bound on an errand of mercy, with pleasant hopes that the sphere of his usefulness would be enlarged, he departed to be no more heard of, as the living laborer for Christ. The vessel in which he embarked was lost, with all on board. He was so taken away at the age of 36 years, leaving a wife and three sons, for whom he most cared, that they might be dutiful, useful and saved. The natives with whom he labored, and in whose dialect he had made great proficiency, and the English, to whom he preached, greatly lamented his loss. Experience Mayhew, in his *Indian Converts*, p. 292, says: "I have seen the rock, on a descending ground, upon which he sometimes used to stand and preach to great numbers, crowding to hear him; and the place on the wayside where he solemnly and affectionately took his leave of that poor and beloved people of his, was for all that generation remembered with sorrow."

Richard Dowdney,* from England, is apprehended as a Quaker, at Dedham, brought to Boston, and whipped thirty stripes. He was ordered out of the jurisdiction the latter part of the month.

December 29. William Baker appears† before the Middlesex Court, to answer the charge of absenting himself from the ordinance of baptism and having Quaker books in his house. He asserts that he has no such books, and that he disliked those he had seen, and had burnt them; that he had recently been convinced he ought not to show dislike for infant baptism, and purposed to abide by this opinion. The Court "admonished him to be careful of Satan's wiles," and allowed him to depart. George Knower is complained of for a profanation of the Sabbath.

This year a vote is taken at Springfield,‡ that four brethren of the church "carry on the public worship" there. Of them, Deacon Wright has 50/. a month, and after, they have £40 a year between them. They are restricted, except John Pyncheon, to reading from some author. He is allowed to address the congregation "with his own meditations."

According to a catalogue of books in the British Museum, the "Method of Divine Grace," as printed in London, is assigned to Thomas Parker of Newbury, as its author.

While Edmund, son of Rev. John Wilson, was in Italy,§ about 1657, he was brought before the Inquisition. The Chief, at first, appeared stern; but suddenly altered his conduct, on being visited by a friend, so that he invited Mr. Wilson to dine with him. Then the principal Inquisitor, much to his surprise, as he had not made

* Bishop's N. Eng. Judged, p. 53.

† Town Rec. of Springfield.

‡ Middlesex Ct. MS. Rec.

§ Life of John Wilson, p. 33.

known who he was, called him by name, and mentioned "the character of his father's industry in serving the hereticks of New England."

PLYMOUTH.

1655. March 6. Peter Gaunt, Ralph Allen, sen., and George Allen, arraigned for neglect of public worship, are desired* to speak on the subject. "Gaunt affirmed that he knew no public visible worship now in the world, whereunto the said Ralph assented, but George Allen dissented."

This spring, John Reyner,† who left his ministry at Plymouth several months before and went to Boston, returns with an inclination to resume his labors. But, as Morton observes, "divers of them being tainted with the then epidemical disease of some part of the country about that time, viz., a slight esteem of an able ministry," he left the following summer, and settled at Dover.

May 8. Edward Winslow, one of the Commissioners appointed by Cromwell to superintend an expedition against Spanish ports in the West Indies, dies there on his passage between Hispaniola and Jamaica, in his sixty-first year.‡ In all the relations of life, as husband, father and friend, he ever showed himself affectionate and faithful; as a member of society, agent, magistrate and Governor, he was able, intelligent, energetic and patriotic. Amid the multiplied and responsible trusts which he sustained, the prosperity of Puritanism was ever uppermost in his prayers, plans and pursuits. For this cause he adventured every temporal interest, derived his highest joys from its duties, and his brightest hopes from its principles. One who was with him, and witnessed the solemnities of his burial in the sea, describes him as pleasant in manners, just in deportment, superior in talents and attainments, worthy of great confidence, and an honor to every trust committed to his charge. In his family, he had experienced the joys and sorrows usual with such a relation. He was the son of one bearing his name, and of Draughtwich, in Worcestershire. While traveling in the Low Countries, he united with the people of Robinson, at Leyden, and embarked with part of them for Plymouth. His first wife,§ Elizabeth, who had shared with him in the hardships of a new planta-

* Plym. Col. MS. Rec.

† Plym. MS. Ch. Rec.

‡ Morton gives this age, but the Memorials of Marshfield state that he was 59 years, 6 months, and 18 days old.

§ Morton's N. E. Memorial, p. 181, 2. Mem. of Marshfield, by Maria A. Thomas, p. 18.

1656.]

tion, died March 24, 1621. The next May 24th, he married Susannah, the widow of William White. His children, Edward and John, deceased at an early age. He left son Josiah, afterwards Governor of Plymouth Colony, and daughter Elizabeth, who honored their father by imitating his worthy example.

June 5. Inhabitants of Rehoboth petition* the Legislature "to assist them in a way according to the orders of other Colonies about them for raising maintenance for the ministry."

Governor Bradford states the subsequent reasons why he is unwilling to continue in his office, except they are seasonably removed. The support for ministers was insufficient, and therefore, many of them had moved away; errors had not been properly suppressed, and disorders are likely to succeed, "and the peace and comfort of the churches disturbed;" other magistrates are alike dissatisfied. The Deputies took these and other objections into consideration, and "propounded sundry things in way of satisfaction, which being rectified, were enacted by the Court."

The Court enact† that whoever denies the Scriptures as the rule of life, shall receive corporal punishment; that, as much complaint exists, that ministers are not sufficiently supported, they are not to remove until they lay their case before a Magistrate, and he has heard both parties, and that, if congregations refuse to do their duty in this respect, they shall be compelled.

8. Marshfield having presented, last year, a request similar to that of Rehoboth, the Legislature appoint‡ Standish and Alden to visit them, and, at a public town meeting, signify to them, that the Court desire that they freely contribute, according to their means, for the support of their minister, so that there be no just cause of future complaint.

1656. June 6. The Legislature order,§ "that no Indian shall discharge any gun on the Lord's day at any thing, to the breach of the Sabbath and disturbance of the English."

July. They consider a complaint, that cards had been brought into some of their towns, "whereby sundry young persons, men's both children and servants, have been drawn together to spend their time in playing at such unlawful games, to the corrupting of youth, with sundry other sad consequences that may follow," and they pass an order, that whoever brings into the Colony or keeps in his house, cards, and allows any to play there with them and dice, shall be fined 40/., and that all "acters" therein shall be subjected to the same fine. They also appoint, that servants and children, who engage in such play with cards and dice, shall be corrected, for the first offence, at the discretion of their masters and parents, and, for the second, be publicly whipped.

* Plym. Col. Rec.

† Plym. Col. Rec.

‡ Plym. Col. Laws.

§ Plym. Col. Laws.

September 2. Alarmed at the increasing prejudice, which appeared in various towns in this Colony to the proper support of an able ministry, and also fearful that such an inclination would open an entrance for the doctrines of George Fox and others, Massachusetts, as a member of the Confederation to which Plymouth belonged, and in accordance with the Constitution of this Union, address the Commissioners on the subject, who, at their session* a few days after, took it up and gave their advice for a reformation wherever needed. Such prejudice appears to have been advanced by the principles of the Seekers, among whom was Roger Williams.

October 3. Myles Standish closes his eventful life.† His great grandfather was a "younger brother from the House of Standish. He was heir apparent unto a great estate, surreptitiously detained from him." He did military service in the "Low Countries," where he commenced a permanent acquaintance with the Pilgrims in Leyden, and joined himself faithfully, for weal or woe, with those of them who adventured the perilous settlement at Plymouth. His will names four sons, Alexander, Myles, Josiah and Charles. Morton states, that "growing very ancient, he became sick" of the strangury, and after severe suffering, "fell asleep in the Lord and was honourably buried at Duxbury."

1657. February 3. Jane, wife of William Lander, of Sandwich, and Sarah, daughter of Richard Kerbey, are presented,‡ "for disturbance by them made in the public worship of God on the Lord's day at Sandwich, by opposing and abusing the speaker amongst them." A summons is issued for William Allen, Richard Kerbey, and the wife of John Newland, to appear and answer for meeting with others at the house of said Allen on the Lord's day, and at other times, where "they used to inveigh against ministers and magistrates, to the dishonor of God and contempt of government." Nicholas Upshall, a Quaker from Boston, who assembled with them, "being only licensed by the Court formerly to stay at Sandwich until the extremity of winter is over, is now warned to depart the government by the first of March next." Trustrum Hull, who brought him hither, is warned to carry him away by the time specified. On the 5th of March, Sarah Kerbey, "for disturbance of the public worship of God after admonition and sentence formerly given against her, which was to be publicly whipped, this is now ordered to be performed, and so accordingly was executed." Jane Lander is ordered to be whipped, for a similar offence, unless she engage to trespass no more in this way.

General Court send an order to John Newland, of Sandwich, that a house of his, which had been used for meetings, that "tended to the disturbance of the public worship of God," should be no longer thus used.

* Com'rs MS. Rec. Hazard, vol. ii. p. 346, 7.

† N. E. Mem., ed. of 1721, p. 182, 3.

‡ Plym. Col. Rec.

1657.]

May 9. One of the choicest supporters* of social, civil and religious order in the Colony, is summoned to rest from various, multiplied and anxious responsibilities, in the person of William Bradford, "a gentleman of very noble and generous spirit," as Neal observes, "approved in Town, in Church, in Court, for the full space of thirty-seven years." As one of the founders, protectors and guides of the Commonwealth, his departure was extensively and deeply deplored. This occurred in his 69th year. His first wife, Dorothy May, died in Cape Cod harbor, before the Pilgrims had provided the comforts of a land settlement. His second was widow Alice Southward, whose maiden name was Carpenter, and who died March 2, 1670, aged 80. By her he left two sons, William and Joseph. Her helpfulness to him flowed out in benefit to the public, who are thus bound to honor her memory. Though he was not favored with an education at the University, yet he was a thorough and cultivated scholar. He was familiar with the French and Dutch languages. He made laudable progress in the Latin and Greek. Few surpassed him in the knowledge of the Hebrew. His chief inducement for mastering this was, as he remarked, that "he would see with his own eyes the ancient oracles of God in their native beauty." In him was a striking demonstration of the power of the Gospel, when properly embraced and obeyed, to render a man worthy of imitation in all the walks of life, whether private or public, whether relative to time or eternity.

June 3. Proceedings of the General Court.† This body "taking into their serious consideration the great defect that either is or like to be in the several Townships in this jurisdiction for want of an able, Godly Teaching ministry, and the great prejudice to the souls of many like to ensue. And in consideration, that in as much as the several Townships granted by the Government, was that such a Company might be received as should maintain the publick worship and service of God there, do therefore judge, that the whole body, Church and Town, are mutually engaged to support the same." They require that four men, in each town, favored with "an able, Godly Teaching minister," shall assess rates for his comfortable support, on the inhabitants, proportionally to their estates, unless other means are used efficiently for the same end.

The fourth part of every military company in each town, are ordered to bring their "arms by course every Lord's day to the meeting, with powder and bullett to improve if occasion require." Any soldier, who omits compliance, "shalbee fined twelve pence for every default."—All persons, who have not taken the oath of fidelity, and still neglect it for six months, after being legally notified to do it, shall either depart from the Colony or pay five pounds.

* N. E. Mem. ed. of 1721, p. 183-89.

† Plym. Col. Laws

"In case any shall bring in any quaker, ranter, or other notorious heriticks, either by land or water, into any part of this Government, shall forthwith, upon order from any one Magistrate, return them to the place from whence they came, or clear the Government of them, on the penaltie of 20/. for every week that they shall stay after warning."

August. Copeland and Holder,* having been ejected from the Vineyard and brought to the main land, are found at Plymouth. When the marshal ordered them to leave the Colony, they said, that the Lord required them to visit Sandwich. He then took and carried them towards Rhode Island. Still they returned to Sandwich. On September 2, being apprehended, they are sent back again in the same direction.

September 12. All the Commissioners† sign the letter to the authorities of Rhode Island, for the suppression of the Quakers, except James Cudworth of this Colony.

The Commissioners of the Union write to Samuel Newman of Rehoboth, as they do, at the same date, to several other ministers. Being informed that he was disposed to act as missionary among the Indians, they propose, as agents of the Society in England, to allow him an interpreter, who may be with him constantly, with the promise of compensation to both of them according to their service.

October 6. The people of Taunton complain,‡ that unworthy persons have come among them without legal permission. Order is given that these individuals shall not be entertained, and especially that William Paule and his wife be expelled. Humphrey Norton, a Quaker, "is found guilty of divers horrid errors," and commanded to leave the Colony.

Ralph Allen, of Sandwich, for holding meetings§ on the Sabbath at his house, is required to give bond that he will keep the law. But he and Newland of the same town refusing, are placed in custody of the chief marshal. Mr. Burgis apologizes for the part he took, is admonished and released. Henry Saunders, for refusing to assist in the apprehension of Newland, is committed at the pleasure of the Court. Edward Dillingham, for speaking on this occasion, opprobriously of the officer, is admonished. Ralph Jones is fined 10/. for neglecting public worship.

December 22. At a Court of the Assistants in Duxbury, the case of Robert Houchin, a Quaker, comes before them. He is charged with going to and fro in some towns of the Colony, and procuring people to meet and hear his discourse. It is stated, "sundry alsoe began to be taken with his novelties, which was likely to produce great disturbance." On the 19th, a warrant was

* N. E. Ensign.

† Plym. Col. Rec.

‡ Com'rs Rec. Hazard, vol. ii. p. 371, 2.

§ Plym. Col. Rec.

1657.]

granted for his apprehension and that of others, and thus prevent their meeting the next day, being the Sabbath, at the house of Arthur Howland, of Marshfield, who was near 70 years old. But most of the persons, who purposed to assemble here, heard of the process against them, and kept away, so that John Phillips, the constable, came thither and found none together in the act of religious convocation. On the 21st, he endeavored to take Houchin, at Howland's house, with John and Joseph, sons of John Rogers, but Howland thrust him out of the door, and threatened, if he persisted, to oppose him with a sword or gun.

Zoeth Howland is accused of saying, that he would not "go to meeting to hear lies," etc. Arthur and Zoeth Howland, and John Howland, Jr., are ordered to appear at different dates and answer the accusations brought against them. The first, refusing to come under bonds, is committed to the custody of the Chief Marshal.

As a specimen of the opinion, which generally prevailed in the Confederation as to the people thus prosecuted, we have a passage from Morton's MSS.* "There arose a perverse sect called Quakers, whose tenets and principles (if I may so call them) are and may be demonstrated to be heretical and abominable, and these and at several other times did strike at the very being, or at least the well being of the Church so as it was much endangered. This efficacy of delusion grew very prevalent to the perverting and turning aside of divers outside professors from the ways of God."

NOTE.—1655. Dec. 22. News from Plymouth. "Three Dutch vessels, pressed by bad weather, and coming from New Netherland, have run in here. They are said to have conquered again the Fort Casamirus, and all the fortifications which the Swedes there had taken from us, and to have delivered of that nation the whole river, from the head to its mouth. The said vessels bring with them the person (Governor Rising) who was the commander of the Swedes."—*Haerlemsche Courant* of January 8, 1656.—*Hist. Magazine*, vol. iii. p. 144.

MAINE.

1655. April 3. Cromwell writes to John Leverett: † "We have received an account from Major Sedgwick, of his taking several forts from the French in America, and that he hath left you to command and secure for us and this Commonwealth. We have thought it necessary to let you know of how great consequence it is, that you use your utmost care and circumspection, as well to defend and keep the forts abovesaid, as also to improve the regaining of them into our hands, to the advantage of us and

* MS. Hist. of Plym. Ch.

† Carlyle's Cromwell, vol. iv. p. 458.

this State." The capture of such fortifications relieved the minds of those, who wished that papacy might have no rule in their neighborhood.

May 23. Under this date,* a Committee of the Bay and the Associates of the County Court of Yorkshire, are empowered to receive the submission of individuals who had not yielded to the authority of Massachusetts.

June 28. Silvester Stover and his wife are complained of for using very improper language to each other on the Sabbath.† He is fined 10/. and fees 5/. for breach of the holy day. As George Garland had published an intention of marriage between the widow Hitchcock of Saco and himself, though he lately owned that he was the husband of another woman, the Court order the constable of that town to forbid the publication.

October 24. George Cleaves offers a remonstrance‡ to the Massachusetts authorities, of persons who "pretend to be the Province of Lygonia" and independent of them. They decide: "If, therefore, the said inhabitants shall endeavour to prevent us in our just rights, we must profess against their proceedings as unjust, and shall advise ourselves to take such course as shall evidence our desires to acquit ourselves honestly before God and man."

November 23. In the orders § of Massachusetts to Leverett, their agent, they wish, that if a treaty be made between France and England, and Acadie be confirmed to the latter, he will use his influence for them, so that such territory may come under their jurisdiction, should Cromwell favor the project. They further wish, that in case Rigby should complain, that they had received Lygonia under their laws, Leverett would answer as circumstances might require. The treaty,|| just referred to, was made at Westminster the third of November, and Nova Scotia was allowed to the English, and thus the people of Maine were still kept from the restoration of former Catholic influence on their borders.

1656. August 9. In a charter of Acadie and Nova Scotia, from Cromwell to Stephen de la Tour, Thomas Temple, and William Crowne, Maine is included up to Penobscot, the River St. George and the Muscongus.¶ A condition of such proprietorship is, that no person shall be allowed to dwell within its bounds, except those of the Protestant religion, and such as submit to the laws of the English Republic. Palaret informs us, that La Tour immediately sold his right to the other two Patentees, and thus increased the prospect of a more permanent Puritan influ-

* Mass. MS. Rec. † Maine MS. Rec. ‡ Hutchinson's Coll. p. 274.

§ *Memoires de l'Amerique*. Holmes' Ann. vol. i. p. 305.

|| Hutchinson, 3d ed. vol. i. p. 190.

¶ Chalmers, p. 188, remarks: "Thus was introduced that confusion, with regard to Acadie and Nova Scotia, which so perplexed statesmen in after times, by considering those as different countries, that were in truth the same."

1657.]

ence. On the 17th of September, Temple receives a commission from Cromwell as governor of such territory.

Though the church difficulties at Wells had been hushed, they awake this year to exert their baneful influence. Seth Fletcher, a minister, is here, and appears to have been pastor of the congregation.

1657. May 6. Commissioners are instructed * not only to take in such as are within our limits, under Massachusetts, but "also to appoint and settle them in such a way of government, with commissioners, constables, and other officers, as they may be enabled to preserve the peace and defend themselves from tumults and settle due ministry among them, that so they may live according to God, under such ordinances as they are capable of."

15. The Bay authorities address Josselyn and Jordan in reference to the commencement and continuance of their jurisdiction over Maine. They observe, that their exertions to have a regular administration of the laws here, had not met from some the ready co-operation which they had reason to expect. They remark: "We have heard diverse complaints for want of government, and have been informed of some endeavors to disturb the quiet of the people at Saco and Wells, which we have winked at, expecting a ready compliance of all persons inhabiting our limits, especially since our answer to the expostulations and demands, made to us by the inhabitants there, presented to us by Mr. Cleaves; but finding ourselves deceived in our expectation, we have given commission to some gentlemen, whom we desire and expect you will meet at the next County Court at York, and contribute your assistance for the settling of those parts beyond Saco to the utmost bounds of our Patent, and your countenance herein will, we doubt not, much conduce to the good of those parts, which is a principal scope and desire of the General Court of Massachusetts." The same authorities order, that the petition of Yorkshire be forwarded to the Lord Protector, according to their request.

October 23. They relate,† that their Commissioners went to York, in the summer, supposing that the principal persons of Black and Blue Points, and Casco Bay, would meet them there, as previously requested, but did not, and, therefore, the Commissioners ordered them to appear before the Legislature in Boston the 14th of this month, but they also failed to comply with this requisition. They add that, instead of such conformity, George Cleaves sent them a paper denying the legality of their acts, and asserting that the people of those places denied their right to govern them. The Court re-assert their authority over these settlements, and clear themselves from blame if they should suffer from the lack of government.

* Mass. MS. Gen. Ct. Rec.

† Sullivan's Maine, p. 369.

Henry Josselyn and Robert Jordan are called by the Marshal General to appear before the Court, according to their summons, either personally or by agents, three times, but none of them obeyed.

NOTE.—“1656. March 5. The trade of Plymouth Colony at Kennebeck, is let by them to William Bradford, sen., Thomas Prince and Thomas Willet, for seven years, at £35 per annum, payable in money, or beaver, or moose, at price current.”—*Plym. Col. Rec.*

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

1655. April 11. The people of Portsmouth* “generally acknowledge themselves willing that Mr. Browne should continue their minister, as he had done, if he were so pleased.” On the 10th of July, he was desired to give an account of what his parish owe him to the present time.

June 26. Daniel Maud,† minister of Dover, had died recently. He had lost a wife while here. She was Mary Bonner, dismissed from the First Church of Boston, August 8, 1644, to be united with his church. He desired that he might be buried near her remains. He left a wife, Mary, with four children. His will, dated 17th of January preceding his death, offers several things to our notice. Desiring that the ministry might be intelligently continued by his successor, he leaves his books, which include some Hebrew ones, for his use. He adds the condition, that if his people should employ a preacher of no fit taste for such volumes, they might be for the benefit of another who was, in York or Hampton. He gives his “little Hebrew Bible to Mr. Brock.” He wishes that a manuscript, which he had carefully preserved, might be committed to Mr. Davenport, who, as he was informed, intended to sail for England, so that he might have it published there, if he thought best. He leaves his testamentary petition, that the Lord would bless the Gospel work among his congregation more than he ever had. He thus bids them adieu, highly esteemed as a learned and efficient servant of his divine Master.

This summer, John Reyner,‡ from Plymouth, settles in the ministry at Dover. Morton calls him “an able, faithful and laborious preacher of the Gospel.”

1656. Mr. Browne was preaching § at Portsmouth in the spring. On the 27th of October, he seems to have discontinued his minis-

* Annals of Portsmouth.
Memoranda of Rev. Alonzo Quint.

† Thacher's *Plym.* p. 271. Baylies' *Plym.* vol. ii. p. 257.

§ Annals of Portsmouth, p. 37, 8.

† This and other items are from Historical

1655.]

try here, for then Samuel Dudley, son of Deputy Governor, Thomas Dudley, was invited to succeed him at a salary of £80 a year. Mr. Dudley accepted their proposal, November 10, and agreed to commence his labors with them the next spring, but some cause appears to have intervened and prevented his purpose. He was afterwards located at Exeter.

This year, Jane, the wife of Thomas Walford, of Portsmouth, is prosecuted for witchcraft.

Wheelwright embarks, about this year, for England. On the accession of Charles II. he came back and was settled in Salisbury.

1657. May 6. The inhabitants of Portsmouth* petition the Bay authorities relative to the settlement of a minister and about a meeting-house. On the 27th of August, the town empower a committee to erect a new house of worship. They call Mr. Worcester to become their minister, if they can mutually agree on the terms, after he has come and preached for them. It is not known that he complied, so far as to visit the people.

October 14. William Marston petitions the Court at Hampton, that his fine of £15 may be remitted, which had been imposed on him for keeping a paper and two books, that inculcated the Quaker doctrines. He confesses such a transgression of the law. He had a reduction of one third of the sum required of him.

RHODE ISLAND.

1655. January. This winter,† there is much division in Providence. A paper is sent to the town, "that it is blood-guiltiness, and against the rule of the Gospel, to execute judgment upon transgressors against the private or public weal." On this occasion, R. Williams writes an able letter, showing the necessity of enforcing laws, by the punishment of all who transgress them. He contends, that in all his pleas and efforts for liberty of conscience, he never meant to contradict such a proposition.

March 29. Oliver Cromwell writes‡ to the authorities: "You are to proceed in your government according to the tenor of your Charter formerly granted on that behalf, taking care of the peace and safety of those plantations; that neither through any intestine commotions or foreign invasions, there do arise any detriment or dishonour to this Commonwealth, or yourselves, as far as you by your care and diligence can prevent."

* Mass. MS. Gen. Ct. Rec.

† Arnold's Hist. of R. I. p. 254.

‡ Carlyle's Cromwell, vol. iv. app. p. 457.

May 22. The General Assembly of the four towns meet at Providence. They require,* on the 25th, all the inhabitants to sign a submission to the authority of the Protector, and that whoever of them refuse, shall have "no benefit or privilege of any law of the Colony." In opposition to this order was a protest† of William Harris. He "sent his writings to the Main and to the Island, against all earthly powers, parliaments, laws, charters, magistrates, prisons, punishments, rates, yea, against all kings and princes, under the notion that the people should shortly cry out, No lords, no masters; and in open Court protested, before the whole Colony assembly, that he would maintain his writings with his blood!" A Committee of the Legislature are appointed to deal with him for such opinions.

25. "For the preventing of the great mischief of Indian drunkenness,‡ it is thought meet that there be two ordinary keepers appointed in each town, and that none but these shall sell any sort of strong drink, either to English or Indian by retail, that is to say, under a gallon;" if transgressing, they shall be fined five pounds for each offence.

Profane swearers shall be admonished for the first offence; and, for the second, sit in the stocks two hours, or pay 5/.

June 28. The Court of Commissioners order a letter of thanks to John Clark in England; and, as he had advised them, another "to the Lord President of the Council," with their "humble submission and acknowledgment to his Highness, the Lord Protector." They observe, "that since we have certain information, that his Highness hath lately received complaints against us, that we abound with whoredom," persons thus guilty shall be bound over for their good behavior, or for their trial, or receive some moderate corporal punishment, as the magistrates may determine. If the defendant be proved innocent, then the punishment, due for his alledged offence, shall be inflicted on the complainant, if the magistrates see fit.

"Whereas, we have been rent and torn with divisions, and his Highness hath sent us an express command under his hand and seal, to provide against intestine commotions, by which his Highness noteth, that not only ourselves are dishonoured and endangered, but also that dishonour and detriment redound to the Commonwealth of England, It is ordered, that if any person or persons be found by the examination and judgment of the General Court of the Commissioners to be a ringleader or ringleaders of factions, or divisions amongst us, he or they shall be sent over at his or their own charges as prisoners, to receive his or their trial and sentence, at the pleasure of his Highness and the Lords of the Council."

* Staples' Prov. p. 110, 1.

† Backus, vol. i. p. 302.

‡ R. I. Col. Rec.

1655.]

November 13. On the petition of Jane Hawkins and her sons, the Bay Legislature permit her to go thither, so that she may take passage for England, with the encouragement, that if while there, she satisfy the County Court for her offence to the General Court, she may remain there.*

15. Williams, as the President of Providence Plantations, addresses† the Massachusetts Legislature. He proposes, that as the town of Warwick had laid a demand for £2,000 damages against the Bay before Cromwell, a committee from that place and another from them might settle the matter. He complains, that the Indians who reside about Warwick and at Pawtuxet, and held themselves as under Massachusetts, needed to be called to an account for their deportment. He mentions the same as to four English families at Pawtuxet. He remarks: "I cordially profess it before the Most High, that I believe it, if not only they but ourselves and all the whole country, by joint consent, were subject to your government, it might be a rich mercy; but as things yet are, be pleased to consider how unsuitable it is for yourselves, (if these families plead truth,) to be obstructers of all orderly proceedings amongst us." He says, that of these families who plead non-conformity with the laws of the Colony, lest otherwise they should offend the Bay Authorities, under whose jurisdiction they had put themselves, Stephen Arnold desires to be released from such an engagement; that another, Zacharie Rhodes, is a Baptist, and thus "potentially banished by you;" that William Arnold and William Carpenter, "far in religion from you, if you knew all," have expressed a wish like that of the first among these four individuals.

The President is solicitous to have the regulation, which prevents the people of his Colony from obtaining military supplies at the Bay, repealed, and that they, so allowed, may put themselves in a necessary condition of defence against the Indians, who insult and threaten to make them slaves. He also requests, that the order which he brought from the Lords of the Council in London for his free passage to and from the ports of Massachusetts, may be put on record, lest he should be subject to the trials, which he experienced on his last embarkation for England.

This year Gorton's "Saltmarsh Returned from the Dead" is published in London. He describes it as an exercise of his, June 4, 1654, and an exposition of the 5th chapter of James. He remarks in it to his friends of Lynn, England: "Your carriage towards me, or rather towards the truth of God, was such, when I was for a short time among you, that it is a sufficient engagement to bind me over for ever as yours." Though the production contains many good remarks, yet it gives evidence of his erratic inclination. It rejects, among other orderly institutions of the Gospel,

* Mass. Gen. Ct. MS. Rec.

† Hutchinson's Coll. p. 275-8.

every particular church, with pastor, teacher, elder, deacons and members.

1656. February 21. Williams writes* to John Winthrop, of Pequod. Of the English war against the Spaniards, he observes: "This diversion hath turned the face and thoughts of many English, so that the saying of thousands now is, crowne the Protector with gould. Sir Henry Vane being retired to his owne private in Lincolnshire, hath now published his observations as to religion. He hath sent me one of his books (though yet at Boston.) His father is dead and the inheritance falls to him, and ten or twelve thousand more then should, if his father had lived but a month longer. Though his father cast him off, yet he hath not lost in temporalls by being cast off for God. The Pope endeavours the uniting of all his slaves for his guard, fearing the hereticks. The Lord knowes whether Archer (on the reigne of Christ) said true, That yet the Pope before his downefall must recover England and the Protestant countries revolted from him. You once kindly intended to quench a fire betweene Mr. Coddington and others, but nowe it is come to publick triall."

March. A marshal, having been commissioned by Massachusetts to arrest Richard Chasmore at Pawtucket,† and, on his return, stopped over night at Providence, is brought before the "Townsmen." When he perceived that they would rescue the prisoner from him, he desired them to give him the reasons for such an interference. They, in turn, wished to read his warrant. He told them, that he had shown it to the President, Mr. Williams. "What, saith William Harris, Roger Williams, what is he? he is but our fellow creature and one of vs and hath noe more power then any one of vs has, neither shall he, although he hath written to the Governor in the Bay; but wee will call him to account for his soe doeing, and this he spoke in a slighty and jeringe manner."

March 11. William Coddington,‡ who had been much faulted by freemen of the towns on the Island and the Main, especially by those of Providence and Warwick, for the obtainment of his charter from England, and exercising its authority over Portsmouth and Newport, appears as a representative from the last place, at the Commissioners' Court in Warwick, and makes the following engagement before them: "I, William Coddington, do freely submit to the authority of his Highness in this Colony, as it is now united, and that with all my heart."

17. The Court are tried with his appearance among them, as a member of their body, because they had not yet removed objections on account of his late government by a charter from the English authorities. Still, as he gives evidence of desiring the public

* Hutchinson's Coll. p. 278-82.

† Mass. MS. Records and Papers.

‡ R. I. Col. Rec.

1656.]

good, and acknowledges "the union established between the towns, and the present way of transacting the government in the Colony," they conclude it best for him to continue his political relation with them. They agree to write Mr. Clark in England, so that he may obtain from Parliament leave for "the Colony and Mr. Coddington to act together, and to free him from the danger of the penalty, that possibly may seem to impend on the former troubles and complaints."

They require that certain charges on their records against Mr. Coddington, seeming prejudicial to him and others, shall be cut out and put into his hands. They order, with regard to presentments against him and his supporters, on a similar account, that they shall not be prosecuted, unless by direction of Cromwell.

The Court order that no house of entertainment shall be open after nine o'clock at night, for tippling, except for satisfactory reason, on penalty of 5/. for the keeper, and 2/6. for each of the company, on every occasion of trespass.

They make it a rule that no son or servant "shall claim absolute freedom until the age of twenty-one years."

They forbid any to tolerate, countenance, or retain sons or servants in "licentious and lascivious courses," on the forfeiture of £5 for every offence.

They enact, that if any young man or men live alone in a disorderly manner, the "town council" shall be empowered to scatter them.

They require that publishments of intended marriage shall be made in town meeting, or at the head of a military company, on training day, or by the certificate of a magistrate, posted up in some public place.

They order "that incestuous marriages be null, and the parties offending suffer the punishment of adultery; and that the prohibitions" of them "extend to the degrees prohibited by the laws of England, until the Colony further order."

May 12. Roger Williams, as President of the Colony, addresses* the Bay authorities, on the necessity for Pumham's people at Warwick and the English families at Pawtuxet to come under the authority of Providence Plantations. He assigns as a reason, that, while they refuse submission to these, and profess that they owe it to Massachusetts, they obey the needful regulations of none.

23. The Court of Commissioners, at Portsmouth, consider this request, and they offer to the Pawtuxet people the privileges of their Colony. They grant to Mr. Blackstone leave for having a description of his land entered upon their Records.

24. A communication of Williams to the Massachusetts Rulers, remarks: "I rejoice in your healths and to see your hands and to

* R. I. Col. Rec.

be put vpon any occasion of serving you and the peace of this poore wildernes, to which you haue so long bene happie instruments." It continues, "while devising ways to comply with your wishes about the case of Chasmore, it pleased y^e most wise Lord to exercise your patience and mine by a sudden gust and fire from most of y^e inhabitants of this Towne, who (insolently and contemptuously against yourselues and me) commanded away the prisoner from the marshall and assistants, and this vnder pretence of losse of libertie and priuiledges." It contains two papers; one is a request from Chasmore for an immediate trial "against my houlding him (according to his bond) while May; the other is my Protestation against such tumultuous course, which I sent amongst them, if it were possible to reduce them, if not to render them inexcusable and for my just expression of my grieffe and shame and indignation. And indeede what shall I say, but y^t dolefull apothegme, true with vs and in a measure with you, true in all N. Engl. and Old Engl. ouer at this day. *Profecto omnes licentia deteriores sumus.*" It describes the two principal promoters, "of this present madnes." One is "Zacharie Rhodes of Pawtuxet, who stirs vp all of his way of dipping in our Towne and they all came (which they haue scarce done in 2 yeares) and being able to speake kindled y^e fire extreemely. The other is William Harris, who liues as your Marshall knowes (by your long indulgence) a little from Pawtuxet, is growne as y^e rest are very rich and now by a jeering scornfull wit and wealth, he is so swolne y^t as he hath long scornd to be vnder you or vs, so now to be vnder any and (being in religion a Vniuersalist) he vniversally censures and scorns in writing all Gouvernements, Parliament and Protector by name. He wrote lately a defiance of all Gouvernment. I haue answered his booke in a justification of civill order (which I hope to present you with) and I haue ordered a summons which hath bene served for his appearance now at our Court of Trialls at Newport. He, though long since disfranchised from Towne vote, and also abhors extreemly and jeeres at all Towne Courts, and damns all Governours as Dragons, Beasts and Devills, yet, he and all his partie came and hurried on to meeting and spake and provoked y^e rest, as being jealous y^t if your selves question Pawtuxet men, then he may giue account for something also after all his lawles, fowle practices. 2 weekes since Rhodes and Carpenter complained of him to me how by polocie he had got 3 shares of y^e 13 and was inclosing a great quantitie, but now they all soder againe and all concur to cry for Prouidence against Boston. God is my holy witnes, I would not be partiall, but just and so is this relation. I hope this Spring at Newport to prevaile for y^e punishment of some and your just reperation. I shall humbly promise my vtmost and so I hope will Mr. Coddington. Although while I live I hope to mourne for differences, to applaud your many excellences, to be serviceable to

1657.]

yourselves and people, to promote Christianitie and Civilitie (as I am able) and rejoyce to see it promoted by others in this wilderness."

September 16. Gorton writes* to Holden and other Quakers imprisoned at Boston, in a strain of sarcasm on the Bay authorities. "I marvel what manner of God your adversaries trust in, who are so fearful of being infected with error, or how they shall escape the wiles and power of the devil, when the arm of flesh fails them, whereby they seek to defend themselves for the present." They reply to him on the 28th, and remark that life in Christ "is the light of men, which light we have obeyed in coming into these parts."

October 6. He replies to the letter of Holden and others, and approves of the humility, of which they and he believed themselves to be prominent examples, under the restraints of civil power. On the 20th he dedicates his "Antidote against the common plague of the World" in defence of his exposition of the 5th chapter of James, to Oliver Cromwell. It was printed 1657.

December 10. In discussion with a member of the State Council under Cromwell, and in presence of the latter, John Leverett rebuts† the implicit charge, that Massachusetts was unjustly severe to those who were banished to Rhode Island and adjacent parts, where, as he observes, "looseness and profaneness" so much prevail, "that they had not only declined Christian religion, but moral observations."

Wickendon and Dexter, with several others,‡ formed another Baptist Church, this year, at Newport, "holding general redemption, and admitting to communion only those who had submitted to imposition of hands." Dr. Stiles related, that John Angel, aged 83, told him in 1774, that his mother was daughter of Gregory Dexter, who was the first elder of the Baptist Church in Providence, who held to imposition of hands in baptism or maintained six principles.

1657. May 19. The General Court of Commissioners receive § impeachment of treason from Roger Williams against William Harris. They order that the case come before them the next fourth of July. They accordingly have it revived. They order that Harris read over the copy of his book to them, and Williams peruse its original, and recite his answer to it, his charge against the accused, and his letter to the Legislature. They appoint John Weeks and John Easton to consider the subject till four o'clock in the afternoon, and then report on it in order for trial. This committee make return, as to the book and the speeches of Harris upon it, as follows: "We find therein delivered, as for doctrine, having

* Backus, vol. i. p. 307.

† Early Hist. of R. Island, 118.

‡ Hutchinson, 3d ed. vol. i. p. 176.

§ R. I. Gen. Ct. Rec.

much bowed the Scriptures to maintain, that he that can say it is his conscience, ought not to yield subjection to any human order amongst men. Whereas, the said Harris hath been charged for the said book and words with high treason ; and inasmuch as we being so remote from England, cannot be so well acquainted in the laws thereof in that behalf provided, as the state now stands ; though we cannot but conclude his behaviour therein to be both contemptuous and seditious. We thought best, therefore, to send over his writing, with the charge and his reply, to Mr. John Clark, desiring him to commend the matter in our and the Commonwealth's behalf, for further judgment, as he shall see the cause to require, and in the mean time to bind the said Harris in good bonds to the good behaviour until their sentence be known." A committee of four—the President of the Court, Benedict Arnold, the General Recorder, John Sanford, John Easton, and Joseph Clark—are appointed to write Mr. Clark, in London, with regard to this whole matter, and desire him to procure a result from the authority there in the premises, with such convenient speed as he can." In the mean while, Harris and his son Andrew give bonds for £500 sterling, to conform with the requisitions of the Court.*

June 29. From a letter † by Endicott to Leverett, in London, Clark was engaged in a discussion in that metropolis with regard to the prosecution of himself and Holmes at the Bay.

September 12. "The Commissioners of the Union being informed ‡ that divers Quakers had arrived this summer at Rhode Island, and been entertained there, which may prove dangerous to the Colonies, thought meet to manifest their minds to the Governor there as followeth : " We suppose you have understood that, the last year, a company of Quakers arrived at Boston upon no other account than to disperse their pernicious opinions, had they not been prevented by the prudent care of that Government, who, by that experience they had of them, being sensible of the danger that might befall the Christian Religion here professed by suffering such to be received or continued in the country, presented the same unto the Commissioners at their meeting at Plymouth, who, upon that occasion, commended it to the General Courts of the United Colonies, that all Quakers, Ranters, and such notorious heretics, might be prohibited coming among us, and that, if such should arise from amongst ourselves, speedy care might be taken to remove them (and as we are informed) the several jurisdictions have made provision accordingly ; but it is by experience found that means will fall short without further care, by reason of your admonition and receiving of such from whence they may have opportunity to creep in amongst us, or means to infuse and spread their accursed

* R. I. Col. Rec.

† Hutchinson's Coll. p. 309, 10.

‡ Com'rs. MS. Rec. Hazard, vol. ii. p. 370, 1.

1657.]

tenets, to the great trouble of the Colonies, if not to the subversion of the (Religion) professed in them, notwithstanding any care that hath been hitherto taken to prevent the same, whereof we cannot but be very sensible, and think no care too great to preserve us from such a pest, the contagion whereof (if received) within your Colony were dangerous, etc., to be diffused to the other by means of the intercourse, especially to the places of trade amongst us, which we desire may be with safety continued between us. We therefore make it our request, that you, as the rest of the Colonies, take such order herein, that your neighbors may be freed from that danger; that you remove those Quakers that have been received, and for the future prohibit their coming amongst you; whereunto the rule of charity to yourselves and us (we conceive) doth oblige you, wherein, if you should, we hope you will not be wanting."

October 13. The authorities here address* those of the Bay in reference to the letter just mentioned. "Concerning these Quakers which are now among us, we have no law among us whereby to punish any for only declaring by words, etc., their minds and understandings concerning the things and ways of God as to salvation and eternal condition. And we moreover find, that in those places where these people aforesaid in this Colony are most of all suffered to declare themselves freely, and are only opposed by arguments in discourse, there they least of all desire to come, and we are informed that they begin to loath this place, for that they are not opposed by the civil authority, but with all patience and meekness are suffered to say over their pretended revelations and admonitions, nor are they like or able to gain many here to their way. And surely we find they delight to be prosecuted by civil powers, and where they are so, they are like to gain more adherers by the conceit of their patient sufferings, than by consent to their pernicious sayings. And yet we conceive that their doctrines tend to very absolute cutting down, and overturning relations, and civil government among men, if generally received." We think their coming among us will not be so dangerous to the Colonies as supposed. But we intend "to commend the consideration of their extravagant outgoings unto the General Assembly of our Colony in March next, where we hope there will be such order taken, as may in all honest and concientious manner prevent the bad effects of their doctrines and endeavours."

* Hutchinson's MS. Coll.

CONNECTICUT.

1655. January 30. The General Court of New Haven, "considering the sad state of things in Old England, our native country, as appears by what intelligence they have received from thence since they came together, thought it their duty to set a day apart in the whole jurisdiction, for humiliation and solemn seeking of God, which will be on the last day of February next."*

A petition from a Company of the same Legislature, reads as follows: "Intending to remove to Delaware Bay, wherein they propound, that for the enlargement of the kingdom of Christ, the spreading of the Gospel and the good of posterity therein," they desire some aid to forward the undertaking. On April 9th, the town of New Haven encourage this project, and, on July 4, they vote £60 a year for the support of the seminary.

May 17. The Connecticut authorities† order, that in the intervals of their sessions, the magistrates have power to appoint public days of Thanksgiving and Humiliation.

21. The subject‡ of encouraging the College at the town of New Haven, seeing there is "disturbance at the College in the Bay," is revived by the Governor. Messrs. Davenport and Hooker, being present, spoke decidedly in its favor. A committee is raised to ascertain what can be obtained for the object. On the 30th, the Court forward the enterprise. At the same session, having appointed Governor Eaton to prepare laws for the Colony, they desire him to consult Cotton's Discourse on Civil Government and the Code of Massachusetts, and to add what he may deem best. They request that "the Elders of the jurisdiction may have the sight of them for their approbation also."

September 14. The Commissioners of the Union§ appoint rulers over Pequods at Wequapauge and Neweacke. Among the orders for their regulation, are, that they shall not blaspheme the name of God, nor profane the Sabbath, nor practice witchcraft on pain of death. On the 15th the same authorities|| appropriate £15 to Mr. Pierson, for his missionary labors among the natives, and £5 to deserving Indians in New Haven jurisdiction.

October 7. Seaborn Cotton, who united with the First Church¶ of Boston in 1653, takes his dismissal to preach for the Weathersfield congregation.

19. The Laws for New Haven, prepared by Governor Eaton and approved by the Elders, are adopted by the General Court,

* N. Haven MS. Rec.

§ Hazard, vol. ii. p. 334, 5.

† Conn. MS. Rec.

|| Ibid. p. 326.

‡ N. H. MS. Rec.

¶ First Boston Ch. Rec.

1656.]

who order them to be sent to England and there printed. They were published next year in London. Of the capital crimes designated by them, are Idolatry, Witchcraft, Blasphemy, and Rebellion of children against parents.

Education.—All children and apprentices shall be learned “to read the Scriptures and other good and profitable printed books in the English tongue, and to understand the main grounds and principles of the Christian Religion necessary to salvation.” If parents or masters neglect to have the children under them so instructed, they shall be fined; if obstinate, such children and apprentices shall be taken away from them and put where they may be so taught.

Ecclesiastical.—Whoever treats the preaching of a minister, or him in person, contemptuously, shall be punished. Whoever omits to attend worship needlessly, on Sabbath, Fast and Thanksgiving days, shall pay 5/. for each offence. It is “ordered, that all the people of God within this jurisdiction, who are not in a church way, being orthodox in judgment, and not scandalous in life, shall have full liberty to gather themselves into a Church estate, provided they do it in a Christian way, with due observation of the rules of Christ, revealed in his Word; provided, also, that this Court doth not, nor hereafter will approve of any such company of persons, as shall join in any pretended way of Church fellowship, unless they shall first in due season, acquaint both the Magistrates, and the Elders of the Churches within this Colony, where and when they intend to join, and have their approbation therein. Nor shall any person, being a member of any Church, which shall be gathered without such due notice given and approbation had; or who is not a member of some Church in New England, approved by the Magistrates and Churches of this Colony, be admitted to the freedom of this Jurisdiction.” Heresy shall be punished by fine, banishment or otherwise severely, as the Court of Magistrates shall decide. Marriage is regulated as in Massachusetts. Every inn-keeper is forbidden to allow the play of shuffleboard or any other gaming. At the same session, the Legislature order, that November 14 be kept in fasting and prayer, “for ourselves, our native country, and for the poor, distressed, afflicted Protestants, who are sorely persecuted by the Duke of Savoy.”

Hull relates: * “Great breach of love and union in the Church at Hartford last summer, which continued to the end of the winter now past, notwithstanding all endeavours there, and also by letters from hence (Boston) to have gained a reconciliation.”

1656. May 15. The Court of Connecticut request † the Governor and others, as a committee, to advise with the Elders about certain complaints, and, if judging it needful, to ask their assist-

* MS. Diary.

† Conn. MS. Gen. Ct. Rec.

ance in drawing up an abstract of them, to be laid before the Legislatures of the Confederation.

28. The like body,* of New Haven Colony, take into consideration the proposals of Cromwell, for their people to emigrate and settle in Jamaica, as a means of spreading true Religion. After a protracted and serious debate, they conclude that, notwithstanding the kindness of the Protector to New England, and particularly to them, "they cannot conclude that God calls them to a present remove thither." They order that, as some who were not freemen had voted on important occasions, "none but freemen shall be allowed so to do, unless in some particular cases wherein the proprieties of the planters in general are concerned, and ought not to be disposed of without their consent."

As complaints had been made against the indulgence of disorder and immorality at Greenwich, and the people there refused obedience to the Legislature, these now order, that unless they submit by June 25, the most rebellious among them shall be arrested. Such decision produced its intended effect.

July. Peter Prudden, the first minister of Milford, dies there in his 56th year. He was born at Edgton, Yorkshire, and arrived at Boston July 26, 1637. He married Joanna Boys, and was brother-in-law to Rev. John Reyner. He leaves six daughters and two sons, of whom John became minister at Newark, N. J. His course had been dutiful, and its termination is blessed.

John, son to John Haynes, Governor of Connecticut, takes his first degree this year at Harvard College. He soon goes to England, the land of his nativity, and receives his second degree at Cambridge University. He was settled in the ministry, near Colchester, of Essex County, where he left descendants. It makes no diminution of his reward as a faithful steward of Christ, that far less is known of him than of many an equal.

September 2. The Massachusetts Court suggest† to the Commissioners, that it would be well for Connecticut to look after Richard Smith, who came with the two women from Barbadoes to Boston, and whom they had imprisoned as a Quaker, but sent home to Southampton on Long Island.

15. The Commissioners still report‡ Mr. Pierson as engaged in the Indian mission. On the 17th, they address the Hartford Church: "We have with much sorrow of heart heard your differences, and that the means attended hitherto for the composing of them have not been effectual. We cannot but be deeply sensible of the sad and dreadful consequences of dissension, heightened and increased, especially in a church of such eminence for light and love." They then earnestly entreat them to leave off contention,

* N. Haven MS. Gen. Ct. Rec.

† Hutch. Coll. p. 283, 4.

‡ Com'rs MS. Rec. Hazard, vol. ii. p. 358, 366.

1656.]

and walk together in Christian harmony. Trumbull states that the chief cause of such disturbance was the half-way covenant, and that the like trouble spread into other churches.

A letter * from Mr. Pierson at "Bramford," of 25th ult., is laid before the Commissioners. It relates to them, that he had prepared a catechism to "convince the Indians by the light of nature and reason, that there is only one God who hath made and governs all things." They propose that it be finished and translated into the Narraganset or Pequod "language, that it may be better understood by the Indians in all parts of the country." They request Thomas Stanton to assist Mr. Pierson in this work.

October 2. Connecticut Legislature orders† that no town of their jurisdiction "shall entertain any Quakers, Ranters, Adamites, or such like notorious hereticks, or suffer to continue with them above the space of 14 days upon the penalty of £5 per week."

The townsmen are required to notify the two next Assistants, who are empowered to imprison such strangers till an opportunity presents for sending them out of the jurisdiction. They also forbid masters of vessels to bring persons of the like offensive denominations into the Colony, and, if they do, to give security for them while here, and carry them away as soon as they leave the ports into which they have entered.

The Court appoint a Committee to carry out the suggestion of the Commissioners, for collecting "memorable passages of God's Providence."

They require "y^t next Wednesday come 3 weekes shall be kept a publique day of Thanksgiving to the Lord, for the generall concurrence of many mercyes the yeare past, by all the Plantations in this Jurisdiction."

21. A letter from them is communicated to the Bay Legislature, proposing a Synod of Elders from the Confederate Colonies, for the consideration of several questions which concern the churches. An appointment is accordingly made.

In the course of this year, William Hooke leaves New Haven, his wife having departed two years before, and goes back to England. After his return, he "was sometime minister of Axmouth in Devonshire," and then appointed "master of the Savoy" in London, and chaplain to Oliver Cromwell, who, by marriage, was his cousin. The publications of Hooke follow: Tears for Old England's fears; Sermon from Job 2: 12, 1641; Sermon entitled New England's sense of Old England and Ireland's sorrow, 1645; A Discourse of the Gospel Day. He took part in a catechism, printed in the name of John Davenport. The privileges of the saints on earth above those of heaven, 1673. The slaughter of the witnesses. A sermon and "some other things." The Non-

* Com'rs MS. Rec. Hazard, vol. ii.

† Conn. Gen. Ct. Rec.

conformist's Memorial dates his decease March 21, 1677, when his age was about 77. But if the month here given be right, the year of his death could not have been less than 1678, new style; for a letter of his dated August 7, 1677, was written when he was very sick.

The subsequent language, applied to him by Johnson during his life, was increasingly deserved until his death: "A man who hath received of Christ many gracious gifts, fit for so high a calling, with very amiable and gracious speech labouring in the Lord." Mather says of him, he "went from the privileges of labors among the saints on earth to those of rewards among saints in heaven."*

1657. March. Edward Hopkins, an able and efficient supporter of the Puritan cause,† dies in London, in his 58th year. He was "born about Shrewsbury, was a Turkey merchant in the metropolis, came from England with Davenport, 1637, and took up his abode in Hartford, 1638. The next year he was on the Committee of the General Court, and sustained the higher offices of this body annually, until he went abroad, which appears to have been in the former part of 1652. A chief occasion of his leaving this country was the decease of his brother, who was warden of the English fleet. After a passage of imminent perils from fire and tempests, he reached the port of his destination. He left his wife, who was Ann Yale, a daughter-in-law of Theophilus Eaton, and granddaughter to the Bishop of Chester, and the rest of his family here, with the purpose of coming back to them. But the reverse took place, and they went to him. He soon received the distinguished attention which his merit deserved. He was appointed to the place of his deceased brother, then commissioner of the Admiralty and Navy, and lastly a member of Parliament. His consent to receive these offices was indication of his decision to spend the remainder of his days in the land of his birth and education. He accordingly sent for his family to join him there. But his earthly honors were soon to cease. He held them with more than usual admonition, that they were transitory and unworthy of supreme devotion. He had been of a consumptive habit, accompanied with a cough and expectoration of blood, for over thirty years. In all the relations of life, he adorned the precepts of the Gospel. His last will was in harmony with his conscientious profession as a Christian. He left his whole property in New England to charitable purposes. Out of regard for his friend Mr. Hooker, he remitted to the widow of the latter "all the debts due from the family to him;" he bequeathed to Mrs. Wilson of Boston, the oldest daughter of Hooker, a farm of his at Farmington, and ordered legacies to several other

* This agrees with the statements of the Magnalia, Wood's Oxford Writers, Palmer's Nonconformist's Memorial, and Trumbull's Connecticut.

† Magnalia, vol. i. p. 143-8. Neal's Hist. of N. E. vol. i. p. 319, 20.

1657.]

descendants of that deceased clergyman. He left the rest of his property, about £1,000 sterling, in trust, to Governor Eaton and others, for the raising up of "hopeful youths in a way of learning, both at the grammar school and college, for the public service of the country in future times." Such a sum was apportioned to the grammar schools of New Haven and Hartford, and then of Hadley, because many of the settlers here moved from Hartford. Mr. Hopkins also gave £500 out of his estate in England to Trustees "for the upholding and promoting the kingdom of the Lord Jesus Christ" among the Colonists. This money, by a decree in Chancery of 1713,* was assigned to Harvard College. It was expended for a township, known as Hopkinton, in honor of the generous donor. It has proved a valuable investment. The *Magnalia* says of him: "Most exemplary was his piety and his charity." He left a widow, who became sadly afflicted with insanity about 1642, and died 1698. Of course her condition must have been a continual source of anxiety to her devoted husband. Winthrop supposed that her loss of reason resulted from "giving herself wholly to reading and writing," without sufficient exercise in other duties of the domestic circle. But to whatever cause the calamity may be traced, or however it bore heavily on the heart of her husband, still he possessed a spiritual power, which sustained his soul, and filled it with the consolations and peace of a life in God.

February 24. The General Court of New Haven answer† an invitation of Massachusetts for a Synod, their Elders being requested to take part in the transactions of such a body. The reply states: "We hear the petitioners or others closing with them, are very confident they shall obtain great alterations, both in civil government and in church discipline, and that some of them have procured or hired one, as their agent, to maintain in writing (as is conceived), that parishes in England consenting to and continuing their meetings to worship God, are true churches. And such persons coming over hither (without holding forth any work of faith, etc.) have a right to all our church privileges, and probably they expect their Deputy should employ himself and improve his interest to spread and press such paradoxes in the Massachusetts, yea at the Synod meeting." It observes, that they have forwarded an answer to all the questions laid before the Court of Connecticut, and that, in their opinion, the Rulers and Elders of the latter Colony are able to settle such points without foreign aid. It remarks, that on account of the departure of Whitfield and Hooke, and the late death of Prudden, New Haven can spare none of their ministers for the proposed session. It says that, considering the

* Quincy's Hist. of Harvard College, vol. i. p. 205, gives the date here mentioned; but Trumbull's Connecticut, vol. i. p. 242, says that the money, by a chancery decree, was paid in 1710.

† New Haven MS. Gen. Ct. Rec.

posture of affairs in Connecticut, unless Massachusetts adheres firmly to their Constitution and the members of the Council are favored with divine presence, disastrous effects will come upon their spiritual concerns. It refers to the defection of the church at Ephesus from the Saviour, as an admonitory example for the churches of New England. According to the former part of these remarks, Trumbull* informs us that, as early as 1657, some of Connecticut took the position, that "parishes in England, consenting to and continuing meetings to worship God, were true churches; and that members of those parishes, coming into New England, had a right to all church privileges, though they made no profession of a work of faith and holiness upon their hearts."

In connection with the Synod, the same author† presents the following questions, as taken from the Records of New Haven Colony, for discussion in the proposed General Council. As such questions do not exactly agree with those of the same numerical numbers, in the collection presented under Massachusetts, it is thought proper for them to have a place here.

Question 1. Whether federal holiness, or covenant interest, be not the proper ground of baptism?

2. Whether communion of churches, as such, be not warrantable by the word of God?

3. Whether the adult seed of visible believers, not cast out, be not true members, and subjects of church watch?

4. Whether ministerial officers are not as truly bound to baptize the visible disciples of Christ, providentially settled amongst them, as officially to preach the word?

5. Whether the settled inhabitants of the country, being members of other churches, should have their children baptized amongst us, without themselves first orderly joining in churches here?

6. Whether membership, in a particular instituted church, be not essentially requisite, under the gospel, to entitle to baptism?

7. Whether adopted children and such as are bought with money are covenant seed?

8. Whether things new and weighty may be managed, in a church, without concurrence of officers, and consent of the fraternity of the same church? And if things of common concernment, then how far the consent of neighboring churches is to be sought?

9. Whether it doth not belong to the body of a town, collectively taken, jointly to call him to be their minister, whom the church shall choose to be their officer?

10. Whether the political and external administration of Abraham's covenant be not obligatory to gospel churches?

11. Unto whom shall such persons repair, that are grieved at any church process or censure; or whether they must acquiesce in the church's censure to which they belong?

* Hist. Conn. vol. i. p. 315.

† Ibid. p. 316, 7.

1657.]

12. Whether the laying on of hands in ordination belong to presbyters or brethren?

13. Whether the church, her invitation and election of an officer, or preaching elder, necessitates the whole congregation to sit down satisfied, as bound thereby to accept him as their minister, though invited and settled without the town's consent?

14. What is the gospel way to gather and settle churches?

15. From whom do ministers receive their commission to baptize?

16. Whether a Synod hath a decisive power?

17. Whether it be not justifiable, by the word of God, that civil authority indulge congregational and presbyterian churches, and their discipline in the churches?

Feb. 26. Legislative proceedings* of Connecticut. The Court request Messrs. Warham, Stone, Blinman and Russell to meet the 5th of June in Boston, to consider the questions forwarded to the Court there, or others of like nature, which may be presented by that body or their own, with such Divines as may be sent by the four Colonies. They also desire them to report the doings of the Synod. They consider the ensuing proposition, but do not have it adopted: "That a copy of the former order be sent to the four Elders chosen for the Synod, with a copy of twelve questions more, which the Court hath agreed should be sent by the first opportunity to the Governor in the Bay for the Synod to consider with the former questions." The Deputies and Deacons of the church in each town are to "take care that their said Elders be comely and honorably attended and suited with necessaries in their journey to the Bay and home again; and that the same, with their proportion of charge in the Bay, during their abode there upon this service, be discharged by the Treasurer; and also the Deputies are impowered to press horses (if need be) for the end aforesaid."

Though former provision was made against unlawful games, yet it is found necessary to particularize those of "Cards, Dice and Tables, or any other wherein that great and solemn ordinance of a Lot is profaned," and to order, that whoever plays at them shall pay 20/. for each offence. It is further required, that if either of such games shall be allowed by the head of a family in his house, he shall forfeit the like amount, or, if played there without his knowledge, each of the players shall be assessed such a sum in addition to the former penalty.

An act is passed, that the persons hereafter made free, "shall have an affirmative certificate under the hands of all or the major part of the deputies in their several towns, of their peaceable and honest conversation, and those and only those of them which the General Court shall approve, shall be made freemen." Though their neighbors of Connecticut thus omit the condition of being a

* Conn. MS. Gen. Ct. Rec.

church member as essential to freemanship, New Haven still retain it as an important feature of their Company.

The Elders of the Council "who formerly transacted the differences of Hartford church" are desired "to give a meeting to the reverend Elders of the Bay, that have tendered themselves voluntarily to come up hither to consider and consult which may be most agreeable to the rule, to put an end to the difference." On April 9, it is left with "Pequett and Paucatuck" to maintain their two ministers, either separately or together, as they can best agree. The 29th is set apart as "a day of publick humiliation, to seek the direction of the Lord in reference to the Synnod and other weighty concernments and difficulties of this Jurisdiction; and the Deputies in each town are desired to acquaint their respective Elders with the same."

April 6. Hull observes: * We have the subsequent facts relative to divisions in Hartford church. John Norton, and other elders and messengers, went thither to heal the differences. On the 16th, Boston church kept a day of fasting and prayer for the Hartford church. On the 23d, letters from some there said that the signs of reconciliation appeared gradually. On May 6, Mr. Norton returned, and said that the troubles there had been settled. But the lull was of temporary continuance.

When the Council of Ministers met at Hartford in 1657, Mr. Eliot desired † that the Pondunk Indians might be assembled, so that he might preach the Gospel to them. This tribe were accordingly collected, by the exertions of some chief gentlemen, and he delivered a sermon to them concerning their Creator and Redeemer. Having finished his discourse, he explained the subject more fully to them, and requested an answer, whether they would accept of Christ as their Saviour. But their principal men replied with "great scorn and resentment," that they would adhere to their own religion. They remarked that the English had taken away their lands, and were now endeavoring to make them servants.

27. George Fenwick, who was proprietor with Lords Say and Brook, and others of the Patent, which he finally owned himself, and sold to Connecticut, died lately in England. Having united himself to this Colony, he was last chosen one of its magistrates, 1648. As a colonel under Cromwell, he was distinguished and highly esteemed. To the end of his life, he was a true friend to the best welfare of New England. His first wife, who endured with him the trials of a new settlement, died as previously stated. His last wife, Katharine, who appears to have been daughter of Sir Arthur Haslerig, survived him, with two daughters, Dorothy and Elizabeth. With the consideration, agreeable to his professed principles, he wrote his will, and, repeating the words of the

* MS. Diary.

† Trumbull, vol. i. p. 494.

1657.]

prophet to king Hezekiah, that he should die and not live, he observed, "whereof by mercy being sensible, I make this my last testament."

May 21. At the General Court* of elections in Connecticut, John Winthrop, who was formerly chosen by Massachusetts to preside over the affairs of Pequod, which the latter Colony held as their share of conquered territory, is chosen governor of the former Colony. The inhabitants of Mystick and Pawkatuck are required to pay Mr. Blinman for his year's service among them to March last.

August 12. The result of the Council, composed of members from the Confederate Colonies, is ordered to be laid before the churches for their opinion on its proposals.

Robert Wade, of Saybrook, is divorced from his wife, Joane, residing in England, because she had refused to live with him for nearly fifteen years.

"The Court being duly sensible of the danger this Commonwealth is in of being poisoned in their judgment and principles by some loathsome heretic, whether Quakers, Ranters, Adamites, or some others like them," it is decreed, "that no person shall give any unnecessary entertainment to any of the aforesaid known heretics, upon penalty of five pounds for each heretic entertained," and no town shall allow such entertainment, on penalty of £5 for every week of its continuance, and "also £5 a person that shall at any time unnecessarily speak more or less with any of the aforesaid heretics, except the Magistrates, Assistants, Elders, or Constable." It is further ordered, that the civil officers here named, shall, with the aid of an Elder or Elders, examine individuals suspected of being such heretics, and, if finding them to be so, shall have them imprisoned or sent out of the jurisdiction.

September 12. The Commissioners address† Mr. Blinman on the subject of missionary labor among the Indians. They offer him £20 a year for an interpreter to be in his family, and assist him, and promise to pay for his own services. They state that if, for such aid, he would receive one or two of the Indian boys now at Rocks bury, who can read and write, he can have them, and be duly compensated for advancing them in their education. They also write to Mr. Leveridge, and desire him "to be helpful to the Mantackett and Carchauge Sachems and their people, or any other Indians within the English limits, in teaching them the true knowledge of God in Christ Jesus." They offer him an interpreter, as they did to Mr. Blinman.

The same year, William Thomson, graduate from Harvard College, 1653, and son of the minister at Braintree, was employed by the Commissioners as a missionary to Pequods at Mystick and

* Conn. MS. Gen. Ct. Rec. † Com'rs MS. Rec. Hazard, vol. ii. p. 371-3, 9.

Pawkatuck. He was so engaged about four years. He was invited to settle in the ministry at Springfield. He married, November 19, 1655, Catharine, daughter to Richard Treat, of Weathersfield.

19. John Winthrop and others,* at Pequod, are requested by the Commissioners to encourage Messrs. Blinman and Thomson "in their endeavours to instruct the Indians thereabouts residing, especially Robin and his company." In their report to the Missionary Board in London, the Commissioners state that they send the Indian catechism, prepared by Mr. Pierson.

October 1. The Connecticut Legislature† order "that noe person within this Jurisdiction shall kepe any Quakers' bookes or manuscripts containing their errours, except teaching Elders, vpon the penalty of 10/. a time for euery person that shall kepe any such booke after the publication thereof, and that shall not deliuer such bookes vnto their Elders."

This year, Hooker's work, entitled "Christ's Prayer for Believers, a Series of Discourses founded on John 17: 20-26," is published in London. Of this production, William Whiting, of Hartford, in his will, dated March 23, 1644, has this passage: "I bequeath £20 vnto Mr. Hooker, towards the furtherance of setting forth for the benefitt of the Church, his worke vppon the 17th of John, with any thing else hee doth intend."

* Com'rs MS. Rec. Hazard, vol. ii. p. 379. † Conn. MS. and Printed Rec.

CHAPTER V.

MASSACHUSETTS. Quakers. — Union of Congregationalists and Presbyterians. — Mission. — Freemen. — Ministry. — Indian College. — Superstition. — Banishment of Quakers on pain of death. — Faubord. — Perrot. — Publications. — Man's Redemption. — Observance of Christmas forbidden. — Trustees in England. — Printing of the Bible in the Indian tongue. — Catechism. — Justification. — Eliot's Commonwealth. — Council. — Execution of Quakers. — The General Court's reasons. — Tractate of Norton. — Ecclesiastical. — Restoration of Charles II. — Heresies. — Proceedings against Quakers continued. — Contract. — Buckingham's verses. — Execution of Mary Dyer. — Jews in America. — Noyes's Moses and Aaron. — Indian Language. — General Governor. — Self murderer. — Letter to Dury. — Foreign affairs. PLYMOUTH. Law against Quakers. — Removal of Cudworth. — Death of Mr. Partridge. — Jewish Laws. — Freemen. — Domestic affairs. — Dunster. — Prosecutions. — Exposure. MAINE. Outlawry. — Petition to Cromwell. — Missionary. — Ministry. — Episcopacy. NEW HAMPSHIRE. Letter from Wheelwright. — Fifth monarchy men. — Quakers. — Ordination. — Mason's claim. RHODE ISLAND. Quakers. — Sale of convicted Indians. — Universalism. — Letters of Mrs. Coddington, Messrs. Clark and Williams. CONNECTICUT. Theophilus Eaton. — Formation of churches. — Laws against Quakers. — Ecclesiastical troubles. — Councils. — Blinman sails for England. — David, the Jew. — Donation of Hopkins for Education. — Churches.

MASSACHUSETTS.

1658. February 3. Having been apprehended as professors of Quaker principles, Lawrence Southwick, his wife Cassandra and son Josiah, all of Salem, are sent to the Boston house of correction.* They were whipped, and kept at work for the eleven days of their imprisonment. The father and son were fined £4 13/, for the absence of themselves and the wife of the former from public worship. Edward Harnet, aged 69, and his wife, aged 73, both of the same town, are assessed 37/. on a similar charge.

March. William Shattuck, of Boston, a shoemaker, belonging to the same denomination, is committed to the house of correction and whipped for staying at home on the Sabbath. At his request, he is soon allowed to depart from the Colony, and make provision somewhere else for his wife and four children. John Small, Josiah Southwick and John Burton, on their way from Salem, are apprehended at Dedham and carried back to the Governor in

* N. E. Judged, p. 52, 6, 7. Sewall's History, p. 168, 88.

Boston, because they refused to inform Capt. Lusher, of what religion they were. They were going to prepare a home for themselves and families in Rhode Island, where persons of their belief had permission to dwell. The Chief Magistrate granted them leave to pursue their journey, after the payment of costs for the constable and men who arrested them.

April 2. Giles Firmin, of Shalford, England, prefaces his work, in answer to Dr. Owen on Schism and Arguments of Noyes at Newbury, "against imposition of hands in ordination." He refers to the subsequent passage from John Norton. "The Association you mention amongst the Ministers, we much rejoice in. I never thought it better than human, but oftentimes worse, that the Presbyterian and Congregational men cannot close together in brotherly communion. The power of godliness interests us in the affections of the godly, above the notions of either of them considered apart therefrom. I believe the Congregational way to be the truth; yet I think better of many Presbyterians than of many Congregational men. 'Tis no wonder if Independents are unruly, for I distinguish between Independents and Congregational men; or rather such (call themselves as they please) that will not acknowledge the rule of the Presbytery, and the order of Councils."

13. Sarah Gibbens and Dorothy Waugh, having come to Salem and then to Boston, and given an exhortation in the meeting-house of the latter place, after Lecture, are* put in the house of correction. They were whipped as the law directed. Refusing to work, they had a scanty allowance of food. They were kept prisoners till the next month, and then sent away.

30. The Missionary Corporation address† their Directors here, and state that they have a clear, annual income of £600, and desire them not to draw for more than £500 a year for the present. They proceed: "We have received the Confessions of some Indians, mentioned in your letter, and hoped if the Lord had pleased, to have brought Mr. Mayhew amongst us, to have put them into some method for the presses, and to have had further satisfaction from him concerning the progress of this work. But we fear that the ship wherein he was is miscarried, which is no small grief unto us, and, therefore, we desire, if so bad a Providence have befallen us, that a fit and able person might succeed him in carrying on the Indian work, which we leave unto yourselves."

May 10. Lawrence Southwick, his wife Cassandra, and sons Josiah and John, Samuel Shattuck, Anthony Needham and wife, and John Small, are fined ‡ £10 5/. for absence from public worship.

* Bishop, N. E. Judged, p. 58. Sewall, p. 188.

† Com'rs MS. Rec. Hazard, vol. ii. p. 389.

‡ MS. Essex Ct. Rec.

658.]

11. Horred Gardner, the mother of a large family, came from Newport, Rhode Island, with a babe, to deliver her testimony at Weymouth. For this she was brought to Boston, and, with a girl, Mary Staunton, who helped bring her child, she was imprisoned. She and the girl were whipped ten lashes each. They were released in a fortnight. Thomas Harris, of Barbadoes,* reaching Boston from Rhode Island, entered a house of worship, and charged the people with pride and oppression, warned them that the terrible day of the Lord was coming on the town and country. He was forcibly ejected, committed to prison, and whipped the next day. He was so corrected several times, because he refused to labor as the jailor required. He was kept confined till after the middle of July.

17. A petition of thirty-three men, belonging to Ipswich, who had taken an oath of fidelity to the Government, but not the oath of freemen, is directed to the General Court.† They desire to be informed whether they are authorized by law to vote in affairs of the town, and to be chosen among its officers, though not to be a majority of them. The magistrates reply to these petitioners, that they may be elected jurymen, and vote for selectmen, and where these do not exist, may vote for the regulation of schools, herding cattle, laying out highways, distributing lands, etc., and that the freemen have power to restrain some from voting for just cause.

The deputies state, that they concur with this, but that it is not a full answer to the petition. Under the 26th, an explanation of the Court is recorded, granting the privileges just named to such as the petitioners, with the addition of being chosen constables as well as jurymen. These proceedings indicate a decrease of estimation for the requisites of being freemen, as they had been in Massachusetts and New Haven, and a purpose to enlarge the privileges of its opposite relation. Such a sign of the times was, very probably, made more prominent by the allowances granted by the Bay authorities to the non-freemen of New Hampshire and Maine.

19. The Legislature convene. Some of their transactions under this date follow.

Perceiving that the laws already enacted did not avail to keep away Quakers, nor people from assembling to hear them, the General Court order that a penalty of 10/. be laid on every person who attends such meetings, and of £5 on every one who speaks there. They also require, that if an inhabitant has been punished once for such offences, and repeats them, he shall be confined in a house of correction until he give bonds not to declare the Quaker doctrines, or to depart from Massachusetts at his own charges, and, if returning again without leave, shall be dealt with as though he were a stranger.

* Bishop, p. 60, 1. Sewall, p. 188. Besse, vol. ii. p. 184, 5.

† Ipswich MS. Papers. MS. Mass. Gen. Ct. Rec.

Their caption for a law, that every constant preacher shall be without offence, runs as follows: "Whereas it is the duty of the Christian Magistrate to take care the People be fed with wholesome and sound doctrine, and in this hour of temptation wherein the enemy designeth to sow corrupt seed, every company cannot be thought able or fit to judge of those Gospel qualifications required in the public dispensers of the Word, and all societies of Christians are bound to attend order and communion of churches; considering, also, the rich blessing of God, flowing from the good agreement of the Civil and Church-estate, and the horrible mischiefs and confusions that follow on the contrary." They then give the particulars of the act, that no person shall preach constantly to any society, or be ordained over them as a Teaching Elder, whenever two churches, the Council of State, or General Court, shall declare their dissatisfaction with him, either for doctrine or conduct; and that no man shall be ordained for such an Elder, unless timely notice thereof is given to three or four neighboring churches, so that they may ascertain whether they can approve of him.*

26. Humphrey Atherton is empowered to regulate the Indians, subject to the Colonial jurisdiction, "especially those of Naticke and Punquapog, according to our laws, as far as they are capable."

The petition of Samuel Greene, printer, of Cambridge, is approved and recommended to the Commissioners of the Union, so that they may request the missionary corporation in England to allow £20 to buy "letters for the use of the Indian College."

Dorothy Upshall, having desired that the rest of her husband's fine may be left for her use, has it remitted to be entirely at her disposal, so "that the innocent may not suffer with the nocent."

On the petition of Northampton, as to a minister, their case is referred, for advice, to the Elders. Before the close of their session, the Court approve of Eleazer Mather's being called to preach with the people there, as they wished.

June 6. Thomas Gould is again called before the Charlestown church, for his denial of infant baptism, and absence from their worship. The record says: "Hence, after much time spent, the brethren consenting, he was admonished for breaking away from the church in way of schism." Such discipline was continued several years, until he was finally excommunicated.

29. Persons who had attended a meeting on the preceding Sabbath, at the residence of Nicholas Phelps, in Salem, are brought † before the County Court. Among them are William Brend and William Leddra, who belonged to the Island of Barbadoes, but had come from England. Asked why they came hither, they replied, that the Lord required them to do it, with the encouragement that their mission should be prospered. They escaped to Newbury, but

* Mass. MS. Gen. Ct. Rec.

† Besse, vol. ii. p. 185.

658.]

were brought back and sent to the house of correction. Phelps and others of the assembly, as Lawrence Southwick and his wife, with their sons, John, Josiah, Daniel and Provided, Joshua Buffum, Samuel Shattuck, Joseph Pope, Anthony Needham and wife, Edward Wharton, Samuel Gaskin, wife of Henry Trask, Robert Buffum's wife and his son Joseph, Thomas Brackett, Edward Harnett, Sen'r, and John Hill,—are sentenced.* Some of them are fined and the rest sent to the house of correction. Of these, as Besse relates, Phelps was whipped for keeping his hat on. (V. 2, p. 188.) More, under a similar indictment, who did not appear, were Robert Adams, Henry Trask, wives of Phelps, Pope and George Gardner. These were ordered to appear. Sewall states, that Adams belonged to Newbury. Bishop relates that, on the 2d of July, Brend, Leddra, Lawrence Southwick, his wife and son Josiah, Shattuck, Joshua Buffum and Gaskin were imprisoned in Boston. The second week after being so confined, they were whipped and ordered to pay charges and leave the Colony. They refused to comply, and were consequently kept imprisoned. Shattuck and Buffum petitioned for release on the 16th, and were heard. The three Southwicks were retained, under severe treatment, for about twenty weeks.

July. Humphrey Norton appeared † at a Lecture in Boston, delivered by John Norton, and after the latter had closed, stood up and said: "Verily this is the sacrifice which the Lord God accepts not." While proceeding in this strain, he and John Rouse who accompanied him, were taken and ejected. They were tried and committed, though they appealed to England. Rouse was son of Lieut. Col. Rouse, of Barbadoes, who had resided in this Colony. Both of them were whipped several times, while held prisoners, for refusing to conform with the law.

20. Most of the individuals, prosecuted for attendance on a Quaker meeting at Phelps's house, last month, are again arraigned. ‡ Provided Southwick, besides a fine of 20/. is ordered to pay 5/. and be set in the stocks by the feet one hour, for charging the Court as persecutors. Besides the persons of Salem, previously arraigned, are the wives of Richard Gardner, Isaac Page and John Smith, who are called to answer for a like accusation.

30. The Woodhouse, § a small vessel owned and navigated by Quaker, Robert Fowler of Burlington, Yorkshire, England, with two men and three boys to sail her, arrives from the Downs, in sight of Long Island. Then, as he notes in his journal, "A word came to us, that seed in America shall be as the sand of the sea."

* MS. Essex Ct. Rec. Bishop, p. 64, 9. Sewall, p. 189.

† Bishop, p. 62, 4, 8-70. Sewall, p. 92.

‡ MS. Essex Ct. Rec.

§ British Museum. Though the time between some of these passengers being sent out of the country and their reappearance here, is not long, yet it is long enough not to be inconsistent.

The names of Quaker passengers with him, were Robert Hoggen, Richard Dowdney, Sarah Gibbens, Mary Witherhead and Dorothy Waugh. Part of these had already suffered for their conduct in this Colony, and did afterwards. The Journal reads further: "Landed at New Amsterdam, several came on board and we began our work."

August 4. Christopher Holder and John Copeland,* on their return to Boston, are apprehended and carried thither from Dedham. They are imprisoned. On the 25th, John Rouse came back to Boston. The next day he was alike confined. The 16th of September each of these three had a right ear cut off, as the law required of all Quakers who entered the jurisdiction a second time, without permission.

As an indication of the opinion which prevailed here, that a political revolution was soon to take place in the Cromwell administration, General Dennison of Ipswich, one of the Court to try some Quakers this summer, said to them when talking of an appeal to England: "This year, you'll go and complain to the Parliament; the next year, they'll send some to see how things go; and in the third year, the Government will be changed."

September 3. After an anxious,† perilous and eventful Protectorate of nearly five years, Cromwell expires, in the 60th year of his age. His eminent talents and honors could purchase him no exemption from the common lot of human nature. He appointed his eldest son Richard as his successor, who, the next day, is accordingly proclaimed. The new Protector soon perceives, that his position is far from being sure, safe and comfortable. His authority is disputed and diminished in every direction.

16. The Commissioners write‡ to the missionary corporation in London: "We find it very difficult to procure fit persons to engage here, as the work calls for. The loss of Mr. Mayhew is very great. Our endeavors shall be improved to the uttermost to supply that place, which is the most considerable in that part of the country. His father, though ancient, is helpful with another Englishman and two Indians, that instruct the rest upon the Lord's day and at other times. Mistress Mayhew, the widow of the deceased, whom he left poor, with six or seven children, desires that three boys may be brought up in learning, to fit them for after service amongst the Indians, which we are slow to assent unto, in regard they are very young, and the charges will be great before they be fit for employment, and then uncertain how their minds may be addicted, or their hearts inclined to this work; yet, for her support and the encouragement of others, we have allowed her twenty pounds, taken upon us to defray the charge of her eldest

* Bishop, p. 89-91. Sewall, p. 192, 3.

† Salmon, vol. i. p. 166.

‡ MS. Com'rs Rec. Hazard, vol. ii. p. 391, 2.

658.]

son of about ten years old, now at school, for this year, and shall be willing to do further for him or her, as you shall please to advise."

A letter of August 25, having been received from Thomas Mayhew by the Commissioners, Endicott replies* in their behalf. The writer deeply sympathizes with Mayhew for the loss of his son; encourages the continuance of his labors among the Indians; and remarks that they shall, as he advised, endeavor to procure Higginson and Pierson for the mission at the Vineyard, though he had not much hope of success. He states that they would have Peter Folger, schoolmaster, Thomas and James, Indians, interpreters and schoolmasters, continued in the work there. "Concerning the Indian boys, you speak of sending, we desire they shall be well entered, that is, fit for their accidence before they come hither. We advise they may not be sent until the spring."

Sept. 22. The Commissioners address† the Corporation and give notice, that they have drawn for the present year's allowance of £500. They add: "It is our unfeigned desire with you, that these contributions may be improved according to the purpose of the donors, for the promoting of the knowledge of God in Jesus Christ amongst these poor natives; we hope and believe, there is a real good effect in several places."

An instance of the impression on many seamen's minds, that it is an ill omen for "black coats" to be shipped with them, is here presented. Hull tells us in his diary, that Mr. Newton, who had left his people at Farmington, Conn., the year before, came to Boston and took passage; and, after remaining in the vessel six or eight days, he received polite notice from the captain and others, that they wished him to disembark, "thinking his presence some cause of the cross winds." As the worthy subject of this occurrence, whose sensibility must have been wounded by the implication that he was a sort of Jonah, preached for Mr. Norton, on the 18th of next October, he must have given up his intended voyage to comply with the notions of others.

23. Wearied with continual annoyance from Quakers, who intruded themselves into different parts of the Confederation, though resisted with much severity, the Commissioners supposed that, if they should make death the extreme penalty of their refusal to obey the laws, it would keep them from the several Colonies. They therefore propose‡ the following to their respective Legislatures. "Whereas there is an accursed and pernicious sect of heretics, lately risen up in the world, who are commonly called Quakers, who take upon them to be immediately sent of God and infallibly assisted; who do speak and write blasphemous things,

* MS. Com'rs Rec. Hazard, vol. ii. p. 397, 8. † Ibid. p. 392, 3. ‡ Ibid. p. 399, 400.

despising Government and the order of God in Church and Commonwealth, speaking evil of dignities, reproaching and reviling magistrates and ministers of the Gospel, seeking to turn the people from the faith and to gain proselytes to their pernicious ways; and whereas the several Jurisdictions have made diverse laws to prohibit and restrain the aforesaid cursed heretics from coming amongst them, yet notwithstanding they are not deterred thereby, but arrogantly and presumptuously do press into several of the Jurisdictions, and there vent their pernicious and devilish opinions, which being permitted, tend manifestly to the disturbance of our peace; the withdrawing of the hearts of the people from their subjection to Government, and so, in issue, to cause division and ruin, if not timely prevented; it is therefore propounded and seriously commended to the several General Courts, upon considerations aforesaid, to make a Law that all, who have been punished in the Colonies as Quakers, and return, shall be imprisoned and banished on pain of death, and if they come back shall suffer such punishment, unless they renounce their opinions; that foreign Quakers, who appear for the first time in either of the Colonies, or those who become so of the inhabitants, shall 'be banished under pain of severe corporal punishment,' and then if returning, shall be so punished and banished on pain of death, and if coming back, shall have this sentence executed on them, unless they make a similar renunciation."

28. Samuel Shattuck, Nicholas Phelps and Joshua Buffum are fined* for non-attendance on public worship. They are also sentenced to be kept in the House of Correction, till they shall give security either to renounce their opinions or remove out of the Colony.

Of the missionaries† among the Indians, is Richard Bourne in Plymouth Colony. Nine Indian boys had been supported and instructed, the year past, at the charge of the Corporation, besides the son of Mr. Mayhew and John Stanton, who had entered college. Joseph, the second son of John Eliot, is accepted as a missionary. Thus the Apostle has another son, besides his eldest, to co-operate with him in so useful a work.

October 2. Catharine Scott,‡ an aged woman and the mother of many children, had come from Providence to see Holder and the two others have their ears cut off, is imprisoned in Boston and whipped ten stripes.

19. A session of the General Court commences. A petition for severer laws against the Quakers, is laid before them. Such a subject, as recommended to them by the Commissioners, is introduced. They pass an Act,§ which accords mainly with the one so proposed.

* MS. Essex Ct. Rec.

† Bishop, p. 95.

‡ MS. Com'rs Rec. Hazard, vol. ii. p. 393-5.

§ Mass. Gen. Ct. Rec.

1658.]

“Whereas there is a pernicious sect, commonly called Quakers, lately arisen, who by word and writing, have published and maintained dangerous and horrid tenets, and do take upon them to change and alter the received laudable customs of our nation, in giving civil respect to equals or reverence to superiors, whose actions tend to undermine the authority of civil government, as also to destroy the order of the Churches by denying all established forms of worship, and by withdrawing from the orderly Church assemblies, allowed and approved by all orthodox professors of the truth; and instead thereof, and opposition thereunto, frequenting private meetings of their own, insinuating themselves into the minds of the simpler or such as are less affected to the order and government in Church and Commonwealth, whereby divers of our inhabitants have been infected and seduced; notwithstanding all former laws made (upon experience of their arrogant, bold obtrusions, to disseminate their principles amongst us) prohibiting their coming into this Jurisdiction, they have not been deterred from their impetuous attempts to undermine our peace and hasten our ruin.” The Act then proceeds to require, that the foreign Quakers, who come into the Colony, shall be tried by a jury before the Assistants, and, if proved to be such, be banished on pain of death. In reference to people here, who become Quakers, it allows them after being convicted and committed to prison for one month, before their final trial, to leave the Jurisdiction; but if they refuse, then to give bond for appearance before the next Court of Assistants, and there, unless they renounce their doctrines and practices, be banished on the like penalty. It also provides, that should any of them leave the Colony prior to their last trial, and come back without the consent of the major part of the Council, they shall receive the like sentence. There was much debate among the Deputies, whether the trial by jury for Quakers should be allowed. But it was so tried, as implied by the law. Edward Hutchinson and Thomas Clark entered their dissent.

Ordered, that if young people and others walk and sport in the streets and fields, and drink at public houses after sundown on Saturday and Sunday evenings, they shall be fined 5/. for every such offence.

On account of divisions in several churches, “the boldness of open opposers of the truth and ways of the Lord; unseasonable rains and mortality in divers places,” a Fast is appointed for the 10th of next month, “to intreat the Lord, that his pleasure may be continued to his poor people and churches in these ends of the earth.”

As Quakers dispersed “their papers,” the Court “judge meet, that there be a writing drawn up and forthwith printed to manifest the evil of their tenets and danger of their practices, as tending to the subversion of religion, of church order and civil government.”

The Court commend such a work to the "care and pains of the Rev. John Norton," and desire that he would do it speedily.

The Court arraign Quakers, brought from the Ipswich prison. Their record * is, "after much endeavour to convince and reform them, ordered, that Samuel Shattuck, Lawrence Southwick and his wife Cassandra, Nicholas Phelps, Joshua Buffum, and Josiah Southwick," all of Salem, "shall be enjoined at their peril to depart out of this jurisdiction before the first day of the Court of Election next, which, if they neglect or refuse to do, they shall then be banished under pain of death; and if, in the meantime, they shall transgress against the new law, made this Court against the Quakers, they shall be proceeded with as the said law requires. And it is referred to the County Court of Suffolk to declare this sentence to them, and thereupon to release them out of prison." On November 30, thirteen of the same denomination, belonging to Salem, are fined for absence from public worship.

The ensuing question is answered affirmatively by the Legislature. Whether the majority of a town may buy or hire a house for their ministers, as they please. This originated from litigation about the vote of Ipswich, February 25, 1656.

During this year, Graham † relates that a Quaker, named Faubord, undertaking to imitate Abraham, was about to offer his son as a sacrifice, when his neighbors, hearing the cries of the lad, broke into his house and prevented the blasphemous atrocity.

The same author mentions one Perrot, who, unable to overcome the superior influence of Fox in England, so as to propagate the refrainment from shaving the beard, and from uncovering the head in time of prayer, came over to our country, and succeeded to have such changes introduced among a large number of the Quakers here. He states that Fox, and other English persons of his denomination, made it a prominent part of their mission hither to reclaim their brethren from errors which they received from Perrot, who subsequently renounced their profession.

December 25. John Leverett writes ‡ to Sec'y Rawson. He says that he had applied to Richard Cromwell, lately proclaimed Protector, as the successor to his father. He proceeds: "I presented your sayd letter the 27th day of October. He was pleased to open and read y^e letter in my hearing, and then gave me assurance as formerlye, that he had a deepe sense how deare y^e people of New England weare to his deare Father, and y^t he should be ready in all things to lay forth himself for y^e good of y^t people."

This year, the life of Rev. John Cotton, from the pen of John Norton, is printed in London. Such a production, on account of the eminence of Cotton's talents, learning, and reputation, as well as the great influence which his writings had on the ecclesiastical polity of England, was a rich treat to many readers.

* MS. Mass. Gen. Ct. Rec. † Vol. i. p. 299, 301. ‡ Hutch. Coll. p. 317.

1659.]

A learned and able work, from the pen of Edward Holyoke, of Springfield, and previously of Lynn, is issued in London. It is addressed to his brother, John Bridges, of Hackney, and "to his wife, his sister," and other relatives in England. He says: "This I now present unto you and them was done many years ago for the most part." It treated on "Man's Redemption," with various collateral subjects. His first chapter was on "the Unity of the God-head and the Trinity of Persons." He did not believe in a literal return of the Jews to Canaan, but in the calling of a remnant of them to the faith in the countries where they dwelt. Some of his opinions resembled those of his brother-in-law, William Pynchon. It is very probable that they had much consultation together on the subject.

A Commentary on the First Epistle of John, by John Cotton, is published in the same capital. It has the testimony of Rev. Thomas Oresby, of Hackwell in Essex, England, that he heard its author deliver the most of it; and Christopher Scott, of Much Wakering, in the same county, declared, October 15, 1655, that it was from the pen of Cotton.

1659. January. As the source of anxiety in the Puritan concerns of New England, the Virginians,* not long after hearing of Cromwell's decease, proclaim Charles II. King of England, Scotland, Ireland, and Virginia. Being among the last Colonists to loose their hold on this position, they were of the first for its resumption. In token of approbation for their adherence to him, the King, at his coronation, wore, as a part of his attire, silk which they sent to him from the Colony.

February. Edward Hutchinson proposes to pay the charges of his aunt, Catharine Scott, a Quaker, whom Bishop, p. 76, calls daughter of Mr. Marbery. She was in the Boston house of correction. On 29th of March, Samuel Gascoyne and Edward Wharton, of Salem, are fined for many days' absence from public worship.

16. Francis Howgill issues a publication with the following title: "The Popish Inquisition newly erected in New England, whereby their church is manifested to be a daughter of Mystery—Babylon, which did drink the blood of the Saints." After noticing some remarks of John Endicott and Richard Bellingham, who differed widely from his belief, he says: "They are registered among the uncircumcised, with Mesech and Tubal, the great Princes of Gog, which make war against the Lamb and his followers."

25. "We received the sad news † of the Lord Protector, Oliver Cromwell, a man of excellent worth, who died September 3, 1658. The Lord give suitable affections to bewail the loss of such choice ones. He was one that sought the good of New England, though he seemed to be much wanting in a thorough testimony against the Blasphemers of our days."

* Univ. Hist. vol. xii. p. 352.

† Hull's MS. Diary.

March 9. Rev. Peter Bulkley, of Concord, dies in his 77th year. His widow was called Grace, in 1667. Besides his printed work on the Covenant of Grace opened, he left two MSS., deposited in the Library of the American Antiquarian Society, one addressed to Mr. Phillips of Watertown. The other, on the character and government of the Church. He was a talented and successful scholar, was eminently pious and devoted to his profession. By his liberal benefactions of property and constant efforts for the cause of godliness, he laid up incorruptible riches in heaven. His son Edward, who had been ordained at Marshfield, removed thence, this year, and became his successor. "He was had much in reverence * by his own people," and throughout the country, and especially by "the ministers, who would address him as father, a prophet and counsellor on all occasions." His motive and purpose were signified by words, addressed to God, which he wrote when expecting a speedy exchange of worlds :

"Living or dying, Thine I still would be,
My life and death alike are due to Thee!"

May 11. Under this date of a Legislative session, the subsequent transactions † are recorded. "Whereas Daniel and Provided, son and daughter to Laurence Southwick, have been fined by the County Courts of Salem and Ipswich, pretending they have no estate, resolving not to work, and others like them have been fined, and more like to be fined, for siding with the Quakers, and absenting themselves from the public ordinances ; in answer to the question, what course should be taken for the satisfaction of the fines—the Court, on perusal of the Law,‡ entitled Arrests—resolve, that the Treasurer of the several Counties are and shall hereby be impowered to sell the said persons to any of the English nation at Virginia and Barbadoes." The Act for arrest of persons suspected of secreting their property so as not to pay fines laid upon them, and for the sale of their service until the demand was satisfied, was passed years before any Quakers appeared in the Colony.

"It is ordered, that Laurence Southwick, Cassandra his wife, Samuel Shattuck, Nicholas Phelps, Joshua Buffum and Josiah Southwick, be sentenced, according to the order of October last, to depart out of this Jurisdiction by 8th of June next, on pain of death ; and if any of them, after the said 8th of June, shall be found within this Jurisdiction, they shall be apprehended, be committed to close prison, till the next Court of Assistants, where they shall be tried, and being found guilty of the breach of this law, shall be put to death."

The first two of these persons§ went to Shelter Island, where they soon died within three days of each other. Their son Josiah,

* Magnalia, vol. i. p. 400-3, ed. 1855.

† Mass. MS. Gen. Ct. Rec.

‡ MS. Mass. Gen. Ct. Rec.

§ Bishop, p. 105.

1659.]

Shattuck and Phelps embarked for England, and Buffum went to Rhode Island.

On the 17th, Mary Ham, sister to Shattuck, petitioned,* that she might accompany him at his examination before Mr. Norton.

"For the preventing of disorders arising in several places within this Jurisdiction, by reason of some's still observing such Festivals as were superstitiously kept in other countries, to the great dishonor of God and offence to others," ordered, that whoever observes "any such day as Christmas by forbearing of labor, by feasting," shall pay 5/. for each trespass. Such games, as those of cards and dice, are forbidden on the like penalty.

The Court pass a Proposal † for the Enlargement of University Learning in New England, by Trustees in Old England. Some extracts follow: "And because, as sometimes David said upon the like occasion, They will not serve the Lord with that which cost them nothing; they have, according to their ability, if not above and beyond it, (considering their late great losses and other yearly burdens in reference to public affairs,) laid some foundation for a Seminary of Learning, the ordinary means whereby the Lord is pleased to make way for the free passage of his everlasting Gospel, which they look at and rejoice in, as the standing portion and entailed inheritance of them and theirs forever. We cannot but be very sensible in their behalf how much the Lord hath smiled upon their small beginnings, by succeeding the studious endeavors of those who have been trained up in their Cambridge, of whom, some are eminently useful among themselves at this present, and of the rest, many who have been called forth into other parts, both of America and Europe, have given large and full proof of their faithfulness and fitness in the work of the service of the House of God, which we take as a token for good, superadded to all other obligations under God's kind dealings with his people of New England. According to our present instructions, we shall only address ourselves to such persons of worth and reputation among the people of God, who are (in spiritual respects) near of kin to the special objects of their deserved bounty. And we do beseech and intreat them humbly, unto whom we shall repair upon this occasion, that they will do the kinsman's part in raising up, if we may so say, the name of Christ on his inheritance." "We constitute you, Nathaniel Bacon, Esq., Herbert Pelham, Richard Saltonstall and Henry Ashhurst, Esqs., Mr. William Hook, Master of the Savoy, Mr. John Knowles of Bristol, Mr. Thomas Allen of Norwich, ministers of the Gospel, as Trustees ‡ for raising and

* Mass. MS. Papers.

† Mass. Archives, Literary, No. 58, p. 38.

‡ By a letter from these Trustees, Judge Hill, member of Parliament, gave them £1,000, the income of which was to be for poor students intended for the ministry.

managing of a revenue in England, towards the education of the youth and children of New England in University Learning."

Because of the unsettled state "of our brethren in our native country by commotions and great thoughts of heart, both in Country and Parliament now assembled, and a good issue thereof doth wholly depend upon the Lord's favor towards them;" of divisions in several churches of New England, and the sad face of the rising generation, with "threats of further evil," a Fast is to be observed on the 15th of June.*

Capt. John Cullick and Mr. William Goodwin and their friends, who had desired to move into Massachusetts and been granted leave to occupy Norwottuck,† have commenced the enterprise. "There are many desirable persons having a Pastor with his church, engaged to go along with them with another, who may, in time, be joined to that church, for their further help in the work of the ministry." These passages refer to disaffected church members of Weathersfield and Hartford.

May 28. On the petition of Thomas Brackett of Salem, which apologizes for his being influenced by Quakers to withdraw from public worship and meet with them, he is abated one half of his fine, and the rest is left to the consideration of the next County Court at Salem.

"Whereas William Brend, a known Quaker, that hath formerly suffered the law, hath come into this Jurisdiction, being sent to prison and confessed himself a Quaker before the Court, he is ordered to be imprisoned till May 16th, and then be banished, on pain of death, from Massachusetts."

While Mr. Mather, of Northampton, was gone, some members of his church differed as to the mode of conducting public worship. Part of them had exhorted. The Court advise them, during his absence, to spend the Sabbath, "besides praying and singing, in reading and repeating of known godly orthodox books and sermons."

The Treasurer is to dispose of Mr. Norton's book on Quakerism, now at the press, delivering one to each minister, member of the Legislature, and others, to every town according to its rates. The author is allowed twenty or thirty copies, and the Court present to him their thankful acknowledgment for his pains.

Hutchinson quotes an old manuscript, which says that the Massachusetts received orders from Secretary Thurloe, to proclaim Richard, but that they did not conform.

June. William Robinson, merchant, of London, and Marmaduke Stevenson, from the east part of Yorkshire, supposing themselves

* MS. Mass. Gen. Ct. Rec.

† While this place was thus allowed to be settled, Boston, for the sake of more efficient government, desire to become a city. Their petition for an act of incorporation was put over to the next session.

1659.]

moved by the divine Spirit to proceed from Rhode Island to the Bay, do accordingly, though fully aware that death is the penalty. Nicholas Davis, from the Plymouth Patent, and Patience Scott, about eleven years old, of Providence, appear at Boston. They are all four committed to prison. The last, though so young, came to bear testimony against the treatment which the Quakers received. Before the trial of these individuals, Mary Dyer came from Rhode Island to visit them. She was imprisoned.

August. A general insurrection was intended by the Presbyterians and Royalists, almost throughout England. But it was prematurely developed, and most of the leaders taken and imprisoned. On September 1, in such a state of things, the Government vote that an engagement should be taken by every man, renouncing the title of Charles Stuart and his whole line, and declaring faithfulness to the Commonwealth without a King and House of Peers. On October 13, John Lambert, backed by the army, deposes the Parliament, and, with his officers, assumes the supreme power. On the 26th, the officers constitute a Council of twenty-three men, who take on themselves the government of the kingdom, and call themselves a Committee of Safety. On November 2, letters reach London from Edinburgh, that Monk and many of his officers had declared against this Committee. On December 24, the authority of the last body expires, and the Rump Parliament take on themselves the direction of public affairs.

August 15. Messrs. Wilson, Norton, and Edward Tyng are chosen by the first Boston church "to be members of a Council, in the behalf of Hartford differences, to hear them in the Bay."

Near this time, Nicholas Upshall, who had been banished three years, returned to his wife in Boston, and is put in prison.

September 3. A letter of the Missionary Corporation † to the Commissioners, dated May 7, is read: "We are glad to hear that notwithstanding the opposition this work hath met with, it pleased the Lord to prosper it, and to bless the endeavors of those that labor in it. We have thought good to print your last letter, with two other letters, received from Mr. Endicott and Mr. Eliot, as also the Indians' exhortations and the sheet of catechism composed by Mr. Pierson, all which are printed for public satisfaction. As to the printing of the Bible in the Indian tongue, we conceive will not only be acceptable unto God, but very profitable to the poor heathen, and will much tend to the promotion of the spiritual part of this work amongst them; and, therefore, we offer it not only as our own, but as the judgment of others, that the New Testament be first printed in the Indian language." For this work the Corporation offer all needed facilities, so that it may be correct. They say: "We have sent you fifty books, to be disposed of as you

* Salmon, vol. i. p. 168, 9. † MS. Com'rs Rec. Hazard, vol. ii. p. 403, 4.

think good, desiring that some of them might be given to Mr. Eliot."

On the 7th, the Commissioners address the Corporation. They state that, being encouraged by the latter, they intend to have one thousand copies of the New Testament in Indian, by Mr. Eliot, printed. "There are five Indian youths at Cambridge, in the Latin school, whose diligence and proficiency in their studies do much encourage us to hope that God is fitting them for good instruments in this great and desirable work. We have good testimony from those that are prudent and pious, that they are diligent in their studies, and civil in their carriage." The expenses this year for the missions were about £550, and for the proposed printing of the New Testament, as well as for printing Mr. Pierson's Catechism and the Psalms, £250 more. Forty copies of the last work had been ordered to be shipped for the Society in England.

Their account gives the persons employed, Thomas Mayhew, the widow of his son, Peter Folger, schoolmaster, and four Indian teachers for the mission at Martha's Vineyard, Mr. Eliot, his eldest son, five Indian interpreters, Messrs. Pierson, William Tompson, Richard Bourne, the last of Plymouth. They also state that Major Atherton kept Courts among the Indians, and instructed them; that Thomas Danforth boarded and clothed five Indian scholars at Cambridge; Mr. Corlett taught these and Mr. Mayhew's son; that Daniel Weld of Roxbury instructed and dieted four Indians; that he taught others, and some that were put to learn trades.

This year, as Gookin relates,* "it pleased God to bring things to such maturity among the praying Indians at the Vineyard, that one Indian church was gathered among them."

This year a volume of twenty-six sermons, by Charles Chauncy, President of Harvard College, is issued from a London press. It is dedicated to Lord Say and Seal, and Lord Nathaniel Fiennes. The leading doctrine taught by it is "the Justification of a sinner in the sight of God," which, the writer observed, was little understood by many professors of religion. In his preface, he remarked: "My particular employment hath moved me to represent this doctrine of Justification, as a standard of truth and salvation to them (college students,) which they should hold fast."

The Christian Commonwealth, by John Eliot, is printed in London. According to his statement, he had sent a copy of it over to England seven or eight years before. In his preface, he remarks: "I am bold to present this Scripture Platform of Government to public view (if advice so carry it) at this season, because I do believe it to be a Divine Institution of a Civil Government, and seemeth to me to be such, as will well suit the present condition of England, Scotland, and Ireland, or any other religious people in

* Mass: Hist. Soc. Coll. 1 s. vol. i. p. 203.

1659.]

the World, who fear the command of God, and tremble at his word ; and being persuaded in my heart that it is the mind of the Lord that nations should be governed by Scripture Institutions, the time being come that the Lord is about to shake all the Earth, and throw down the great idol of Human Wisdom in Governments, and set up Scripture Government in the room thereof."

Sept. 7. The Assistants receive a letter from Thomas Howgill, dated in London, 10th of January. It is very long, and filled with harsh recriminations. Addressed to Endicott and Bellingham, it calls them "y^e serpent's seed."

12. Mary Dyer, and Davis, Robinson and Stevenson, having been tried by the Court of Assistants, and sentenced to be banished on pain of death, are released.* The two first go to their homes. The other two, as Bishop observes, "were constrained in their love and power of the Lord not to depart, but to stay in your Jurisdiction, and to try your bloody law unto death." Their time of departure was limited to the 14th. They passed to Salem on the 13th, and held a meeting in the woods, where many assembled to hear them. Then they went to Piscataqua, and labored to spread their doctrines.

26. Hartford church and their dissenting brethren appear by their delegates, in a Council of nine churches at Boston. Their difficulties were settled. The Council reserved the liberty to meet again on the subject, if it should seem not so clear as at present.

October 8. Mary Dyer and Hope Clifton come † from Rhode Island to visit Christopher Holden, who returned to Boston, 13th ult., and was imprisoned. The next morning they are apprehended and confined to the house of correction. The day after, Clifton was arraigned and recommitted, with Mary, daughter of R. and K. Scott, of Providence, who had come on the same errand. Robert Harper, of Sandwich, is taken up in Boston and sent to prison.

13. Robinson and Stevenson, Alice Cowland, Daniel Gold, ‡ William King, Hannah, wife of Nicholas Phelps, Mary Trask and Margaret Smith, all but the first three being of Salem, visit Boston. Bishop remarks : "These all came together to look your bloody laws in the face." He states, that Cowland brought "Linnen wherein to wrap the dead bodies of them who were to suffer." Hull, in his diary, observes : "The Quakers came boldly into the town and presumptuously resolving to outvie the authority of the country, though they had been punished and sent away, yet they would obtrude themselves upon vs. Three of them had also been, a few weeks before, banished vpon pain of death. William Robinson and Marmaduke Stevenson, two young fellows, little

* Bishop, p. 117. Sewall, p. 220. † Sewall, p. 119, 20. Bishop, p. 118.

‡ Bishop says, Gold was from Salem, though the latter person speaks as if he were not. This Gold wrote a narrative of his journeys with Robinson and Stevenson, which was printed in Rhode Island in 1700.

above twenty yeares of age, and one Mary Dyer, of Rhode Island, who about twenty yeares since was of Boston."

15. George Fox * writes to his friends in New England and Virginia, Robert Hodson, William Robinson, Marmaduke Stevenson, Peter Pearson, William Brend, William Ledra and others. He advises them to "keep in the power of the Lord God and dwell in love one with another."

19. These three persons are brought before the General Court. When asked why, after being banished, they were in the Colony, they answered, that it was in obedience to the Lord. Robinson and Stevenson addressed a paper to them, declaring that they were divinely called to revisit Boston and lay down their lives.

20. The Governor remarks to them: "We have made many laws, and endeavored by several ways to keep you from us. I desire not your death." They are sentenced to be hung on the 27th. Stevenson then said: "Give ear ye magistrates and all who are guilty, for this the Lord hath said concerning you, that the same day ye put his servants to death, shall the day of your visitation pass over your heads, and ye shall be curst forevermore." The Court require a force of one hundred men, † from the Boston companies, under James Oliver, with pikes, muskets, powder and bullets, to keep order on the occasion. Thirty-six of these soldiers are to guard the town, and "preserve the peace while the rest go to the execution."

The selectmen are instructed to press ten or twelve able and faithful men for service every night, during the session of the Court, to watch the town and especially the prison, and allow them 2/. apiece from the country rate.

Zechariah Symmes and John Norton are desired to wait on the prisoners with religious conversation fitted for their condition.

On the petition of William Dyer, that his mother may be pardoned, it is allowed on condition that she stand upon the gallows with a rope round her neck till the other two are hung, and, if found in the Colony forty-eight hours after that time, to be immediately executed.

27. After the common preparations of so sad a scene, the individuals under sentence are carried ‡ to the gallows. Having taken leave of each other, Robinson and Stevenson are executed. The former of these two desired the spectators "to mind the light that was in them, of Christ, of which he testified and was now going to seal it with his blood." Mrs. Dyer, not informed that she was to be released, expected to die with them. When the officers took the handkerchief from her face and the halter from her neck, she was loth to leave the place. But they carried her to prison. The next morning, she expressed her readiness to suffer the sentence.

* His Works, vol. ii. p. 146. † MS. Mass. Gen. Ct. Rec. ‡ Bishop, p. 119-35.

1659.]

Instead of this, she was put on a horse and hurried off towards Newport.

The Court thank the writers, who had drawn up declarations to justify their course towards the Quakers. They require, that one be printed and another transcribed by the Secretary, and forwarded to the towns. They both follow.* The first is given literally: "Altho' the justice of our proceedings against William Robinson, Marmaduke Stevenson and Mary Dyer, supported by the authority of this Court and the laws of the country and the laws of God, may rather persuade us to expect encouragement and commendation from all prudent and pious men, than convince us of any necessity to apologize for the same, yet, forasmuch as men of weaker parts, out of pity and commiseration (a commendable and Christian virtue, yet easily abused and susceptible of sinister and dangerous impressions) for want of full information may be less satisfied; and men of perverse principles may take occasion hereby to calumniate us and render us bloody persecutors. To satisfy the one and stop the mouth of the other, we thought it requisite to declare, that about three years since, divers persons, professing themselves Quakers (of whose pernicious opinions and practices we had received intelligence from good hands) from Barbadoes and England, arrived at Boston, whose persons were only secured to be sent away by the first opportunity, without censure or punishment; altho' their professed tenets, turbulent and contemptuous behaviour to authority, would have justified a severe animadversion, yet the prudence of this Court was exercised only in making provision to secure the peace and order here established against their attempts, whose design (we were well assured by our own experience, as well as by the example of their predecessors in Munster) was to undermine and ruin the same, and accordingly a law was made and published, prohibiting all masters of ships to bring any Quakers into this jurisdiction, and themselves from coming, on penalty of the house of correction, till they be sent away. Notwithstanding which, by a back door, they found entrance; and the penalty inflicted on themselves proving insufficient to restrain their impudent and insolent obtrusions, was increased by the loss of the ears of those, that offended the second time; which also being too weak a defence against their impetuous and fanatic fury, necessitated us to endeavor our security; and upon serious consideration, after the former experiments of their incessant assaults, a law was made, that such persons should be banished on pain of death,

* They were dated November 2, and, with Reasons for the Law of Banishment, as to Quakers, on pain of death; with the Appendix to Norton's Tractate, and also a pamphlet giving the Transactions of Massachusetts Legislature, at their session of October, 1659, relative to those of the same denomination, and printed in England, are replied to by a work published in the same kingdom. This production is in a volume of the Mass. Hist. Soc., marked Sh. 81, No. 4.

MS. Mass. Gen. Ct. Rec.

according to the example of England in their provision against Jesuits; which sentence being regularly pronounced at the last Court of Assistants against the parties above-named, and they either returning, or continuing presumptuously in this Jurisdiction, after the time limited, were apprehended, and, owning themselves to be the persons banished, were sentenced by this Court to death, according to the law aforesaid, which hath been executed upon two of them. Mary Dyer, upon the petition of her son and the mercy and clemency of this Court, had liberty to depart within two days, which she hath accepted of. The consideration of our gradual proceedings will vindicate us from the clamorous accusation of severity; our own just and necessary defence calling upon us (other measures failing) to offer the points, which these persons have violently and wilfully rushed upon, and thereby are become felons de se, which might have been prevented and the sovereign law, *salus populi*, been preserved. Our former proceedings, as well as the sparing of Mary Dyer upon an inconsiderable intercession, will manifestly evince, that we desire their life absent rather than their death present."

The second document goes over the short history of the efforts to suppress the influence of Quakerism, and then offers reasons for inflicting the extreme penalty of law on two of its confessors. Some extracts follow:

1. "The doctrine of this sect is destructive to fundamental truths of religion, as the Sacred Trinity, the person of Christ and the Holy Scriptures as a perfect rule of faith and life. Yea, that one opinion of theirs, of being perfectly pure and without sin, tends to overthrow the whole Gospel and the very vitals of Christianity."

2. "It is the commandment of the blessed God, that Christians should obey magistrates, Titus iii. 1, and that every soul should be subject to the higher powers, Rom. xiii. 1, etc. It is well known that Quakers are far from giving that honour and reverence to magistrates, which the Lord requireth and good men have given to them, but on the contrary, show contempt against them in their very outward gestures and behaviour, and some of them, at least, spare not to belch out railing and cursing speeches."

3. If, as in the case of Shimei, "execution of death be lawful for breach of confinement, may not the same be said for breach of banishment?"

4. "There is no man, that is possessed of house or land, wherein he hath just title and propriety as his own, but he would count it unreasonably injurious that another, who had no authority thereto, should intrude and enter into his house without his, the owner's, consent; yea, and when the owner doth expressly prohibit and forbid the same. If such a one should presume to enter, he might justly be impleaded as a thief or an usurper, and if in case of such

1659.]

violent assault the owner should, se defendendo, slay the assailant and intruder, his blood would be upon his own head. If private persons may shed the blood of such intruder, may not the like be granted to them, that are the public keepers and guardians of the Commonwealth? Have they not as much power to take away the lives of such as, contrary to prohibition, invade and intrude into their public possessions or territories, as private and particular persons to deal so with them, that, without authority, shall presume to enter into their private and particular habitations?" If Quakers "in such violent and bold attempts lose their lives, they may thank themselves, as the blameable cause and authors of their own death."

5. "As a parent may defend his family to the utmost against any who might break into his house to spread pestilence among them, so may Rulers do against those who attempt to spread moral contagion among their subjects."

6. It was the commandment of the Lord Jesus, to his disciples, that when they were persecuted in one city, they should flee into another. "If, therefore, that which is done against Quakers in this Jurisdiction, were indeed persecution, as they account it, though in truth it is not so, but the due ministration of justice; but suppose it were, as they think it to be, what spirit may they be thought to be acted or led by, who are in their actings so contrary to the commandment and example of Christ and of his saints, in the case of persecution, which these men suppose to be their case? They choose to go contrary to express directions of Jesus Christ and the approved examples of his saints, altho it be to the hazard and peril of their own lives."

A sufficient fence is ordered to be built around the prison and house of correction in Boston, so that people may not come and converse with the Quakers confined there.

As Joseph Peasly had been required to cease from preaching at New Town, in Salisbury, but had not obeyed, he is now forbidden* to do so in any part of the Colony, until he give satisfaction.

Christopher Holder, who had returned to Massachusetts without due permission, is sentenced to banishment on pain of death, if found therein three days after the next ship for England departs from Boston harbor. He is allowed one day in the week to go about his business till said vessel sails, or to leave the jurisdiction in any other way he pleases, on the like condition.

Though some of Mr. Worcester's people at Salisbury were dissatisfied about £80 salary voted for him, the Court require it to be paid. They also conclude that it is not expedient for him to preach once a month at New Town, and that the parishioners here attend his ministrations at Old Town, and help pay for his support until

* Mass. MS. Gen. Ct. Rec.

properly released, and that they forbear "to content themselves with private help, whilst the Lord is pleased to continue so bright a star in their candlestick."

November 12. "It is ordered that the thanks of this Court be returned to the Rev. John Norton, for his great pains and worthy labours in that Tractate he drew up, and by order of this Court hath been printed, wherein the dangerous errours of the Quakers are fully refuted and discovered, and to acquaint him that this Court hath given * him five hundred acres of land, as a small recompense for his pains therein."

For violation of the law † in showing favor to Quakers, James Rawlings is admonished; Thomas Macy, and Zacheus Gould are thus dealt with, and also fined; Anthony Emery, Thomas Spencer, Richard Nason, and Richard Swain, are fined and disfranchised; Edward Wharton, for accompanying those executed, is sentenced to receive twenty stripes, and be imprisoned until he give sureties for his orderly conduct. John Heard and Nicholas Hodgden are commanded to appear and answer charges against them.

Of the above, Macy, on the 27th of October, addressed the Legislature from Nantucket. He and others of Salisbury purchased ‡ the patent of this Island from Thomas Mayhew the preceding July 2d, and he had recently moved thither. He related, that while at the former place, he entertained, for three-quarters of an hour, one morning in a rain storm, William Robinson, Marmaduke Stephenson, Edward Wharton, and another, and that these persons stated that they were traveling eastward, and wished for direction to Hampton.

An entry,§ as to the subsequent persons, reads thus: "Being all of them apprehended and committed to prison, for adherence to the cursed sect of the Quakers, having been called before this Court, openly showing their contempt, by refusing to give any civil respect; and upon the question put to them not disowning the same, nor their submission to the order here established, either in Church or Commonwealth; all which being considered with their disorderly practices and vagabond life, in absenting themselves from their family, relations, and running from place to place without any just reason rendered, the Court doth order, that Alice Courland, Hannah Phelps, Mary Scott, and Hope Clifton be admonished; that Daniel Gould be whipped 30 stripes, Robert Harper, 15, William King,|| 15, Margaret Smith, 10, Mary Trask, 10, and Provided Southwick, 10; and that Gould, Harper, Courland, Scott, and Clifton, depart from the jurisdiction within five days, and the rest be committed to prison."

* The order for this grant was dated Nov. 4.

† Mass. MS. Gen. Ct. Rec.

‡ History of Nantucket, p. 14, 5.

§ Mass. MS. Gen. Ct. Rec.

|| Hutchinson calls it Kingsmill. 3d ed. p. 185.

1660.]

The publication at Cambridge, which Norton wrote at the request of the General Court, is called: "The Heart of New England Rent at the Blasphemies of the present generation, or a brief Tractate concerning the Doctrine of the Quakers." The consideration of this work, and the law for the banishment of Quakers from Massachusetts, was printed this year in England.

29. On the petition * of Rev. John Higginson and Mr. Brown, of Salem, to the Quarterly Court of Essex County, the wives of George Gardner, Samuel Shattuck, John Kitchen, Robert Buffum, Henry Trask, Anthony Needham, John Southwick, and of John Smith, Daniel and Provided Southwick, Edward Wharton, John Small, William King, and James Smith, have their prosecution suspended. Frances Simpson is fined. Half of the fine laid on Samuel Gascoyn in the spring is remitted, and his son is set at liberty.

December 8. Among the items for public Thanksgiving† this day are "our preservation from the destructive desires of that pestilent company, the Quakers, the healing of the breach at Hartford, and for the peace of churches and the Commonwealth."

1660. January 1. General Monk, with his forces, crosses the Tweed and marches into England. On February 4, they are allowed to enter London. On the 6th, Monk advises, that the government of the nation be that of a Commonwealth and the form of Religion be a moderate Presbyterianism. On the 12th, he declares for a free Parliament, which occasions great joy. On the 17th of March, a Council of State, having been appointed, assume the administration of the laws. In April, Monk receives a letter from Charles II., and replies, that he was ready to assist him. On the 22d, Admiral Montague sends word to Monk, that the fleet had submitted to him. On the 25th, the Convention-Parliament meet. On May 1, they vote that the Government of the kingdom be by King, Lords and Commons. Thus a return to the "old ways" is made after years of toil, and the expense of many lives and great treasure, for the permanency of Republican institutions. Though the object, so sought, was retained for a comparatively short period, yet the struggle taught lessons of forbearance and experience to both contending parties.‡

12. Francis Howgill publishes a reply to Norton's "The Heart of New England Rent," under the title, "The Heart of New England Hardened." As a specimen of his style, he remarks: "The General Court have ordered thee to tell lies, and thou has received thy commission, and actest it, and shewest it to the world." He then proceeds to answer the various charges which Norton made against his denomination.

15. As related by Hull, "About this time there came in a ship from London and brought vs intelligence of the state of our native

* MS. Essex Ct. Rec.

† Hull MS. Diary.

‡ Salmon, vol. i. p. 169, 70.

land, which was very sad, partly by the abounding of Quakers and almost all manner of heresies."

February 22. For such information, presenting a dark prospect in civil and religious concerns, the churches observe a Fast to wait on the Lord for deliverance.

March 7. Joseph Nicholson and wife, and Wenlock Christopherson are examined at Boston.* So are Benjamin Bellflower from Reading, and Martha Stanley, late of Tenterdon, in Kent, single woman, who said she had a message from the Lord to visit her friends in Boston prison; John Chamberlain of Boston, Mary Smith, Mary Trask and William King from Salem.

9. On a second invitation † to John Higginson for settling with the society of Salem, they offer him a salary of £160. The church had concurred in the two invitations of the town. He answered them, that it was his desire to labor and die among them, as his father had done. He had already preached for them nearly a year. At the beginning of this short period, he had left his charge at Guilford, where he was colleague with Mr. Whitfield, and was on his way to England, as his place of future residence. Requested to occupy the office, which his father had honored, he felt that duty required him to consent.

"Major Hawthorn, at dinner with the Governor and Magistrates at a Court of Assistants, said that, at Salem,‡ there was a woman, called Cassandra Southwick, that said she was greater than Moses, for Moses had seen God but twice, and she had seen him three times, face to face, instancing the places." As to the same town,§ we have the subsequent items of April 3: "Joseph Miles being convicted for entertayninge of a stranger, as Scot, several weeks, according to an order, made 20 of 4 mo., 1657, wee have fined him 20/. to cleare the towne of him." John Southwick, having brought hither Jane, the wife of Joseph Nicholson, about March 18, is fined 20/. a week, till she departs. Thomas Spooner is ordered to pay 10/. for entertaining "a strange woman."

April 16. As a specimen of popular feeling against the conduct of Quakers, William Burnell, of Pulling Point, in Boston, writes the subsequent clause in his will: || "I give unto my son, John Burnell, my house and ground in Boston, when at the age of twenty-one years, provided he is not corrupted with that opinion, commonly called the Quakers, but, in case he should be led aside by that opinion of Quakers, and remain so, then my mind is, that he shall have but £50."

30. A warrant ¶ is issued for the apprehension of William Leddra at Salem, and convey him to Boston for trial.

Henry Bachellor is expelled, May 18, at Ipswich Court, for absence from public worship. Provided Southwick, of Salem, is ordered

* Mass. MS. Gen. Ct. Papers.

† MS. Mass. Gen. Ct. Papers.

|| MS. Suffolk Prob. Rec.

‡ MS. Town Rec. of Salem.

§ MS. Town Rec. of Salem.

¶ MS. Essex Ct. Rec.

1660.]

to pay 40/. for disturbance of the peace there, and be imprisoned till this and another fine are paid, or be sold to service so as to earn such an amount.

21. An agreement * is made between the Corporation for propagating the Gospel in New England, and Marmaduke Johnson. The last person obligates himself to print the Bible in the Indian language, and such other books as they may desire; to remain in their service three years from the date of his leaving Gravesend, and work not less than twelve hours a day, all the week, except the Sabbath; and they bind themselves to pay for his passage from London to Boston; for his "good and sufficient meate, drinke, washinge and lodginge," and forty pounds a year, "lawful money of England," in quarterly payments.

28. The Corporation † write to the Commissioners. They approve of the assistance granted to the widow of their missionary, Mayhew, and to his eldest son. They express their desire to know the age of this youth, "and to what proficiency he hath attained in the knowledge of the Indian language," preparatory for his labor among the natives. They remark: "We are glad to hear of the progress which the five Indian youths have made at the University, desiring that such care may be taken by those under whose government and tutoring they are, as they do not forget their own native language, because of the hopes we have, that God may make them instrumental of much good to their poor brethren. Concerning your printing the New Testament in the Indian language, a sheet whereof you have transmitted to us. It is better to print fifteen hundred than one thousand; hoping that by encouragement from Sion College, with whom we have had late conference, you may be enabled to print fifteen hundred of the Old Testament likewise; knowing that the foundation of true religion is from the Bible, the Old and New Testament, and that the furtherance thereof is of principal concernment. Mr. Eliot, we hear, hath translated the whole Bible into the Indian language." They wish the work to progress as fast as practicable. They had sent paper and engaged the assistance of "an able Printer," Mr. Johnson, whose name they desire to have among those who may be instrumental in publishing the sacred volume.

The journal ‡ of Hull gives, on the 21st of May, the ensuing relation: Mary Dyer, who was reprieved 27th October, "presumptuously returned and came audaciously through the town at high day. All her private friends, that met her, persuaded her to return. She answered, she had a strong power to goe forward, but noe strength to goe backward. She was by authority apprehended."

May 29. As the occasion of deep anxiety to the United Colonies,

* Mass. Archives, Eccles. vol. ii. p. 205.

† MS. Diary.

‡ MS. Com'rs Rec. Hazard, vol. ii. p. 424-6.

Charles II. makes a triumphal entry into London and succeeds to the throne of his father.

The Mather papers contain a curious set of verses, ascribed to the Duke of Buckingham, relative to his Majesty. They are intended to show the King's indifference to ecclesiastical concerns, which was a source of anxiety to the Puritans of New England. A specimen follows :

“ When the plate was at paune,
Then Charles without acre,
Made a vow to his Maker,
If ere I see England againe,
I'll have a Religion all of my owne,
Where Papist and Protestant shall not be knowne,
And if it be troublesome, I will have none.”

30. At a session of the Legislature, we have the subsequent proceedings: * The County Courts are required to take care, that clergymen are sufficiently supported by their parishes; that no preachers of vicious lives and heterodox principles be allowed; that destitute congregations be supplied with ministers, and that their “ Presidents ” charge the grand juries to exert themselves for the suppression of abuses in these respects.

Owing to the “ sad and deplorable condition of our dear native country, as well by reason of the great distractions in that Commonwealth, as also these many provocations of the Lord's displeasure, by those horrid blasphemies and wickednesses, that there abound, and the many clouds hovering over them, threatening the utter frustration of those hopeful beginnings, wherewith of late years the Lord was pleased to favour not only them and us, but also his name and cause withal; ” our own defection from holy affections, which we had when the Lord led us into this wilderness, the 21st of June is appointed for a public Fast.

“ The whole Court met together, sent for Mary Dyer, who rebelliously, after sentence of death passed against her, returned to this jurisdiction; being come before the Court, she acknowledged herself to be Mary Dyer, the person that was condemned by this Court to death; being asked what she had to say why sentence should not be executed, she gave no other answer, but that she denied our Law and came to bear witness against it and could not choose but come and do as formerly.”

31. As Joseph Nicholson and wife, now in prison, had been banished on pain of death, their case is so far mitigated, that they have leave to depart from the Colony “ by the next 4th day, ” and not return, on the like penalty.

As Zaccheus Gould has sustained great loss by fire, his fine of £3 for entertaining Quakers is remitted.

“ This Court, having considered of the proposals presented by several of the inhabitants of Middlesex, do declare, that no man

* MS. Mass. Gen. Ct. Rec.

1660.]

shall be admitted to the freedom of this Body Politick, but such as is a member of some church of Christ and in full communion, which they declare to be the true intent of the ancient law of 1631." This confirmation of the custom, which our fathers viewed as a chief support of their religious Commonwealth, was probably and principally occasioned by the attitude that political affairs had taken in the mother country, and the tendency of them in New England, as well as by the practice of Connecticut, and of Massachusetts in reference to New Hampshire and Maine.

Persons of Ipswich are granted a Plantation near Quabog Ponds, if they have twenty families, an approved minister, and land set off for the support of the ministry, within three years.* A similar privilege is allowed to men of Newbury, for a settlement on Saco River, on like conditions, except they have four years for their experiment.

The petition of Henry Pouning, William Halsey and others, for a Plantation at "Stony River on both sides of the way to Connecticut," is allowed, with exemption from taxes five years, if, "in four years they have twenty families there, and an able minister."

On condition that the people of New Town, in Salisbury, get "an able minister," approved by the church under Mr. Worcester, and the General Court, and keep him, they are to be released from contributing to the support of Mr. Worcester. As Shubal Dummer, now preaching at New Town, was immediately recommended according to this contract, its terms were ratified.

A letter* is received by the Legislature from Richard Saltonstall, Is. Ashurst and Rev. William Hooke. These state that they are doing for the College as requested, and that Judge Hill, a member of Parliament, desirous to have the Gospel propagated in both Englands, had given £1,000 to the said Institution. He accompanied the gift with this condition: "To be kept for a stock or laid out in lands, and the rent thereof employed towards the education of youths in University learning, with respect to preaching. And these youths must be well inclined and of pregnant capacities; as also the children of poor and godly parents (if it may be)." They add: "Give us leave to tell you, that we joy exceedingly to hear your zeal and faithfulness to the Lord in bearing such a signal testimony against the troublers of your peace (the evil generation of Quakers) who abound in this nation, taking boldness to blaspheme the name of Christ, his servants and ordinances. And if the Lord should search us with candles (as he did Jerusalem) we believe they would be found among the Achans of England." While the authors of this passage knew that it was severe, they also believed that it was true, from facts which had come to their knowledge.

June 1. The day previous to this,† Mary Dyer, on hearing the

* Mass. Gen. Ct. Papers.

† Sewall, p. 226, 7.

Governor again sentence her to death, answered : " This is no more than thou saidst before." He rejoined : " But now it is to be executed ; therefore prepare yourself for to-morrow at nine o'clock." After other remarks, she was carried back to prison. At the hour appointed, Marshal Michelson came for her with a guard, and found her composed, with her friend, Margaret Smith, in the same apartment. She was brought out, and, as Sewall relates, " with a band of soldiers led through the town, the drums being beaten before and behind her, and so continued, that none might hear her speak all the way to the place of execution, which was about a mile." When she had " gone up the ladder, some said to her, that if she would return, she might come down, and save her life. To which she replied : Nay, I cannot, for in obedience to the will of the Lord I came, and in his will I abide faithful to the death. Then Capt. John Webb said, that she had been there before, and had the sentence of banishment upon pain of death, and had broken the law in coming again now ; and therefore she was guilty of her own blood. To which she returned : Nay, I come to keep blood-guiltiness from you, desiring you to repeal the unrighteous and unjust law of banishment upon pain of death, made against the innocent servants of the Lord." Mr. Wilson said : " Mary Dyer, O repent, O repent, and be not so deluded, and carried away by the deceit of the devil." To this she answered : " Nay, man, I am not now to repent. And being asked by some, whether she would have the Elders pray for her, she said, I know never an Elder here." A bystander remarked, that she had said " she had been in Paradise. To which she answered, Yea, I have been in Paradise several days." Sewall adds : " In this well disposed condition she was turned off, and died a martyr of Christ, being twice led to death, which the first time, she expected with undaunted courage, and now suffered with Christian fortitude." Thus closed the mortal career of Mary Dyer, who long before had sustained Anne Hutchinson in her trials, and departed from Boston with her for Rhode Island.

Soon after this event, John Smith, of Salem, whose wife Margaret was in prison for Quakerism, wrote* to Governor Endicott, as to the manner in which some conversational terms of her denomination were considered. " It hath been declared here in Salem Pulpit, that thou and thee, yea and nay, is the devil's sacrifice."

Charles II. received notice† immediately after his Restoration, " That a committee, on behalf of Massachusetts, sat every Saturday at Cooper's Hall, for promoting the business which Hugh Peters confessed." This Chalmers quotes from New England papers in London. The question has never been settled what Peters did confess to Dr. Young, who had probably turned from his hot republicanism to royalty, and revealed his secret conversations with

* Bishop, p. 450.

† Pol. Annals, p. 172.

1660.]

Peters. It is likely that, as Massachusetts feared that enemies would misrepresent their position, they had friends in London, who met to consult what would be the best course to be pursued for their benefit in so perilous an exigency.

There is issued, this year, "A Direction * for a Public Profession." "Being the same for substance, which was propounded to, and agreed upon by the Church of Salem, 1629." It contains a Confession of Faith, concerning God, his works, fall of man, Jesus Christ, Holy Ghost, benefits of Christ and his Church. Then follows the Covenant. To this are subjoined, "Questions to be answered at the baptizing of children."

Jews in America, or Probabilities that those Indians are Judaical, by John Eliot, is published in London.

A Tract is published in London by Henry Gardener, merchant, who had lived long in New England. He evidently had united with the Royalists in the purpose of wresting New Hampshire and Maine from the hands of Massachusetts. He observes of this Colony, if they "fortifie Pascataqua River for themselves, as they have subjugated it, and now arm against the Dutch New Netherland, with their united Colonies, they may be the invincible States in America. All power is in the Independent way."

19. The Legislature ordered † the Middlesex Court to have the fine, assessed on Malden Church, collected.

21. An extract from Hull's diary ‡ follows: Fast observed "by reason of intelligence of sad distractions in England, such as threatened the frustration of all the hopes of the Reformation begun, Royalists taking head and heart of the one party, and Anabaptists and Sectaries on the other party, and a fear of their joining with the Quakers."

The following persons § at Salem are arraigned before a County Court, for absence from public worship. The wife of Edmund Nicholson is admonished. On the 26th, James Smith and Samuel Salmon are alike treated. The wives of George Gardner, Samuel Shattuck, John Kitchen, Robert Buffum, and of John Southwick, are fined. So also, are Daniel Southwick and John Small. The wife of William Vincent, who moved from Salem to Gloucester, is sentenced to pay 20/., or make a public apology for disturbing a congregation on the Lord's day.

26. The wife of Anthony Needham, || refusing to pay her fine, or have it paid, the Court "considering her former offensive and provoking speeches, and also the desiring to have the punishment inflicted on her person, she is adjudged to be whipped twelve stripes."

27. Tidings arrive ¶ that Charles II. was proclaimed king. They were, of course, anticipated by the people here, who had heard

* Printed about 1660.

§ MS. Essex Ct. Rec.

† MS. Mid. Ct. Rec.

|| Ibid.

‡ MS.

¶ Hutchinson, 3d ed. vol. i. p. 194.

that the affairs of England were approximating to such a crisis. They had cause to dread a retribution for their sympathy with the administration of Cromwell. On August 29, the King delivers a speech to the House of Peers, and passes the Act of indemnity, excepting most of the Regicides, Sir Henry Vane, Lambert, and Hugh Peters.*

August 6. In the dedication of Noyes's Moses and Aaron to Charles II., Thomas Parker, of Newbury, uses the following language: "And now, most Royal King, fill the sails of our hopes with the blasts of your noble achievements. So shall Christ, the Sun of righteousness, run along in your royal Government, and make you a greater King, at least, than you were at first. Let Popery and all heresy fall before you. Let not needless and offensive ceremonies be rigorously imposed. Let men of courage and zeal be set up under you in all place, that shall suppress profanity. Let godly ministers be encouraged, and let no idle, unlearned, or heretical minister be found in your land. Let learning be promoted, and men excellent in gifts be set apart for writing, according to their several and distinct qualifications." The writer thus expresses his wish for the prosperity of the King, and means whereby, in his judgment, it might be secured. It was not revealed to him how that his majesty would persuade himself, that he was called to trample the liberties of Old and New England under his feet.

29. A record of Salem Church is as follows: "Having no Elders, our honoured brother, Major Hawthorne, and the two Deacons, imposed hands on the Pastor, (Higginson,) and then the Pastor and the two Deacons imposed hands on the Ruling Elder, (John Brown.) Mr. Norton, of Boston, did give the right hand of fellowship to both our Elders." John Smith,† for disturbance and crying out at this ordination, "What you are going about to set up, our God is pulling down," was committed to prison. The same church vote, on September 10, that Mr. Cotton's Catechism shall be used in families for teaching children, so that they may be prepared for public catechizing in the congregation. It is agreed that the Lord's supper shall be once a month.

September 10. The Commissioners ‡ write to the Corporation in England. They remark that there had been great mortality this summer among the Indians; that one of the Indian youths instructed at Cambridge was dead, and also two more, under the

* Whalley and Goffe, called Regicides, Boston. Having left London before the King was proclaimed, they did not keep themselves secretly. They visited Governor Endicott, who treated them in a very friendly and respectful manner. They immediately went to Cambridge. By the last of November, news came that they were not included in the amnesty. Such information did not lessen the sympathy of our ancestors in their favor, as the defenders of civil and religious freedom, though it forbid public demonstrations of friendship for them.

† Hutch. 3d ed. vol. i. p. 187.

‡ MS. Com'rs Rec. Hazard, vol. ii. p.

427, 8, 35.

1660.]

tuition of Mr. Weld, at Roxbury; that about 100 "of Mr. Eliot's Indians can read in the Bible, and many others about Plymouth, Martin's Vineyards, and other places." They observe of the Indian Language, which, in "general throughout the country, where the English have to do, is the same, though differing in dialect, yet so as the natives well understand and converse one with the other." They have received from Mr. Mayhew "an encouraging account of the progress of the Gospel among the natives of the Vineyards, who, living in several villages, and amongst them some Pagans, have very lately solemnly renewed their covenant to own and serve the Lord by a public profession of their faith and knowledge." They say: "We shall attend your advice for the impression of the whole Bible. The impression of the Old and New Testament shall be carried on together, which they have already begun, and resolve to prosecute with all diligence; a sheet of Genesis we have seen, which we have ordered shall be transmitted to you. The Printers doubt not but to print a sheet every week, and compute the whole to amount to 150 sheets." The cost was £4 a sheet. They proceed: "Two of the Indian youths, formerly brought up to read and write, are put apprentice; the one to a carpenter, the other to Mr. Green, the printer, who take their trades, and follow their business very well." On the 17th, the Commissioners, to encourage Indians to apprentice their children to "any godly English" within the United Colonies, promise each of them "one coat" a year "out of the Corporation stock," so long as the apprenticeship of the children continues.

13. Leverett sends* a communication to the Governor and Legislature. He expresses himself as though former times of trial for New England are to be renewed. He states that the Company who had carried on the Iron Works at Lynn had moved against them, and endeavored to procure the signatures of the Quakers and Anabaptists to their petition. But these two denominations declined such an union. Individual Quakers had complained to the King about those of their order who had been executed in Boston. Some of them say that they are promised the liberty of dwelling in the Colony, if they choose. "The generall vogue of people is, that a Governour will be sent over." Here one of the perils, which had severely tried the Colonist, is again presented. They well knew, that if carried into effect, it would sweep away the heritage of civil and religious liberty, which they had prepared for their posterity: Leverett felt that his situation was awkward and unpleasant, as the agent of Massachusetts, who had no favor at the Court of Royalty. He observes: "I made bold to address myself to Lord Say, and desyred his favour, that in case of complaints to his Majesty, he would be your friend, so far as to desyre

* Hutch. Coll. p. 323, 4.

his Majesty, that you might be heard before any thing were determined concerning you as to judgment. His Lordship professed his greatest respect for the Plantations, and thanked God he prayed for you daily, promising to improve his interest according to my motion." Thus this Puritan nobleman still held fast to his former professions of regard for the cause of our fathers. The writer adds, as the filling out of his portraiture: "Episcopacy, common prayer, bowing at the name of Jesus, signe of the cross in baptism, the altar and organs are in use, and like to be more. The Lord keepe and preserve his churches, that there may not be fainting in a day of tryall."

20. William Brimsmead is minister of Marlborough. He was of the class, in 1647, who were required to study four years at Harvard College, instead of three, as had been the custom. On account of opposition to this change, he and others left, and thus lost their degrees. Tradition says that he did not baptize children born on the Sabbath, perhaps supposing that the holy time of their birth had a sufficiently consecrating influence. He was a bachelor. He died July 3, 1701.

This year, William Holmes's wife, of Scituate, is accused of witchcraft, but was cleared the next year.

October 16. "The Court considering how far Satan doth prevail upon several persons in this jurisdiction to make away themselves, judgeth that God calls them to bear testimony against such wicked and unnatural practice, that they may be deterred therefrom, do therefore order, that from henceforth, if any person, inhabitant, or stranger, shall at any time be found by any jury to lay violent hands on himself, or be wilfully guilty of their own deaths, every such person shall be denied the privilege of being buried in the common burying place of Christians, but shall be buried in some common highway, where the Selectmen of the town where such person did inhabit, shall appoint, and a cart load of stones laid upon the grave, as a brand of infamy, and as a warning to others to beware of the like damnable practice."

For explanation of the law, as to the manner of trying those discovered in the Colony after their banishment on pain of death, it is ordered that such persons shall be tried, in the Court of Assistants, by a jury of twelve men, and, if convicted, shall be "executed by warrant from the Governor or Deputy Governor, directed to the Marshal General, unless they be regularly reprieved in the mean time."

"There being some women, Quakers, now in prison, liable to sentence of banishment, whose husbands are innocent persons in that respect, so far as we know, and are inhabitants in this jurisdiction, this Court doth order, that the said women, named Margaret Smith and Mary Trask, be committed to the House of Correction, and there kept to constant labour and mean diet, according to the orders of the said House, till this Court release them; and that the

1660.]

sentence of banishment upon said persons be suspended, any law to the contrary notwithstanding ; unless their husbands shall choose to carry them out of this jurisdiction, and not return without leave first obtained."

"In answer to a motion of the Quakers now in prison, that they may have their liberty to go for England, the Court judgeth it meet to declare that all Quakers now in prison shall forthwith have their liberty to go for England in this ship now bound thither, if they will. And for such as will not go for England, they shall have liberty forthwith to depart this Jurisdiction within eight days, so as they solemnly engage under their hands, delivered by them to the Governor or Deputy Governor, that they will not return into this Jurisdiction, without leave from the Council or General Court first by them obtained."

Joseph Nicholson and his wife, Jane, were among those permitted to embark for England, but the vessel was so crowded, they could not be accommodated. They returned to prison until another passage should be offered.

"The Court judgeth it necessary that letters of thankfulness be sent to our honoured friends in England, for their great respect to this Colony, and refer the same to the Overseers of the College, to be sent by the first opportunity." They deeply felt that advocates for their interests around the restored throne, in this time of their peril, were benefactors of true worth.

As an indication that our authorities feared foes from abroad, as well as at home, who might attempt the subversion of their privileges, they renew their order for every town to be provided with a stock of powder and ammunition.

18. Nehemiah Cushing, of Pembroke, Deputy Sheriff, attempts * on the Sabbath to force open the doors and windows of the meeting house in the south precinct of Bridgewater, before the time for worship, and after the doors are opened, he enters with Mr. Allen, and disturbs the audience by declaring that he will carry away all who combine to keep this minister out of the pulpit, and he asserts, also, that he will read a warrant from Justice Little, of Pembroke ; but the people desiring him to forbear, Mr. Short begins the exercises. When these, for the forenoon, are closed, and Solomon Lenard, the deponent, leaves the house, the sheriff requires him, in his majesty's name, to appear before Justice Little the next day. This Lenard did, gave bonds to answer at Plymouth, and to be of good behavior to Mr. Allen, though he said he was not told the reason why he should do so.

19. Endicott writes † to Leverett. The former, in view of the

* Mass. Archives, Eccles. vol. i. p. 6.

† For the encouragement of free schools in the towns which follow, Roxbury is granted 500 acres of land, Charlestown 1,000, and Boston 1,000 acres.

‡ Hutchinson's Coll. p. 324, 5.

measures adopted in London, and injurious to the interests of Massachusetts, informs the latter, that two petitions are forwarded, one for the King and another for the Parliament. He requests Leverett, that, so long as he should continue there, he would exercise his accustomed care and faithfulness for his native Colony. He mentions that Messrs. Saltonstall and Ashurst have been desired to act in its behalf.

23. On information* to the General Court, of "many disorders committed in several congregations by boys and youth in time of divine exercise," they empower the selectmen of every town to prevent such offences. These were probably occasioned by the example of the Quakers.

26. Near this date, Hull† remarks: "We heare of the Bishops and with them the old formalities of surplice, etc. were begun to be practised again in our native land, which had been now twenty yeares expunged, and many good ministers put out of place."

About this time John Norton composes the letter‡ from thirty-nine New England ministers, the President and four fellows of the College, to John Dury, who had addressed them on the subject of pacification among all evangelical denominations. An extract follows: "We give thanks unto the Father of lights with all our hearts, who hath put this work into the minde of Dury, savouring of a spirit more than humane; and hath added also suitable courage to the promoting so pious and apostolical a matter: which task, whosoever shall effect, if we may be judges, will deserve a more than ordinary triumphant statue; whose monument will so far excel the trophies of Achilles, as if they were not worthy to be mentioned. However the issue of the matter fall, yet it is a great deal, to have attempted in a great design. Seek the peace of Jerusalem; they shall prosper that love thee."

November 27. Elizabeth Kitchen and others§ previously named, of Salem, are fined from 5/. to £7 10. The wife of Robert Stone is required to pay Court fees. John Burton is presented and dismissed. John Small is charged with declaring that the doctrines of Mr. Higginson are false.

30. Another extract from Hull|| relates, Mr. Trumbull "brought intelligence that the Bishops countenance the old liturgie and invention of men in the worship of God, and the face of things looking sadly toward the letting in of Popery."

December. About this date, the ensuing letter¶ is written in London, by J. Curwin, probably for Governor Endicott: "Sir—

* Mass. Archives, Eccles. vol. i. p. 6.

† MS. Diary.

‡ This was printed in 1664. It could not have been earlier than 1660. John Higginson, one of its signers, as pastor of Salem, was not ordained there till August 29th of the same year; nor could it have been later than January 23, 1661, when Ezekiel Rogers, of Rowley, another of its signers, died.

§ MS. Essex Ct. Rec.

|| MS. Diary.

¶ MS. Mass. Gen. Ct. Papers.

1660.]

I have ben divers times with Corinall Temple at his lodgeing, whome I finde to be a reall cordiall gentleman for poore New England, who hath not wanted for foes, for I will tell you, Sir, what not only I, but ten or a dossen besides myselfe can testifie, which I doubt not is writt by other hands. Sir, the first day that Cori. Temple came to the Exchange after he had bene att Court, he went to the Sunne to Dummer, and I thinke most of N. E. men were theare, amongst the rest was Mr. Mauricke. Cori. Temple was then pleased to tell vs what he said to the King in the behalfe of N. E. which was very much and spooke merrylie, as you know his manner is, and sayed for all those affidaues or oaths, y^t are giuen in against the Country, yett I will hould 6 to 4, N. E. hath theare libertye contrary to expectations. Mr. Mauricke thinks to haue found hime far otherwise, and of his judgment Mr. Mauricke saied before all the Company, that N. E. weare all rebels, and he would proue them soe, and that he had giuen in to the Counsell soe, but I think he will be shamed of it. To-morrow morning N. E. business is to be heard att the Counsell table, and wee intend to bee theare. Sir, you need not feare but N. E. will inioy theare libertyes as euer. And consarning the Quakers, I tell you whatt Cori. Temple sayeth, that the letters that he delivered of the country to the Counsell in presence of y^e King, they writt that they should obserue his Majesty's commands in all thinges, and that they had giuen the Quakers liberty. The King hearing this, clapt his hands on his breast, sayed, that he intended not soe, but that they should not hang them, while further order."

10. Hull writes * to Leverett, in London: "New Englande sinn may cry aloud for a scourge vpon New Englande; but the blood of Jesus speaketh better things. Calumniating tongues and penns may act their part. Let the lovers of the truth also doe theirs. The Lord many tymes prevents the evill feared, though never soe near accomplishment."

13. About this date, William Leddra, imprisoned at Boston, writes to the friends in New England. For the most part, his epistle † refers to the need of vigilance against spiritual imperfections, and is regular in the train of profitable thoughts. One passage of it refers to his sufferings: "I further testifie, in the fear of the Lord God, and witnes, with a pen of trembling, that the noise of the whip on my back, all the imprisonments, and banishing upon pain of death, and after returning, the loud threatening sound of a halter, from their mouths, who, Jezebel-like, sat on the imperious throne of iniquity, did no more affright me, through the strength of the power of God in me, than if they had threatened to have bound a spider's web to my finger."

* Hutch. MS. Papers.

† Bishop, p. 292-8.

19. The General Court, called by the Governor, hold a special session. Perceiving that it was high time to propitiate the King and turn away from him the influx of prejudices, which had been put in motion, they adopt an address * to him. They eloquently plead their cause. "We crave leave to supplicate your Majesty for your gracious protection of us in the continuance both of our civil privileges, according to the known end of suing for the Patent, confirmed upon this Plantation by your Royal Father; this—this—viz.—our liberty to walk in the Faith of the Gospel with all good conscience,—the cause of our transporting ourselves with our wives, our little ones, and our substance from that pleasant land over the Atlantic Ocean, into the vast and waste wilderness, choosing rather the pure Scripture worship, with a good conscience, in this poor remote wilderness, amongst the heathen, than the pleasures of England, with submission to the impositions of the then so disposed and so far prevailing Hierarchy. We left not our country upon any dissatisfaction as to the Constitution of the civil State. Our lot, after the example of the good old non-conformists, hath been only to act a passive part throughout these late vicissitudes and successive overturnings of State. Our humble request is that your Majesty would permit nothing to make an impression upon your royal heart against us, until we have both opportunity and leave to answer for ourselves. Few will be nocent, if it be enough to deny. Few will be innocent, if it be enough to accuse.

"Concerning the Quakers, open and capital blasphemers, open seducers from the glorious Trinity, the Lord's Christ, the blessed Gospel, and from the Holy Scriptures as the rule of life; open enemies to government itself, as established in the hands of any but men of their own principles, malignant and assiduous promoters of doctrines directly tending to subvert both our churches and State. After all other means for a long time used in vain, we were at last constrained for our own safety to pass a sentence of banishment against them on pain of death, such was their dangerous, impetuous, and desperate turbulency, both to Religion and the Estate, civil and ecclesiastical. The Magistrate at last, in conscience both to God and man, judged himself called, for the defence of all, to keep the passage with the point of the sword held towards them. This could do no harm to him, that could be warned thereby. Their wittingly rushing themselves thereupon was their own act, and we, with all humility, conceive a crime, bringing their blood upon their own head. The Quakers died not because of their other crimes, how capital soever, but upon their superadded, presumptuous, and incorrigible contempt of authority, breaking in upon us, notwithstanding their sentence of banishment

* MS. Mass. Gen. Ct. Rec. The address was presented to the King Feb. 11, 1661, and printed in London.

1660.]

made known to them. Had they not been restrained, so far as appears, there was too much cause to fear that we ourselves must quickly have died, or worse, and such was their insolency, that they would not be restrained but by death ;—nay, had they at last but promised to depart the jurisdiction, and not to return without leave from authority, we should have been glad of such an opportunity to say, they should not die.

“ If according to this our humble petition and good hope, the God of the spirits of all flesh, the ‘ Father of mercies ’ incline ‘ your royal heart to shew unto us the kindness of your Highness ’ protection of us in those liberties, for which we came hither and which we have hitherto here enjoyed, these churches shall be comforted, a door of hope opened by so signal a pledge of the lengthening of their tranquillity, that these poor and naked Gentiles, not a few of whom are come and are coming in, shall still see their wonted Teachers, with the encouragement of a more plentiful increase of the kingdom of Christ amongst them, and the blessing of your poor afflicted (and yet we hope) a people trusting in God, shall come upon the head and heart of that great King, who was sometime an exile as we are.”

The Court accept of another address for the Lords and Commons. After stating the reasons why they left England, they observe: “ But so it is, as we are informed, that endeavours have been used to render us obnoxious. We are not unwilling and hope we need not be ashamed to give your honours an account with what integrity and simplicity of heart we have managed the trust committed to us, or exercised any power, though perhaps to the dissatisfaction of the nocent. We have this hope that your honours will be very tender of admitting appeals, in particular cases, as not only prejudicial, but even destructive to us.” They proceed to remark, that they hope their statement relative to the Quakers will be satisfactory; that the extension of their Government Eastward was on petition of inhabitants there, and they were disposed to act justly in the premises; that, before they are condemned on accusations, they wish to be heard. They add: “ It cannot but be most honourable for his Majesty to confirm the grant of his Royal Father, that we may not be losers by his Restitution, but have cause with the rest of our countrymen, to join in the joyful acclamation, *Vivat Carolus Secundus*.

“ God is honoured whilst the poor Indians are made partakers of true knowledge of the Son of God, in a more hopeful way than we have heard elsewhere, and that by the great charity of many pious benefactors in our native country, encouraged and allowed by authority there, which was also a principal intent of his Majesty, declared in the Patent. Which pious and charitable work will, we doubt not, be so acceptable to your honours, that no encourage-

ment shall be wanting on your part, which may be expected or desired of the professed servants of the Lord Jesus."

Though the Indians of Natick* were formed into a town in 1651, yet those among them, who gave evidence of piety, were not embodied as a Church till the present year. Some Indian men and women of like character, from other places, subsequently united with them. Hutchinson,† quoting Goffe's Journal, says that "there were at that time, ten Indian towns of such as were called praying Indians" in New England.

A small company from Massachusetts carrying their religious institutions‡ with them, settle around Cape Fear. Chalmers states, that, through the sterility of the soil and the want of a good fishery, they suffered, for years, the necessities of poverty. Dr. Williamson relates, that the New England Colony which planted on Old Town Creek this year, are forced away by Indians; that before the autumn of 1663, they left their settlement, with many hogs and neat cattle, to the hands of such invaders.

Instructions§ are prepared for John Leverett, or if he be absent, for Richard Saltonstall and Henry Ashurst. They follow: "You will deliver these addresses; gain as many friends, among those who have influence with the King, for New England, as you can; obtain his opinion and that of Parliament, relative to Massachusetts, as speedily as possible;—if asked by his Majesty and Parliament what this Colony desire to have continued,—reply, privileges in Church and State, as allowed by the Charter; no General Governor imposed on us; no appeals, either civil or criminal, from our decisions; and, if you perceive the King and Parliament are propitious to us, to petition for the renewal of the Act, which frees us from customs;—should charges about extension of jurisdiction and the Iron Works come up, you will request that time may be granted for rejoinder. Concerning the Quakers, 'if there should be any design to encourage their coming hither, or His Majesty induced to permit them their liberty here, (which God forbid,) we intreat you above all things else, to use your utmost interest to prevent, as being destructive to our being here, and so contrary to our consciences to permit, and no less oppressive of us than the destroying of us and ours by the sword.' Send intelligence whenever necessary. 'If any objection be made, that we have forfeited our Patent in several particulars, you may answer, that you desire to know the particulars objected, and that you doubt not but a full answer will be given thereto in due season.'"

Dec. 21. Elders are convened || at Boston by request of the Legislature, with regard to the call for an address to the King.

* Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. 1 s. vol. i. p. 181.

† 1st Ed. p. 166.

‡ Chalmers, p. 515, 6. Williamson. Holmes, vol. i. p. 317.

§ Hutchinson's Coll. p. 329-31.

|| Hutch. MS. Papers.

1658.]

They are "Wilson, Mather, Syms, Norton, Eliot, Higginson, Thatcher, Shephard, Allen, Wilson, jr." They approve of dispatching such a document. Two of their propositions follow: "It is doubted by the most, whether we be called (at this time) to declare (or pronounce) our judgment as concerning the confusions by-past, however grievous. That all due acknowledgment is to be made of the King's Majesty in that high and sovereign place, or most rightful throne, is meet and necessary, yet how high the congratulations should be, considering things present and the sequels thereof, (to God only knowne,) we cannot apprehend." They recommend the draught by Norton, with some exceptions, though another was adopted. The report was handed to the Legislature by Wilson, sen., in the name of the Elders.

A letter is addressed by Mary Trask and Margaret Smith to the Governor and "the rest of this jurisdiction, who are given to fight against y^e Lord and his truth in this day, wherein it is sprung forth and by y^e comeliness of it hath the Lord our God constrained us to take up the cross and follow him through great tryalls and sufferings;" who have "shamefully intreated his hidden ones, whom He hath sent amongst you." It goes on in this style: "From your house of correction, where wee have been uniuistly restrained from our children and habitations, one of us about ten months, and y^e other about eight; and where we are yet continued by you, oppressors, y^t know no shame." It is dated in Boston and has the signatures of the writers.

24. Robert Harper and wife Deborah, who had been imprisoned two months, John Smith, three months, and his wife Margaret, petition for release.*

PLYMOUTH.

1658. February 2. Copeland is summoned † to answer for asserting that when he and Holden were arraigned before John Alden, the head and knees of this magistrate shook. He is ordered to leave the Colony within forty-eight hours, and be whipped whenever found within its bounds. William Brend charged with being "of a turbulent spirit and forward to abuse men with his tongue," has a similar sentence. Both of them, passing through Plymouth on the 8th, were apprehended and punished according to such judgment.

March 2. The Court pass ‡ the following Act. No public meet-

* Bishop, p. 453-7.

† Plym. Col. Rec. Bishop, p. 177, 8.

‡ Plym. Col. Laws.

ing shall be set up without their permission. "Whereas, there hath severall persons come into this Government, commonly called Quakers, whose doctrine and practices manifestly tend to the subversion of the fundamentalls of Christian Religion, Church order and the civill peace of this Government, as appears by the Testimonies given in sundry depositions and otherwise," it is therefore enacted, that no inhabitant shall wittingly entertain a Quaker, on penalty of £5 for each offence, or of being whipt; that whoever, in any town, knows that such persons have come thither, shall give notice thereof, that they may be apprehended, be committed to jail and there "kept close prisoners with such victualls onely as the Court aloweth untill they shall defray the charge both of their imprisonment and their transportation away; together with an engagement to returne into this Government noe more, or else to be continewd in close durance till further order from the Court;" that there be no meetings of that denomination on "penaltie of 40/. a time for every speaker, and 10/. a time for every hearer, that are heads of families, and 40/. a time for the owner of the place, that permits them soe to meete together."

Arthur Howland, for having a Quaker * meeting at his house, resisting and threatening the Constable, is fined £9—"and ordered to give bond in view of a writing, which he had shewn to others as well as presented to the Court, who considered it as of a pernicious tendency." Zoeth Howland, for speaking opprobriously of ministers, is required to sit in the stocks for an hour. Henry Howland is fined 10/. for having a meeting at his house contrary to law. Peter Gaunt, Daniel Winge, Ralph Allen, jr., and William Allen, being summoned for tumultuous carriage at a Quaker meeting in Sandwich, are cleared on this count, but are fined 20/. apiece for wearing their hats before the Court. Steven Winge and Thomas Butler are admonished for being at the same assembly. William Newland and Ralph Allin, sen., are released from imprisonment if paying the fees due.

The members of Capt. James Cudworth's company of Scituate, petition that he may be removed from his command, because he has meetings of Quakers at his dwelling, and otherwise encourages them "who have rendered themselves in their doctrines, speeches and carriages, destructive to the peace of this jurisdiction." Cudworth desired the same release. It is granted. As a Commissioner † of the Union, he declined to sign the letter to Rhode Island against the Quakers.

William Paule is required to leave Taunton, because his continuance there is the occasion of contention among the inhabitants. Thomas Joanes, weaver, of the same place, has a similar requisition made of him, because he is of "ill-report."

* Plym. Col. Laws.

† Baylies' Hist. of Plym. Col. vol. ii. p. 41-3.

1658.]

May 4. Rev. Ralph Partridge's will is proved, which indicates that his decease had been recent. He finished his ministry of forty years at Duxbury. He had enjoyed a remarkable share of health through such a period. When most of the preachers in Plymouth Colony left their congregations for lack of support, he, though subject to a similar trial, remained steadfast at his post. He possessed the virtues of the clerical character in an eminent degree. His strong powers of mind were commendably cultivated in literary and theological studies, and consecrated to the promotion of Religion, as the main object of his life. As he had lived dutifully, so he died happily. That he was held in high estimation by the United Colonies, was indicated by the appointment,* which their Synod at Cambridge made of him in connection with John Cotton, and Richard Mather, for drawing up individually, "A Model of Church Government according to the Word of God," so that from them, taken collectively, might be drawn a suitable form. His will, dated September 20, 1655, mentions his eldest daughter, Mary, wife of John Marshall, and his daughter Elizabeth Thatcher, whose eldest daughter was Elizabeth Kemp, second son, Ralph, and youngest, Peter. His wife, Patience, had died before the date of his last testament. Her departure rendered him more ready and willing to follow.

June 1. Ralph, sen., John, William, George and Matthew Allin, Robert Harper, Thomas Greenfield, Ed. Perry, Richard Kerbey, jr., Thomas Ure, William Giffard, Daniel Winge, John Jenkins and George Webb, all of Sandwich, are summoned† to give reasons for refusing to take the oath of fidelity to the Government and the State of England, which, again being tendered them in open Court, they refuse, saying they held it unlawful to take any oath. John Newland and Thomas Johnson, who had been ordered to appear, did not on account of lameness. George Webb engaged to leave the Colony in a short time. "The others liable to pay the fine in that case amerced."

Arthur Howland, having apologized for "the seditious and slanderous passages" in his writing, the Court, with the additional consideration of his age and infirmities, excuse him "with this proviso, that if he shall offend in like manner any more, this his great offence will come into remembrance to augment the punishment."

3. Humphrey Norton and John Rouse, having appeared at Plymouth, on the 1st, contrary to law, are examined.‡ Norton "said to Governor Prince, several times, Thou liest; thou art a malicious man. In like manner Rouse behaved himself in his words unto the Court unworthily." They were remanded to their confinement.

* Magnalia, vol. i. p. 505.
p. 179, 80.

† Plym. Col. MS. Rec.

‡ Ibid. Bishop,

5. They were again arraigned. Norton thus expresses himself to the Governor: "Thy clamorous tongue I regard no more than the dust under my feet." He and Rouse refuse to take an oath of allegiance to the State of England, whose subjects they claimed to be. They are sentenced to be whipped, which was executed forthwith. As they would not pay the Marshal's fees, they were returned to durance. Here they were kept till the 10th, when a settlement was made, and they departed.

"By reason of many disturbant persons in Sandwich," a Marshal is chosen to assist the Constable there, and also to give his aid with regard to Barnstable and Yarmouth, in apprehending suspicious persons and other like services.

16. Humphrey Norton * writes from Rhode Island, to Governor Prince of Plymouth. After imputing to him iniquitous motives and actions, and denouncing judgments upon him, he declares: "Thou shalt know to thy griefe, that prophetts of the Lord God wee are, and the God of vengeance is our God."

23. C. Holder and John Copeland † are apprehended, while on their way to meeting at Sandwich. They were carried to Barnstable and there whipped; the 29th taken back to Sandwich, and the next day, out of the jurisdiction.

August 4. A list of people ‡ who had attended Quaker meeting at William Allin's, is handed in and he fined.

September 29. Ordered that the "railing papers" of Humphrey Norton, with the deposition of Christopher Winter relative to the opinions of them, and Norton's reply, be put on public record, and that the said Norton be apprehended and "brought to condign punishment."

Prefatory to the republication of their general laws,§ the Legislature remark: "Although sundry particulars in the judicial law, which was of old enjoyed to the Jews, did more especially (at least in some circumstances) befit their 'Pedagogue,' yet are they, for the main, so exemplary, being grounded on principles of moral equity, as that all men, Christians especially, ought always to have an eye thereunto, in the framing of their political constitutions. Although we hold and do affirm, that both Courts of justice and Magistrates, who are the ministers of the law, are essentially civil; notwithstanding we conceive, that as the Magistrate hath his power from God, so undoubtedly he is to improve it for the honour of God, and that in the upholding of his worship and service, and against the contrary, with due respect also to be had unto those that are really conscientious, though differing and dissenting in some smaller matters. But if any really, or in pretence of conscience shall profess that which eminently tendeth to the inunda-

* Backus, vol. i. p. 321.

† Plym. Col. MS. Rec.

‡ Bishop, p. 179-80.

§ Plym. Col. Laws.

1658.]

tion of civil state and violation of natural bonds, or the overthrow of the churches of God or of his worship, that here prudence is to be improved in the enacting and executing of laws." Such was the real belief and exposition of the Plymouth and most other New England authorities.

"Whereas complaint is made of great abuses in sundry places, of prophaning the Lord's day by travellers both horse and foot, by bearing of burdens, carrying of packs, etc., upon the Lord's day, to the great offence of the godly welafected among us," it is enacted, that each person who so transgresses shall pay 20/., or sit in the stocks four hours, except he "can give a sufficient reason for soe doing."

It is enacted, "that whereas the number of freemen in many places is but small, and the inhabitants of the townships many more, who have equal votes with freemen in the choice of deputies, who being the body of freemen representative together with the Magistrates, have equal votes for the enacting of laws, who by weakness, prejudice, or otherwise, it hath or may come to pass, that very unfit and unworthy persons may be chosen, that cannot answer the Court's trust in such a place; that as all such Courts, as Magistrates and deputies, are to act in making of laws, and being assembled, the Court in the first place take notice of their members, and if they find any unfit for such a trust, that they and the reason thereof be returned to the town from whence they were sent, that they make choice of more fit and able persons to send in their stead as the time shall permit." It is required that persons nominated for freemen shall stand candidates one year; that laws shall be made and repealed by a General Court, elected out of the freemen.

It is ordered, that no Quaker, no opposer of the laws of true worship, of service to the country, shall be admitted a freeman; that whoever is a freeman, and is or becomes a Quaker, or an encourager of such a denomination, or speaks contemptuously of the Court or laws, or is adjudged "grossly scandalous," as a liar, drunkard, or swearer, shall lose his freedom; that they who refuse to take the oath of fidelity shall not vote for public officers.

It is required, that "a fourth part of each military company" go to meeting on the Sabbath, fully equipped for service, from the first of March to the last of November, and that a troop of horse from the several towns, be ready for action. Such preparation was probably made to quell insurrection, apprehended from the influence of Quaker principles.

Whoever are convicted of adultery shall be whipped twice in a severe manner; the first, while the Court which condemns them is in session, and the second, when it shall order. Another part of their punishment for such a crime is, that they shall "wear two capital letters, viz., A D, cut out in cloth, and sewed on their

uppermost garments on their arm or back; and if at any time they shall be taken without the said letters while they are in the government so worn, to be forthwith taken and publicly whipt." How inactive the arm of authority now for the suppression of social immorality to what it was in other days!

It having been an ancient and wholesome order, dated "March the seventh, 1636," that no stranger should reside in the Colony without the consent of the Governor and two Magistrates at least, and that many, contrary to this order, have crept into some townships, who are and may be "a great disturbance of our more peaceable proceedings," it is enacted that such individuals shall have the law executed upon them.

"Whereas sundry persons, both Quakers and others, wander up and down in this Jurisdiction, and follow no lawful calling to earn their own bread, and also use all endeavors to subvert civil state, and to pull down all churches and ordinances of God, to thrust us out of the ways of God, notwithstanding all former laws provided for the contrary," it is ordered, that a workhouse be erected for such persons, and also for "all rebellious children or servants" who will not work, and have not enough to support themselves, and that the preceding individuals shall be confined there, and have no other sustenance than they will earn by their own labor.

Oct. 2. As the Court, at their June session,* appointed Gov. Prince and other Magistrates to examine and redress grievances, endured by ancient inhabitants of Sandwich, as expressed in their petition of August 28th, and finding, from the report of such a Committee, that Ralph Allin, sen., Thomas Ewer, Thomas Greenfield, Richard Kerbey, jr., Henry Saunders, Matthew Allin, John Jenkins, Daniel and Steven Winge, have had no legal admittance into the town and still act in its affairs,—they are commanded to cease from such action, and the like injunction is to be obeyed by "any others besides," who are similarly deficient. It is ordered that no person shall become a dweller in Sandwich or "enjoy the privileges thereof," without the "consent of the Church," and Mr. Thomas Prince or any of the Assistants, whom they shall choose.

Matthew Fuller is fined for asserting, that the law requiring the maintenance of ministers, was enacted through satanic influence. James Wiatt is to be sharply reprov'd "for writing a note about common business on the Lord's day, at least in the evening somewhat too soon."

Robert Harper, Ralph, sen., John, William and Matthew Allin, Edward Perry, Richard Kerbey, jr., Thomas Ewer, William Gifford, Daniel Winge and John Jenkins, are fined £5 each for refusing to take the oath of allegiance.

"The Court having taken into their serious consideration† some

* Plym. Col. MS. Rec.

† Ibid.

1658.]

signs of God's displeasure, manifested by his afflicting hand on the country, particularly by his visitation of many families and persons with sickness and weakness, and particularly by the unseasonableness of the weather for bringing the fruits of the earth for our own food and stover for our cattle, as also by letting loose a scourge upon us, those fretting gangrene-like doctrines and persons, commonly called Quakers, and not hitherto so effectually blessing our endeavours as we have desired, for preventing their infection and disturbance, as also by the too much prevailing of a spirit of division both in church and civil affairs, to the great dishonour of God and discomfort one of another ;"—therefore "a day of humiliation" is appointed to be observed on the 21st instant.

In their orders to the Major, the Court say, "in case of any sudden approach of an enemy or *insurrection within ourselves*," you will command the forces accordingly.

November 5. John Copeland and Josiah Coal* are taken from a Friend's house at Sandwich and imprisoned.

December 3. "As Quakers repair to Sandwich† from other places by sea, coming in at Monument with a boat, which practices, if continued, the Court conceiveth may prove of dangerous consequence," it is therefore ordered, that George Barlow,‡ marshal of Sandwich, arrest every such boat and all persons, who come, to his knowledge, at Monument or any place on the coast within his jurisdiction. James Skiffe is summoned to appear at the March Court, and answer for traducing the law, which requires that an oath of fidelity be taken.

Richard Bear may be released from prison, and appear at the same session, if he give security for his appearance.

10. Cudworth writes to a friend§ in London. He states how, that for two years, he had, as a Magistrate, opposed various transgressions of Government, as to restrictions and punishment for religious offences ; and that, since the prosecution of Quakers, he had opposed it with firm resistance. He observes, that he and Hatherly were left out of office last election, and himself had lost his captaincy, for such a course. He proceeds : "New Plymouth saddle is on the Bay-Horse, (viz. Boston,) we shall follow them on the career. They (Quakers) have many meetings, and many adherents, almost the whole town of Sandwich is adhering towards them. Our civil Powers are so exercised in things appertaining to the kingdom of Christ in matters of Religion and Conscience, that we have no time to effect any thing, that tends to the promotion of the Civil Weal ; but now we must have a State Religion ; a State

* Bishop, p. 180.

† Plym. Col. MS. Rec.

‡ Bishop, in N. E. Judged, p. 389, says that Barlow had preached at Exeter and elsewhere ; that he became a lawyer and came to Plymouth Patent.

§ Neal's N. E. vol. i. p. 336. Besse, vol. ii. p. 191-5.

Ministry, a State way of maintenance. We must all go to the public place of meeting, in the Parish where he dwells or be presented. I am informed of sixty or eighty last Court presented for not coming to public meetings," which was done by the revival of what is "called Thomas Hinckley's law." "Through mercy, we have yet among us worthy Mr. Dunstar, whom the Lord hath made boldly to bear testimony against the spirit of persecution."

William Newland* for being at the meeting of the Quakers, eighteen times, is fined £9, and for his wife, having been there twenty times, £10, and for entertaining John Copeland and another Quaker, he is fined £5.

About this time, the amount of fines † taken from Joseph, George, Ralph, sen., Ralph, jr., William and Matthew Allen, Robert Harper, Edward Perry, William Gifford, William Newland, John Jenkins, Henry Howland, Thomas Greenfield, Richard Kirbey, Thomas Ewer, Daniel Winge, Peter Gaunt, Michael Turner and John Newland, for refusing to take legal oaths and attend public worship, amounted to £660 7 6.

The Assistants order † George Barlow, marshal of Sandwich, to apprehend all Quakers who endeavor to enter the Colony by means of boats, and to take the sails from these and secure them until legal action shall be had in the case. A reason of this course is, that Quakers were in the habit of frequenting Sandwich by coming into Manomet by sea.

1659. February 27. After a life of eminence and suffering, Henry Dunster § dies at Scituate. Mather says, that he so departed "in such harmony of affection with the good men who had been the authors of his removal from Cambridge, that he by his will ordered his body to be carried" thither "for its burial, and bequeathed legacies to those very persons." Having married the widow of Rev. Jose Glover, Mr. Dunster had three sons by her, David, Henry, and Jonathan. Summoned to the bar where diversity of opinion on the symbols of grace in the soul, is rectified, and to the world where such signs are realized in their signification of unalloyed holiness, we trust that he participates in perfect and abounding peace.

March 1. "Whereas the Court || takes notice of sundry of the inhabitants of Yarmouth to be ready to discharge their duty according to their abilities for the incouragement and support of the ministry of the Word among them, which this Court doth very well resent from them, and cannot but as ill resent the contrary in such of them as do neglect their duty therein," they order that £40 or £50 annually be raised for such a purpose by free contributions, and that, if any refuse to do this, they shall be legally

* Plym. Col. Book of Indian Deeds, Treas. acct.

† Besse, vol. ii. p. 195.

‡ Plym. Col. Rec. § Magnalia, b. iii. p. 367, ed. 1820. Farmer's N. E. Gen.

|| Plym. Col. Rec.

1659.]

assessed and compelled to pay proportionably "to what others of their neighbours, who are ready to do their duties in the premises, have freely engaged."

John Smith, jr., of Plymouth, wife of Henry Howland, Zoeth Howland and his wife, John Soule and the wife of George Soule, of Duxbury, Arthur Howland and his wife, of Marshfield, Mrs. Cudworth, good-wife Coleman, William Parker and his wife, of Scituate, are each fined 10/. for "frequently absenting themselves from the public worship of God."

June. Nicholas Davis,* of this Colony, is imprisoned at Boston as one of the Quakers. He was subsequently banished, with others, on pain of death, not to appear in Massachusetts after the 14th of September.

7. James Cudworth and James Skiffe,† returned as Deputies to the General Court, are not allowed to take their seats, because they favored such a denomination.

"Forasmuch as many persons ‡ are greatly corrupted with the Quakers' doctrines by reading their bookes, writings, or epistles, which are sent and distributed into sundry places within this jurisdiction," it is ordered that such publications be seized.

It is ordered that a proposition be made to the Quakers that none of them shall be fined who will engage to move out of the Colony in six months, and that whoever of them are unable to meet the charge of removal shall receive "some supply out of the Treasury."

Every person frequently absent from the public worship, "approved by this government," shall pay 10/. for each offence.

Magistrates shall mitigate the penalty for refusing to take the oath of fidelity in the cases of individuals who are in low circumstances.

In accordance with the rule§ adopted the last year, it is ordered that William Newland, of Sandwich, Henry Howland, of Duxbury, John Barnes, of Plymouth, and Richard Beare, of Marshfield, be disfranchised, and that they appear at the Court of Assistants next August, to be censured accordingly. They were "disfranchised of their freedom of this Corporation," by the Legislature of October 3; the two first for sustaining the Quakers, and the two last for immorality.

"Whereas,|| some have desired, and others thinke it meet to permitt persons to frequent the Quaker meetings to endeavor to reduce them from the error of their wayes, the Court considering the premises doe permitt John Smith, of Barnstable, Isaac Robinson, John Chipman, and John Cooke, of Plymouth, or any two

* Bishop's N. E. Judged, p. 114.

† Plym. Laws and Liberties.

|| Plym. Laws and Liberties.

† Plym. Col. Rec.

§ Plym. Col. Rec.

of them, to attend the said meetings for the ends aforesaid, att any time betwixt this Court and the next October Court."

Edward Perry, John Newland, Robert Harper, Richard Kerbey, jr., Ralph, sen., William, John, Matthew and George Allin, Thomas Ewer, and John Jenkins,* are fined £5 each for refusing to take the oath of fidelity.

September 7. The Governor had had £5 put in his hands by the Commissioners of the mission,† for distribution among Christian Indians.

October 6. "Forasmuch as our people of Sandwich,‡ called Quakers, have had by them many papers and writings, that are false, scandalous and pernicious to the Government," George Barlow, the marshal, is ordered to take a man or two with him, and search the houses of William Newland and Ralph Allin of Sandwich, and of Nicholas Davis of Barnstable, for such papers, and bring them either to the Court, Governor or Assistants.

Thomas Ewer, for "his tumultuous and seditious carriages and speeches" in Court, is sentenced to lie neck and heels during their pleasure, but being informed that he had a rupture, they omit such punishment. They however assure him, that if he do not behave more orderly in their presence, and rule his tongue, they shall send him out of the Colony.

William Leddra and Peter Peirson, who had been imprisoned at Plymouth some time, are brought before the Court and asked if they would leave the Colony and return no more; and pay the jailor's fees. They replied in the negative and were remanded to prison. The record states, as pertaining to the law, "in agitation about which, has Peter Peirson openly denied the humanity of Christ."

Edward Perry, John Newland, Ralph, William, Matthew, George, and Joseph Allin, Daniel Winge, Thomas Ewer, Richard Kerbey, jr., and Robert Harper, refusing to take oath of fidelity to the State of England and to this Government, are fined £5 apiece. John Jenkins of Sandwich, who sent word that he was of like mind with them, is fined an equal amount.

The following individuals§ are fined. Thomas Pope, 10/.; Thomas Butler, £2 10/.; Richard Kerbey, jr., £5; Stephen Wing, £1; Edward Perry, £1.

December 6. As Thomas Greenfield,|| who lately came from England to Rhode Island, brought Mary Dyer to Plymouth November 14, contrary to law, he had been imprisoned as a foreign Quaker. But it being made known that he owned a house and land at Sandwich, he is released and his fees ordered to be taken out of his property. He is also required to pay for Mrs. Dyer's

* Plym. Laws and Liberties.

† Plym. Col. Rec.

‡ MS. Com'rs Rec. Hazard, p. 406.

§ Plym. Treasury Rec. || Plym. Col. Rec.

1660.]

transportation back to Rhode Island and the cost of her imprisonment.

This year, Edward Bulkley moves from Marshfield to Concord, and there succeeds his father in the ministry.

1660. March 7. The Court remarks "the scandals and falsehoods" in a letter from Isaac Robinson, prejudicial to the Government, and an encouragement to Quakers. Though by law he is liable to be disfranchised, yet his case is deferred till further inquiry. This man was son of the Rev. John Robinson, who died in Leyden. He was appointed the last year to endeavor the conversion of Quakers; but it seems that the reverse occurred, and he turned to their faith. James Cudworth, charged with disaffection to authority, promoting the cause of Quakerism in a written paper, and sending a letter to England, is ordered to appear on bond of £500.

William Leddra and Peter Pierson,* brought from prison, are asked if they will leave the Colony "in some convenient time," and return no more. The former answers, that his confinement is unjust and illegal, and that it is likely, if he were free, he would depart "in the will of God ere long." He is assured, if he will engage to go from the jurisdiction by such a time, he may have his liberty, but he declines this engagement. The same proposals are offered to Pierson with a similar result. They are both recommended with the privilege that, whenever they express a wish to the Magistrates, Cudworth and Bradford, for enlargement so that they may depart from the Colony, it shall be allowed. The Court were evidently anxious to liberate these prisoners, that they might escape the censure from increasing friends to Quakers of keeping them confined in the winter season. On April 17, Leddra and Pierson give notice of their readiness to comply with the condition, and are set at liberty.

May 1. John Williams is called before the Court of Assistants at Plymouth and required to give bond of £40 to answer for entertaining a foreign Quaker, and having a meeting with him at his house. He refuses to be so bound, and denies the right of such Magistrates to make this demand. On June 6, he is fined 40/., though the collection of it is suspended, in hopes that he may reform. He is displaced from his office of ensign. John Smith and wife of Plymouth are accused, because they had a similar meeting at their house. Henry Howland is tried on a like charge. Robert Bartlett is arraigned for speaking contemptuously "of the ordinance of singing Psalms." He makes an acknowledgment; being sharply admonished, he is discharged.

June 6. A copy of the letter forwarded by Cudworth to England, being laid before the General Court, they pass the following

* Plym. Col. Rec.

sentence: He "being found a manifest opposer of the laws of the Government, as appears by sundry expressions in a letter directed by him to the Governor and otherwise, is sentenced, according to law, to be disfranchised of the freedom of this Corporation." The Court pass an order of the same kind, relative to Isaac Robinson, as "a manifest opposer of the laws," expressed in a letter to the Governor and others. Both of these persons were restored, July 1673, as freemen.

8. Fines are imposed.* Henry Dillingham, 15/.; Thomas Butler and wife Dorothy, £2; and Joseph Allin, £2 10. For still declining to take the oath of fidelity, the following persons are individually assessed £5: Edward Perry, John Newland, Ralph, William, Matthew, George and Joseph Allen, William Gifford, Daniel Wing, Thomas Ewer, Richard Kerbey, jr., and Robert Harper.

Fines laid on persons of Sandwich and to be collected, amount to £116 4. Similar assessments are made on John Smith, jr. 10/., John Soule, 10/., Zoeth Howland and wife, £1, Arthur Howland and wife, £1 10, William Parker, 10/., Mrs. Cudworth, 10/., and good-wife Coleman, 10/.

10. Several acts are passed.† The first begins thus: "Whereas there hath severall persons come into this Government commonly called Quakers, whose doctrine and practices manifestly tend to subversion of the fundamentals of Christian Religion, Church order and the Civill peace of this Government," none are allowed to entertain them on penalty of five pounds, or be whipped for each default. Every person of such a denomination, entering the Colony, shall be imprisoned. If any refuse to leave the jurisdiction, they shall be whipped and sent away. Penalties, as to money and confinement in stocks and cages, shall be enforced, for holding, permitting and attending their meetings. The apprehension of them shall be extended from Constables to all the inhabitants, who may meet with such foreigners. No person shall supply them with horses, and whatever of these animals are brought into the Colony by them, shall be forfeited. A reason assigned is, that they may, by such animals conveyed, more speedily poison the people with their tenets, and more easily escape from pursuers. Whoever brings any Quaker into the jurisdiction, shall pay £10 for the offence. Especially in reference to this denomination, cages are ordered to be erected in the various towns, particularly at Sandwich, Duxbury, Marshfield and Scituate.

"If any overseer ‡ of any squadron in any milletary companie, shall neglect to take notice of and present a true list of such as are defective in bringing their arms to the meeting on the Lord's day shalbee fined three pounds."

* Plym. Treasury Rec.

† Plym. Col. Laws.

‡ Plym. Col. Rec.

1660.]

13. William Sabine, of Rehoboth, gives testimony. On his way home from Dedham, he met with two Quakers, who discoursed about those of their denomination lately executed in Boston. Asked why they did not attempt a rescue, their answer was, that they were desirous to do it, but they had no leader. The deponent then said, there was Major William Hathorn, who was more for liberty than some other men, to whom they might have applied to ascertain if he would not head them. Their reply was, Hang him; he would run with the stream, for the great stream run the other way. One of them remarked, that the Government had taken £10 from him for his wife's attendance on Quaker meetings, but he hoped to have it again ere long; that they had made over all their estates, except land, to other men, and that should lay. The witness observed, the authorities would take that also. They rejoined, they should know how to recover it ere long, and that they were acquainted with the ruler's intentions and writings in England. Questioned how they obtained such information, they stated, that their denomination had active men, who broke open letters, took copies, and sealed them again. They instanced a communication from the Deputy Governor of Massachusetts to one Mr. Sturgeon in England, as having been thus served, and thereby they had knowledge of what he wrote. They asserted, that the marshal of Salem was pictured up in the Exchange of London, with his bald head, standing behind a bush, looking after a hog and cow.

Having been informed that Mr. Ling, one of the merchant adventurers who helped lay the foundation of Plymouth Colony, had been reduced to extreme poverty, the Court vote, that twenty pounds be sent to him, as some relief, and that whatever may be the deficiency in such a sum, after contributions have been made in the several towns, shall be made up from the public treasury.

John Newland* is cautioned by the Court, because he was charged with saying, that "he was holy as God is holy and as perfect as God is perfect," and so should remain perpetually. Daniel Butler, for rescuing a strange Quaker from marshal Barlow, and for breaking away when arrested, is sentenced to be whipped. Thomas Butler and his wife Dorothy, charged with turbulence when search was made for their son Daniel at their house, are fined 40/. Joseph Allen, for attending a Quaker meeting, and for making disturbance at public worship on the Sabbath, at Scituate, is fined 10/. for the former and 40/. for the latter. Edward Perry, John Newland, Ralph, William, Matthew, George and Joseph Allin, William Gifford, Daniel Wing, Thomas Ewer, Richard Kerbey, jr., and Robert Harper, appear, as summoned according to law, and refuse to take the oath of fidelity. On the 8th of October eight of them are convicted.

* Plym. Col. Rec.

August 7. William Parker of Scituate is fined 40/. for a Quaker meeting held at his house, and £5 for entertaining Wenlock Christopherson there. William Newland is required to pay an amount of the last sum on a like accusation. Wenlock Christopherson is arraigned. He is ordered to leave the Colony forthwith. He declines, and is therefore imprisoned. Altering his purpose soon after, he was released.

September 10. Richard Bourne is allowed * by the Commissioners of the United Colonies, as agents of the Missionary Society in England, £20 as his salary for preaching a weekly lecture among the Indians.

This year, Nicholas Baker† succeeds Rev. Mr. Chauncey as minister of Scituate. He was from Hingham, which he had represented in General Court, 1636 and 1638. In 1672, his people gave him a grant of land. He was slandered, 1677, by John Rance, as a false prophet. While afflicted with the stone, which occasioned his death, August 22, 1678, aged sixty-eight, he remarked, "A mercy of God it is no worse." He left a wife, Grace, and sons, Samuel, Nathaniel and Nicholas. Though he had no public education, he was talented, intelligent, and worthy of his calling as a minister of the Gospel.

October 2. The following persons are each fined 10/. for attendance at a Quaker meeting. Robert Harper and wife, Joseph, Benjamin, William and Matthew Allen, John Newland and wife, William Gifford, wife of Henry Dillingham, William Newland and wife, John Soule of Duxbury, Rodolphus Elmes of Scituate, Peter Gaunt, Dorothy Butler, Obadiah Butler, John Jenkins, Richard Kerbey, sen. and jr., Joan [?] Swift, John Smith, jr., and wife, Deborah and Lydia Hicks, three last of Plymouth. Henry Howland is fined £4 for a Quaker meeting at his house. James Cudworth is questioned by the Court for a letter, sent by him to John Brown, reflecting on their enactments. Christopherson, having been committed for coming again into the Colony, and behaving himself "turbulently and insolently before the Court," is sentenced to be "laid neck and heels," required to depart, but refusing, is ordered to be whipped and sent out of the jurisdiction.

In accordance with submission to Charles II., the Legislature order, that all legal processes be administered in his Majesty's name. Their hope for institutions so free in England as they wished, is disappointed.

The Church of Plymouth town had some of its members much influenced by the opinions of the Quakers. But only one of its families united with them. Morton records "how easily might these have ruined this poor flock, if the Lord had not interposed; improving our good elder, Cushman, as a special instrument in

* Hazard, vol. ii. p. 431.

† Baylies' Plymouth, vol. ii. p. 264, 2d part.

1658.]

this worthy work, by teaching the will of God every Lord's day, plainly, powerfully and profitably, and seconding the same by a blameless life and conversation." Such service was rendered in compliance with a rule of this church in their first formation, "to choose none for governing elders but such as are able to teach."*

John Smith† had officiated as minister at Barnstable. Thomas Hinckley, afterwards governor, and others, did not harmonize with him, and therefore he left the place. Having taken his dismissal, he went to Long Island and officiated there. Subsequently he preached in New Jersey, where he left children. He finally came back to Sandwich and settled as pastor of the church. Here, 1675, he had a grant of land at Penguin Hole, in this quarter. He left descendants. Though called to dispense the Word of inspiration in parishes distant from each other, he served One, able to accompany him everywhere and bless his labors abundantly.

MAINE.

1658. May 26. On complaints of disorder at the Eastward, the Bay Authorities empower‡ Commissioners to take the people there under their jurisdiction, and to repair, for such a purpose, to Black Point, Richmond's Island, and Casco, or some place in York County.

As John Bonighton endeavored to prevent the people of Saco from coming under the Government of Massachusetts, and refused to do so himself, the Legislature there proclaim him a rebel, but give him time for submission till the first of August next; but if he remain obstinate after this date, £20 are offered for his being brought to Boston, alive or dead.

July 14. The report of the Commissioners appointed to receive the inhabitants at Casco and the neighborhood, under Massachusetts, is now dated. The submission was made the day before, at the house of Robert Jordan. It was accompanied with the privilege, that all inhabitants who had not appeared might become freemen on taking the oath of allegiance, without being church members as in the Bay. It was accepted by the Bay Authorities in their October session. Among the subscribers to it is Bonighton, who had been outlawed. He receives pardon, under the amnesty granted to all who had resisted the laws.

October 27. A petition to Cromwell from the people of York, Kittery, Wells, Saco, and Cape Porpoise, is dated.§ The peti-

* Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. 1 s. vol. iv. p. 118, 121.

188. Baylies, vol. ii. p. 283.

† Ibid. 1 s. vol. iii. p.

‡ MS. Gen. Ct. Rec.

§ Hutchinson's

Coll. p. 314, 7.

tioners mention the claims laid before him by some Patentees to their soil. They assert their disinclination for any change of their present rulers. Their words are: "Because changes in these tymes may prove dangerous, where discontented spirits wayte for such opportunityes, which have not beene the best part of that small number amongst us, who were professed royalists, whose breathings that way, since our subjecting to this authority, have beene so far stifled, as that the activity of such spirits cannot fynde any, or the least opportunity of motion. Our persons and estates stand under the security of watchfull governors, the fathers of our nourishment and peace, whose pyous care not onely tollerates but maynetaynes us the purest institutions for the encouragement of godly persons, both ministers and others, to reside amongst us, but changing it may throw us back into our former estate, to live under negligent masters and the danger of a confused anarchy." They proceed to say, that, neglected by the Patentees in England, they "sunk into great distractions," and were forced to seek the protection of the Bay Authorities. They add: "We conceive the confyrming the Massachusetts pattent in its due extent, in respect of its antiquity, nuls all after pattents whatsoever, as fully in titles of lands as of government, from both which we expect equal freedome by theyr just interests and our owne subjection." They refer his Highness to John Wheelwright, then in England, for information respecting their character and condition.

December 25. Leverett, the agent for Massachusetts, writes home that he presented this petition to Richard Cromwell, whose father, Oliver, had died the 3d of September. He remarks, that Godfrey was prosecuting his claim, which such a document notices, and had obtained a reference of the question.

1659. March 1. The General Court express their approbation of some in Yarmouth, who are ready to contribute for the support of the Gospel; but, as others were not so benevolently inclined, the whole town are to be collected, and the matter laid before them, and then, if any are unwilling to pay, they shall be taxed and have their property taken in a just proportion. They require such an assessment to be made annually until differently ordered.

May 9. The Missionary Corporation write* to the Commissioners: "Because we are informed that there is want of fit and able persons to carry on the work amongst the Indians residing towards the East, we have thought good, at the request of Mr. Edward Godfrey, to recommend unto you one Mr. John Brock, a person unknown to us, whom he affirms to be expert in the Indian tongue, and fitly qualified for the purpose aforesaid, which we leave unto yourselves to judge and to do therein, as you think good." On September 7, the Commissioners write to the Corporation:

* MS. Com'rs Rec. Hazard, vol. i. p. 403.

1660.]

"We never understood that Mr. Brock, the person recommended to you by Mr. Godfrey, had any inclination or opportunity to be serviceable in the work; yet, upon your intimation, have desired Mr. Eliot to speak with him." Williamson states, that this minister was an able and faithful pastor of the Isles of Shoals from 1650 to 1662. He was born at Stradbroke; came to New England 1637; graduated at Harvard College 1646; ordained November 13, 1662, at Reading.

June 9. The trade at Kennebeck dull, because trouble had existed with the Indians * there; some of whom had been killed, and others carried away. This was adverse to the proposed mission there.

July 4. The County Court at York pass the ensuing order:†
 "Being informed that the inhabitants of Falmouth are at present destitute of any public means of edification on the Lord's day, and by reason of the people not meeting together for their mutual furtherance in the ways of God, great advantage is given unto the common enemy, joining with the corruption of such as have no delight to sanctify God's holy rest, the neglect whereof being an inlet to all profaneness, and cannot but be provoking to the jealousy of Him, who is the fountain of our peace and welfare; for the prevention whereof these are, therefore, to require all the inhabitants of the said place, from time to time, in one or more convenient place or places, to meet together on the Lord's day, for their mutual edification and furtherance in the knowledge and the fear of the Lord, by the reading of God's Word, and of the labors of known and orthodox Divines, singing of Psalms, and praying together, or such other way as the Lord shall enable them, till the favor of God shall so far smile upon them, as to give them better and more public means for their edification."

1660. May 29. Robert Gutch, having purchased lands of Robinhood, at Bath, immediately settles them. He joined the Church of Salem, Mass., in 1641, and was made freeman the next year. He was a preacher, and officiated in a church which stood at the upper part of Arrousic or Arrowsick Island. He continued here till 1679, when he was drowned while crossing the river.‡

30. A petition of Falmouth says:§ "God begun to answer our prayers and send us a faithful dispenser of the Word," which they hope will be continued among them, if "these distractions doe not discourage him." The difficulties, here mentioned, had reference to claims made by Cleaves and Jordan to their territory, which they pray the Bay Authorities to have terminated.

31. The Legislature, having had a statement laid before them,

* MS. Plym. Ct. Rec.

† Maine Hist. Coll. vol. ii. p. 204.

‡ Willis's Portland, Part i. p. 98.

§ Willis's Portland, Part i. p. 99.

that part of the people of Wells were disaffected with Mr. Fletcher, jun.,* as their minister, and had been so for two years, order the parties to appear for the trial of their case at the York Court. On October 16, they decide, in view of the evidence, that Mr. Fletcher cease to labor among them, and that the inhabitants "procure some godly, able minister." But on May 17, of the next year, his friends petitioned that he might continue his preaching among them.

The emigrants from Newbury, at their new Plantation on Saco River, are exempted from taxes six years, if they have twenty families and an approved minister settled over them, within four years.

John Thorpe,† who was a preacher at Scarborough in 1661, is complained of for irregular deportment, to the Massachusetts Legislature, and is ordered to answer before them.

Near this date, Henry Gardner, merchant, publishes a pamphlet in London. His motive in doing it was to aid in regaining New Hampshire and Maine from Massachusetts, for heirs of the original and loyal Patentees. He mentions Godfrey, who had gone to England for a similar object. In the expression of his honest, though prejudiced views of the Bay Authorities, he uses the subsequent language. They, "acting as a free State, have by those proceedings cast an odium on all that vast country. This may suffice to shew the unjust proceedings of the said gentlemen of the Colony of Boston, against the said gentlemen of those Eastern parts, who were not all of their tenents, they being of a contrary opinion."

June 13. Deputies from the towns in Plymouth‡ Colony, chosen to act on the question as to what shall be done with their plantation at Kennebeck, since the lessees of its fur trade were likely to be much endangered, because the Indians there were in a state of hostilities, agree to the ensuing particulars. Governor Prince and his partners, "things being as they are," may "call home their estates and servants there when they shall see cause." "The country or any allowed of," may go thither when they please and engage in the trade there. If the plantation can bring £500 sterling for the Colony's interest, it shall be sold. Thus the expectation, that the patent would be a nursery for Puritan religion as well as for successful traffic to strengthen the Colony, puts on a dark aspect.

As Robert Jordan, in last July, "after exercise was ended upon the Lord's day, in the house of Mrs. Mackworth, in Falmouth, did baptize three children of Nathaniel Wallis of the same town," the Legislature of the Bay "judgeth it necessary to bear witness against such irregular practice." They order Jordan to desist from

* MS. Mass. Gen. Ct. Rec.

† Ibid.

‡ Plym. Col. Rec.

1658.]

it and appear before them, at their next session, to answer. This revival of Episcopacy by Jordan and his friends, was undoubtedly from the heart, which they took as the same's having already occurred in England, and from the accusations against Massachusetts before the royal authorities in London.

October 2. As a specimen of the manner in which Plymouth* Colony held their settlement at Kennebeck, Thomas Atkins, a resident of the latter place, is tried before the General Court of the former at Plymouth, for a capital offence, but was cleared. But for an assault on his daughter, committed while he was intoxicated, he was sentenced to be whipped and then liberated to return home.

December 19. The instructions from the Bay to their agent in London,† refer to the matter of extending their bounds in Maine, as one of apprehended difficulty. Godfrey, an energetic advocate for the restoration of the territory, which had so changed hands, to the heir of Sir Fernando Gorges, had been some time in England for such a purpose.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

1658. Joshua Moody is supposed to have begun his ministerial labors at Portsmouth, early in this year. He was son of William Moody, born in England 1633, and graduated at Harvard College in 1653. On March 5, 1660, the town voted to settle him.

April 20. Wheelwright indites a letter to his church at Hampton. Hutchinson says,‡ that he had been several years in England and lived in the neighborhood of Sir Henry Vane, who deeply sympathized with him, when banished for his opinions, and who had greatly noticed him since his arrival in the kingdom. Though Vane was disaffected with Cromwell, yet the latter desired a visit from Wheelwright, whose language follows: "I have lately been at London about five weeks. My Lord Protector was pleased to send one of his guard for me, with whom I had discourse in private about the space of an hour. All his speeches seemed to me very orthodox and gracious, no way favoring sectaries. Knowing what opposition I met withal from some, whom I shall not name, he exhorted me to perseverance in these very words, as I remember,—Mr. Wheelwright, stand fast in the Lord, and you shall see that these notions will vanish into nothing,—or to that effect. Many men, especially the sectaries, exclaim against him with open mouth, but I hope he is a gracious man. I saw the Lord Mayor and sheriff with their officers carry sundry fifth-monarchy men to

* Plym. Col. Rec. † Hutch. Coll. p. 330. ‡ Hutch. vol. i. 3 ed. p. 178.

prison, as Mr. Carr, Mr. Day, with others who used to meet together in Colman street, to preach and pray against the Lord Protector and the present power." Wheelwright was an intimate acquaintance with Cromwell in college. The latter remarked, that he could remember the time when he was more afraid of meeting Wheelwright at foot-ball than he had since been of meeting an army in the field, for he was sure of being *tripped up* by him.

October. William Marston of Hampton, aged 70, for having two books, John Lilburn's Resurrection and William Dewsbury's Mighty Day of the Lord, in his possession, and for absence from worship, is heavily fined. In the winter, he was imprisoned fourteen days, for carrying provisions to the Southwicks, still confined, from their relatives in Salem.

1659. May 4. Seaborn, son of John Cotton, is ordained * minister at Hampton. The date of this service has been assigned to 1660, but Hull's diary gives the other. Mr. Cotton was born at sea, while his father and mother were on their passage to Boston, and hence his Christian name. He graduated at Harvard 1651, and October 7, 1655, he took a dismission from the first church of Boston to preach for the church of Weathersfield. He married Dorothy, daughter of Governor Bradstreet.

May 15. Capt. Thomas Bond† brings two females, being Quakers, from Jamaica to Piscataqua. 19th, on trial, he pleads ignorance of the law, obligates himself to keep them on board, and that they shall not converse with other persons, until he departs with them for England.

September. William Robinson and Marmaduke Stevenson, though banished from the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, on pain of death, visit‡ Piscataqua with Edward Wharton and another, to spread the influence of their principles. They returned the next month to Boston, and braved the penalty against them.

1660. November 8. Robert Tufton Mason having petitioned the King for the restoration of New Hampshire, as heir of the original proprietor, a report is made by Sir Geoffrey Palmer, the Attorney General, in favor of his plea. This movement is encouraged by the ascendancy of the royalists in the mother country, and their evident purpose to support the interests of their friends in New as well as in Old England.

RHODE ISLAND.

1658. March 13. The Assembly write to the Confederate Commissioners in reply to a letter from them, dated the 25th of

* Besse, vol. ii. p. 195.

† Mass. MS. Papers.

‡ Bishop, p. 117-9.

1658.]

September. They mention * the Quakers, "lately arrived in these parts of the world, who are generally conceived pernicious, either intentionally or at leastwise in effect, even to the corrupting of good manners, and disturbing the common peace and societies of the places where they arise or resort unto." They further remark, that "in case said people who are here, or shall arise or come among us, do refuse to submit to the doing all duties, as training, watching, and such other engagements as are upon members of civil societies," they shall have the matter laid before the supreme authority of England for direction.

May 11. Horred Gardner, the mother of a large family at Newport, appears,† with her babe, at Weymouth, to deliver a religious message. She was carried to Boston, whipped and imprisoned for a fortnight. A girl, Mary Stanton, who accompanied her, suffered in like manner.

19. Under this date, the Legislature of Massachusetts discharge William Arnold, William Carpenter, and all other inhabitants‡ of Patuxet, according to their petition, from their jurisdiction. They, however, hold Arnold answerable for proceedings under his commission of 1643.

20. About this date, Thomas Harris, of Rhode Island, appears in a congregation of Boston,§ and, after the minister "had done, warned the people of the dreadful day of the Lord, which was coming upon that town and country." He was imprisoned, whipped next day, confined eleven days more, during which he was whipped twice severely, because he refused to work.

October 2. Katharine Scott, from Providence, a respectable woman, and the mother of many children,|| had visited Boston to sympathize with Holden and his two friends when punished, is committed to prison, and whipped ten stripes. When she was told that a law was to be passed soon for hanging Quakers, she replied, "If God call us, woe be to us if we come not. And I question not but He whom we love will make us not to count our lives dear unto ourselves, for the sake of his name."

19. The Bay Legislature allow John Greene, sen., of Warwick, to visit his friends there,¶ in the course of next summer, "he behaving himself peaceably and inoffensively."

November 5. Thomas Olney, Samuel Gorton, John Crandal, and John Trip, as a Committee of the Assembly, prepare a letter for Rev. John Clark, in London. Their words follow: "We have now a new occasion given us by an old spirit, with respect to the Colonies around us, who seem to be offended with us, because a sort of people, called by the name of Quakers, who are come amongst us, who have raised up divers, who, at present, seem

* Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. 2 s. vol. vii. p. 82.

† Mass. MS. Gen. Ct. Rec.

|| Besse, vol. ii. p. 189, 90.

† Besse, vol. ii. p. 184.

§ Besse, vol. ii. p. 185.

¶ MS. Mass. Gen. Ct. Rec.

to be of their spirit, whereat the Colonies about us seem to be offended with us, being the said people have their liberty with us, are entertained in our houses or any of our Assemblies; and for the present we have found no just cause to charge them with the breach of the civil peace. Only they are constantly going forth amongst them about us, and vex and trouble them about their religion and spiritual state, though they return with many a foul scar in their bodies for the same, and the offence our neighbors take against us is because we take not some course against the said people, either to repel them from amongst us, or take such courses against them as themselves do, who are in fear lest their religion should be corrupted by them. Concerning which displeasure, that they seem to take, it was expressed to us in a solemn letter, written by the Commissioners of the United Colonies at their sitting, as though they would either bring us to act according to their scantling, or else take some course to do us greater displeasure." They then desire the agent to be vigilant, lest complaint should be made by the said Colonies to the Protector, and, as their language is, "plead our cause in such sort as that we may not be compelled to exercise any civil power over men's consciences,* so long as human orders, in point of civility, are not corrupted and violated."

1659. March 11. The General Council order that Proclamation of his Highness Richard, Lord Protector, be made † on next Tuesday at the head of each military band in every town, with the addition, "that we do joyfully accept of his said Highness succeeding in that dignity and power of Protectorship."

May 17. General Court of Commissioners order a letter for the Lord Protector, expressing gratitude to his deceased father and to himself for favor towards their Colony. They recommend to his notice Mr. Clark, their agent in England.

They require, that Indians convicted of robbery, stealing, pilfering, etc., to the value of 20/., and unable to pay all charges presently, shall be sold to "any foreign country of English subjects;" but if under 20/., they shall be whipped not above fifteen stripes.

June. William Robinson and Marmaduke Stevenson go ‡ from Rhode Island to Massachusetts, where, supposing themselves divinely called to trample upon the law of banishment, they were executed 27th of October. Soon after they left and were imprisoned at Boston, Patience Scott, of about eleven years old, went thither from her father's house at Providence, to bear witness against the persecution of the Quakers. Mary Dyer, leaving her husband and children at Rhode Island, also went to sympathize with the prisoners. Both of these females were committed to jail.

July 4. From the diary of Hull, we have the succeeding ex-

* Backus, vol. i. p. 313-6.

† R. Is. Rec. p. 406-7.

‡ Bishop, N. E. Judged, p. 114.

1660.]

tracts: "I went vp to Pattaquamscott in Narragansett vpon Monday morning. Lodged that night at Providence, next morning to Warwick, and, the boat being on ground, tarried at Mr. Smith's most of that day; discoursed with Gorton, who denieth the Lord's Christ. At even, I went to Rhode Island, lodged at Mr. Wilbore's; next night with Mr. Porter. Vpon fifth day, went in a boat to Pattaquamscott, there also was forced to spend the Sabbath in discourse with Mr. Porter, who holds that all shall be saved."

August 23. General Court of Commissioners pass the following order: "Forasmuch as we have received letters from our agent, Mr. John Clark, out of England, that the present government thereof is by the old Parliament as it was six years since, without a single person or house of Peers; it is ordered, by this present Court, that all warrants and summons shall be issued forth in the name of the supreme authority of the Commonwealth of England.

The Assembly write to the Commissioners: "Wee doubt not but yow well remember about twenty-two yeares since many of ourselves had our aboade with yow, and because we could not comply with yow in your proceedings in banishment, etc., and ourselves beinge desirous of liberty of conscience for all conscientious men in the worship of God, and were such men as lived justly and uprightly in the kingdom of men, but this would not be granted nor by your Courts tolerated: And soe were some banished, and others forced and constrayned to departe, and thereby caused to cast themselves wholly upon the Lord, in seekeinge to finde a rest in the wilderness." They go on to relate, that the Parliament, in process of time, not only granted them a Charter of civil government, "but were pleased also to enlarge our accommodations, vnderstandinge the straytnes of our confynes." They observe that, in this way, they are entitled to Narraganset territory, which the Commissioners considered as not belonging to them.

September 6. William Dyer addresses a letter to the Assistants in Boston, relative to his wife, Mary, imprisoned there as a Quaker. He strongly advocates her cause and deplors his and her sufferings, and warns them of impending retribution. He mentions her as having returned from England within a recent period. He refers to a "booke lately come ouer to Mr. Cunnigrane from his wife in England, intituled the Popish Inquisition erected in New England, which how then and how may be resented by the supream authority of England and its Dominions, time will declare, and I beleeeue you will be made sencible of." He speaks of his having formerly visited Mr. Prine, confined to the Tower, without molestation, as an argument why his wife should not be apprehended for visiting Robinson and Stevenson.

12. Mary Dyer,* with others, is banished from the Bay, on pain

* Bishop, p. 114.

of death. Patience Scott, being considered too young for the law's application to her, was dismissed.

October 8. Regardless of her peril, Mary Dyer again ventured to appear in Boston. Hope Clifton, of Rhode Island, and Mary Scott, daughter to R. and K. Scott, of Providence, did the same. Their object, on this occasion, was to call on Christopher Holder, imprisoned there, and encourage him in his confinement.

1660. July 8. Anne Coddington, of Rhode Island, writes * to Governor Endicott, and protests against the punishment inflicted on Quakers.

September 8. R. Williams writes to Governor Winthrop. He speaks of the parties in England.† He mentions Mrs. Scott, a neighbor of his, as lately returned from her friends in England, whose arguments had induced her to leave the Quakers. He speaks of his brother, that he "runs strongly to Origen's notion of universal mercy at last, against an eternal sentence."

October 18. The Court give a new commission to John Clark, now resident in Westminster, to act in their behalf. On the next May 21, they order that £200 shall be raised for his agency.

They order that the King be proclaimed at eight o'clock to-morrow morning,‡ and that on the 21st inst. every town shall, at the head of the company of each train band, solemnize the proclamation of the Royal Majesty, if the weather permit; if not, then it is to be done on the next fair day; and that all children and servants shall have their liberty on that day. A commission is prepared for Mr. Clark, so that he may apply for continuance and fulfillment of their Charter.

27. Roger Williams writes § to his friend, Sir Henry Vane, who was perilously situated, for his favor to the Commonwealth under Cromwell. Ever since our banishment, we have experienced your kindness. "We have long drank of the cup of as great liberties as any people, that we can hear of under the whole heaven. We have not only been long free (together with Old England) from the iron yokes of Popish Bishops and their Popish ceremonies, but we have sitten quiet and dry from the streams of blood spilt in our native country. We have not felt the new chains of Presbyterian tyrants; nor (in this Colony) have we been consumed with over zealous fire of the (so called) godly and Christian Magistrates. Sir, we have not known what an excise means; we have almost forgot what tithes are, yea, or taxes either, to Church or Commonwealth." The writer refers to the Presbyterians, as the favorers of monarchy under Charles II., as they were under his father, and consequently, as opposers to a republic. The Magistrates, he mentions, were evidently those of the United Colonies, who claimed

* Besse, vol. ii. p. 207.

† Hist. of Providence, p. 127, 8.

‡ Knowles's R. Williams, p. 312.

§ MS. of R. I. Hist. Soc.

1658.]

the right to punish breaches of the first table of the law as well as those of the second table. The laxity of taxation in his own Colony, however generally liked by the people for the time, was probably injurious to its public prosperity, by inducing upon them a habit of aversion to sustaining the costs of literary and religious education.

CONNECTICUT.

1658. January 7. Theophilus Eaton, a rare specimen of fallen humanity, dies in the sixty-seventh year of his age. He was the eldest son of a minister, and had his birth at Stony Stratford, in Oxfordshire. On the decease of his father, he contributed liberally, and so continued as long as need required, to the support of his brothers and sisters. To his mother he was filially devoted, until her decease as a member of his family in New Haven. He faithfully discharged the duties of a merchant apprenticeship. Doing business for himself, he soon became distinguished. Made a freeman of London, he engaged in the East Country* or Baltic trade. Of the Company who carried on commercial business in that direction, he was made Deputy Governor. Noted for his integrity and ability, his Majesty sent him as a Commissioner to the King of Denmark. The manner and result of his negotiations won the favor of both these Sovereigns. It also promoted the interests of the Company, so that they signified their obligations to him by presenting his wife with a bason and ewer of sixty pounds weight, double gilt and curiously wrought with gold. To this person, of great excellence, thus introduced to us, he "first espoused himself after he had spent three years in an absence from her in the East Country." But the continuance of their union was short. Leaving two children with their deeply afflicted father, she departed, peacefully resigned to the will of God. Mr. Eaton subsequently married the worthy daughter of the Bishop of Chester. She was a widow, Ann Yale, and had three children by her first husband, two of them named David and Ann, who married Edward Hopkins, and three sons and two daughters by her second. While prosperously advancing in life, they are admonished of its uncertainty by the loss of two of their children; the last during the plague. Other afflictions await them. Being a hearer of John Davenport, he was deeply interested in the progress of Puritanism. He subscribed to assist the Massachusetts Company in their colonization purposes, and was among its original and prominent patentees. When the strictures of conformity compelled his pastor to seek a refuge in

* Not East India, as Trumbull supposed, vol. i. p. 240.

America, he and "many eminent Londoners" accompany him. Having reached Boston 1637, they moved the next year to New Haven Colony. In the various operations of settling this territory, accompanied with unusual anxiety, peril and hardship, Mr. Eaton was the principal leader. By the grateful settlers, he was chosen their Governor, and was so continued till his decease. Thus entered on a new theatre of action, he was influenced by the principles of heavenly wisdom, always the surest of usefulness and heart-felt happiness. Though comely in person and dignified in manners, he sought the inner qualifications, on which the light of Omniscience rested amid all the shadows of earth. In his private deportment, his example was eminently worthy of imitation. Though his family was large, he, being careful of secret communion with God, was exact to lead them in the morning and evening duties of reading the Scriptures and devotional services. On the Sabbath and other days of public worship, he spent an hour or two with the members of his household in impressing on them the obligations of faith and conduct, and also in praise and prayer. The faithfulness, thus manifest, was no less noticeable in his official relations. The wisdom, equity and beneficence of his administration "were viewed with universal admiration." Thus favored in his wishes and exertions, his crown was not without thorns. Among the trials for his spiritual purification, was the death of his loved son, Samuel, who bid fair to sustain the well-earned reputation of his father. This occurred a few years before his own departure, and contributed to weaken the ties which held him to earth.

About to close his earthly pilgrimage, he conducted worship in the evening, and charged the family to treat his wife, who was dangerously sick, with the greatest attention, but who * recovered and went back to England, with his daughter Hannah; he took another chamber after bidding her good night, and there died before morning. It was supposed that a cancerous humor, which had long troubled him, was the occasion of so sudden a decease. The Colony bore the charges of his funeral and had a respectable monument erected over his remains. On this memento the subsequent lines were inscribed:

"Eaton, so meek, so wise, so fam'd, so just,
The Phœnix of our world here hides his dust,
His name forget, New England never must."

February. Humphrey Norton, of the Friends,† being on his way to the Dutch, is apprehended at Southold, sent and imprisoned at New Haven. He was confined twenty days. In March, he was tried, in presence of Davenport, and sentenced to receive

* *Magnalia*, vol. i. p. 136-41 of 1820 Ed. Hubbard's N. E. p. 329, 30.

† Whiting's Defence, p. 18.

1658.]

thirty-six stripes, and be branded on one of his hands with the letter H, for heresy, to pay charges and be excluded from the jurisdiction.

March. Soon after this, William Brend, Mary Weatherhead and Mary Dyer, visited the same Colony,* but were forced to leave immediately. When the last was put on a horse, she said, "Woe be unto you, for Humphrey Norton's sake!" Of the other female, Bishop remarks, she "finished her work in the sea."

11. The Legislature pass the ensuing orders: That no Church shall be formed without the consent of the General Court, and the approval of the adjacent Churches. That there shall be no meetings for religious worship, except what are allowed by "the settled and approved minister of the place," or of the said Court and Churches, provided that this does "not hinder any private meetings of godly persons to attend any duties that Christianity or religion call for, as fasts or conference, nor take place vpon such as are hindered by any just impediments on the Sabbath day, from the publicke assemblies, by weather or water and the like." That the Elders be invited to attend the next session of the Court, "to advise and consider what way may bee most requisite to issue the differences that are amongst vs." That "in refference to the sad differences y^t are broken out in the seuerall Churches in this Collony, and in spetiall betwixt the Church at Hartford and the withdrawers," these two parties cease from the prosecution of their purposes, so that the former proceed no further in discipline of the latter, and these pause in their endeavor to unite with the Church at Weathersfield, until the matters of controversy be brought to an issue as the Court shall decide. On the 24th, the Court desire Mr. Stone and the Hartford Church to meet with the withdrawn members, to compromise their dissensions, and if they cannot do this, that letters be sent to the Elders here, in New Haven and the Bay, for advice as to the course which the Court should pursue in the premises.

On the 25th, the following is presented to the Legislature by Mr. Stone.† "My humble request is, that the questions here presented may be syllogistically reasoned before this honoured Court. I hope that some of our withdrawn Brethren, or some other whom they shal provide, wil reason with me, face to face: Question 1. The former Council at Hartford, June, '56, is vtterly cancild and of no force. 2. There is no violation of the last agreement, (made when the Reverend Elders of Massachusetts were here,) either by the Church of Christ at Hartford or their Teacher. 3. The withdrawn brethren haue offered great violence to y^e formentioned agreement. 4. The withdrawn brethren are members of the Church of Christ at Hartford. 5. Their withdraweing from the

* Bishop, p. 205. Besse, vol. ii. p. 196.

† Trumbull, vol. i. p. 320.

Church is a sin exceeding scandalous and dreadful, and of its owne nature destructive to this and other Churches. 6. The controversy between the Church of Christ at Hartford and the withdrawn persons is not in the hands of the Churches to be determined by them."

March 19. The wife of Joseph Garlick, of Eastham, L. I., is ordered for Connecticut, so that she may be tried on the charge of witchcraft.

April 30. From a letter of the Missionary Corporation to the Commissioners, we have the passage.* "As for Mr. Pierson, we concur with you concerning his fitness and ability for the Indians' spiritual good; and for the catechisms mentioned in your letter of his composing for their use and instruction, which we should have taken care to have printed, according to your desire, and should have sent over the number mentioned in your letter, but we fear it is miscarried, being sent, as we understand, in Mr. Garrett's ship, which is yet missing; and, therefore, we entreat you send it over by the first opportunity." A reply is prepared, September 16, as follows: "Mr. Pierson, we hear, is preparing his Catechism for the press, and is expected here (Boston) every day. We hope to send it you by the next, with his year's acts."

May 16. New Haven Legislature take the subsequent order relative to the Quakers.† "Whereas there is a cursed Sect of Hereticks lately risen up in the world, which are commonly called Quakers, who take upon them that they are immediately sent of God, and infallibly assisted by the Spirit, who yet speak and write blasphemous opinions, despise government and the order of God, in Church and Commonwealth, speaking evil of dignities, reproaching and reviling magistrates and ministers, seeking to turn the people from the faith and to gain proselytes to their pernicious ways: this Court taking into serious consideration the premises and to prevent (as much as in them lies) the like mischief as by their means, is wrought in our native Country, do hereby order and declare" that whoever wittingly introduces Quakers into New Haven Colony shall pay £50, be imprisoned, and so remain till he give security, and also bonds to carry them back to the place whence he brought them. If any Quakers come on business into the Colony, they must depart with quick dispatch; if they endeavor to spread their doctrines, they shall be committed to prison, severely whipped, kept to work, and not suffered to converse with others while confined till sent away at their own charge. If they come the second time, every male of them shall be branded on the hand with the letter H, be imprisoned, kept to work, till he can be sent away at his own expense; for the third offence, he shall be branded on the other hand, imprisoned and required to work. Every female of them, for the second offence, shall be

* Com'rs MS. Hazard, vol. ii. p. 389, 90-2.

† MS. N. H. Gen. Ct. Rec.

1658.]

severely whipped, imprisoned, and worked till sent away at her own charge ; and shall be so treated for the third offence. For the fourth offence, male and female shall have their tongues bored through with a hot iron ; be imprisoned and work till sent away at their own charge. All Quakers rising up in the Colony shall be dealt with as foreign Quakers.

Every person who shall bring Quaker books, papers or writings into the Colony, shall pay £5 for each of them, and whoever disposes or conceals them, shall pay for each £5.

Whoever entertains a Quaker shall pay 20/., defends them or their books, etc., shall be fined, for the first time, 40/.; the second, £4 ; and, the third time, be imprisoned, till banished. Whoever reviles magistrates or ministers, as Quakers do, shall forfeit £5 or be severely whipped. On May 30 of 1660, the same Colony order, that, at the discretion of magistrates, who have persons of this denomination arraigned before them, they may fine each of them for the first violation of the law, £5, and for the second violation, £10. Thus the legal severity against offending Quakers is greatly diminished.

May 20. The General Court of Connecticut assemble.* They commend "the pious care of Fairfield in procuring help for Mr. Joanes by his own consent," and desire that a "comfortable maintenance" may be continued to him in his advanced years, whether sick or well.

This clergyman,† having left the national church to enjoy the reformation of Puritanism, came to the Bay in 1635, was settled at Concord, whence he removed about 1639 to Fairfield. Owing to the loss of this town's records, neither the date of his installation nor of his death has been ascertained. He had a son John, who graduated at Harvard College 1643, and to whom Farmer applied the passage, immediately succeeding his name in Johnson's *Wonder-working Providence*, p. 165 : "Another of the first fruits of this College is employed in these Western parts in Mevis, one of the Somer Islands." From the tone of the Legislature's order, that he be kindly cared for, he had labored faithfully in the vineyard of his Lord.

August 18. A large number of the Church at Weathersfield, under Mr. Russell, being dissatisfied with him, petition the Legislature that they may be released from their contract with him and procure another minister. The body, so addressed, answer, that they perceive no sufficient cause for such a separation. They advise that "Mr. Russell should speak more playnly for y^e future, to y^e capacity of the hearers, espetically in way of testimony ; and y^t the Petitioners should carefully avoid all vnnecessary strayneing

* Conn. Gen. Ct. Rec.
p. 522.

† This work, vol. i. p. 238. Trumbull, vol. i.

of words or expressions (y^t are in y^eir nature dubious) to such a perticuler sense as may occasion trouble." They give leave to the Church of Hartford and the withdrawers from it, to debate the questions between themselves. But as this is not accepted, nor the proposal that each party choose three Elders as umpires, the Court appoint Messrs. Cobbet, Mitchel, Danforth, and, for a reserve, Browne, and Mr. Street as a reserve for the Withdrawers, who select Messrs. Davenport, Norton and Fitch. This conformed with the mutual agreement, that the Court should choose referees for the party, which declined to select them. The persons thus appointed, are invited to meet in Hartford, 17th of September. The parties are requested to have all their questions clearly and fully prepared for the Council, but, as Trumbull states, this designated body did not convene, because the Church declined to send for them.

23. The Court appoint the 8th of September, "for solemne humiliation to implore the favour of God towards his people, in regard of the intemperate season, thin harvest, sore visitation by sickness in several Plantations, and the sad prolonged differences y^t yet remaine vnreconciled in Churches and Plantations; that God would succeed such meanes as are appoynted to be attended for the healing of the foresayd differences."

October 7. The Connecticut Legislature pass the following order: "This Court haveing considered the former order about Quakers and such like Heretiques, doe now see cause to leaue it vnto y^e discretion of the Magistrates or Assistants, within this Jurisdiction, where any such persons shalbe found fomenting their wicked tenets and shalbe legally convicted to be disturbeing to y^e publique peace, to punish the sayd Heretiques, by fine or banishment or corporeal punishment, as they shall iudge meete. And the same to be inflicted vppon any person or persons, that shalbe instrumental to bring any such persons, viz., Heretiques, by sea or land, into any Plantation of this Collony, provided the fine for a particular default exceed not the sum of ten pounds." It will be perceived, that this law, which leaves the banishment of Quakers to the Assistants, so that they might decide whether it should be on the penalty of death or not, is less explicit than that of Massachusetts. Winthrop was not disposed to go the length of the Bay Authorities, in this direction, as the major part of the Commissioners of the Union recommended.

1659. March 9. Having considered the request of Lt. Hollister for a list of charges, on which he had been cut off from the Weathersfield Church,* the Court "iudgeth it agreeable to y^e general practice of the churches amongst vs to deliver vnto y^e delinquent the particulars of his offence in writeing, (if he desire it,)

* Conn. Gen. Ct. Rec.

1659.]

before they proceed to excommunication, or else they, by the Elders, seasonably after the sentence, doe give in the charges for y^e delinquent's benefit and conviction." They, therefore, conclude that the Weathersfield Church should have done so, but as they have not, they ought to furnish Hollister with the number and nature of the accusations against him, and require them to conform as the premises dictate. The Court also propose, at the desire of Hollister and others, to the Church, that they would consent to lay their difficulties before some Council.

Besides previous qualifications for freemanship in the Colony, it is required, as an addition, that none shall have it conferred on them till they are 21 years old, and possess £30 of personal estate, or have borne office in the Commonwealth.

Perceiving that the troubles between Hartford Church and the withdrawers are not settled, the Court of Connecticut order that a Council convene, ("leauing each party to y^{re} liberty, whether they will send or noe,) to be helpful in issueing the questions in controuersy; that those churches (whose Elders were requested to come hither) should be desired by letters from y^e Secretary, in the name of the Court, to send vs one from each church of their ablest instruments, to be present at Hartford, by the third of June next, to assist in heareing and issueing these differences. It is alsoe ordered, that the questions in controversy shalbe publiquely disputed in the presence of the Council, according to former order. And y^t each party, both y^e church at Hartford and y^e withdrawers, shal ioynntly concur in bearing the charges of the former Council, and in preparing and providing for this y^t is now to be called."

April 18. An agreement is made by a portion of Mr. Russell's people to move from Weathersfield and settle at Woronoke, afterwards Hadley.*

May 25. The Legislature of New Haven grant £40 a year for a grammar school, and £8 more for books of Mr. Blinman, as approved by Messrs. Davenport and Pierson. They leave the place and instructors of the school to the decision of a committee.

June 3. A Council of Elders and Messengers from churches of Boston, Cambridge, Charlestown, Ipswich, Dedham, and Sudbury, convene at Hartford.† Though they did not bring about a reconciliation of the parties, yet, through abundant exertions, they left the church and town in a much less divided condition than it had been for years.

"Wednesday, the 29th of this instant, is appointed to be kept a solemn Humiliation,‡ partly for England and partly for our owne selues, in regard of the vnsettlednes of their and our peace, partly for the season, y^t God would prevent euills y^t may be feared, and respecting y^e Council, that God would bless their labours to effect a good issue, if they come vp."

* Holland, vol. i. p. 54. † Trumbull, vol. i. p. 321. ‡ Conn. Gen. Ct. Rec.

The Court, encouraged by the success of the Council at Hartford, require that its Elders and Messengers, and also those of Dorchester and Watertown Churches, be invited to assemble at Hartford on the 19th of August. "Seauen whereof the withdrawers consented to; the Court and Church assenting to and desiringe all or as many as the Lord shall incline or enable to attend the worke; vnto whose decisiue power, the withdrawn partie is required, the Church at Hartford freely engaging to submit according to y^e order of y^e Gosple." The Court order "that the general heads of the charges against the withdrawers shall be sent to them, and that they appear" before them in October, and answer accordingly. Hull relates in his diary, that the parties appeared before the same Council, in Boston, September 26, and that they were reconciled and manifested it before their departure. The result of the Council gives the grievances of the withdrawers: "1. Mr. Stone's non-administration of the Sacrament; 2. Concerning his sending for a dismission; 3. His propositions; 4. Rigid handling of divers brethren; 5. Mr. Stone's nullifying the instrument of pacification; 6. The Church's separating carriages." It then presents "the grievances of Mr. Stone and the brethren of the Church with him. 1. The withdrawers offer violence to the pacification; 2, 3. Their separating and rending from the Church in a schismatical way. Their sin therein is exceedingly scandalous; 4. The withdrawers are still members of the Church at Hartford; 5. They transgress in publishing their papers; and 6. Their joining another church." Cotton Mather and others have remarked, that it was difficult to ascertain the particular points at issue in this controversy. It is, however, conceded, that the trouble originated in questions relative to "qualifications for baptism, church membership, and the rights of the brotherhood." Such schism was remarkable in this period for its nature and continuance. Its injurious influence spread through the Colony. It was deplored by most of the people in the Union. It was still more remarkable as having commenced in one of the most exemplary churches. Extraordinary measures were employed to have it arrested and terminated. "Behold how great a matter a little fire kindleth." The repeated journeys and pains, which ministers and brethren of Massachusetts took to close the dissensions, show forth their deep Christian principles, and their strong desire for the prosperity of New England. Referring to the last Council on this controversy, Hubbard remarks: "They made a reconciliation between them, and those that irregularly departed away, being convinced of their mistake, freely acknowledged it, which made the closure of that breach more cordial and real."

July 12. Shortly after this date, Richard Blinman leaves New England. Three months before,* he gave a piece of land to Wil-

* Caulkins's New London, p. 115-7.

1660.]

liam Thomson, a missionary among Indians. In March of 1658, he seems to have moved recently from New London to New Haven. He left his eldest son, Jeremiah, in this country. He had a second son, Ezekiel. His wife, Mary, and family, accompanied him. On his way, he wrote at Newfoundland, August 22, to John Davenport, who said to John Winthrop, I understand by his letter that "his ministry is acceptable to all the people there, except some Quakers," and that he is "much desired and flocked unto; has made choice of a ship for Barnstable, to his content, the master being godly." He and his wife, who had faithfully been a support to him in his various trials here and in England, resided in Bristol 1671, and his abode was there eight years afterwards. The *Magnalia** remarks of him: "Living to a good old age, he who, wherever he came, did set himself to do good, concluded his life at the city of Bristol, where one of the last things he did was to defend in print the cause of infant baptism."

September 7. The Governor of New Haven had distributed,* at the request of the Commissioners, £5 of the missionary funds, among Christian Indians.

October 6. In view of the protracted differences between Mr. Russell and some members of his Church at Weathersfield, particularly Lt. Hollister, the Court request† the churches at Hartford and Windsor to send two or three members apiece to examine the case and endeavor to heal the breach. The time of the messengers' session at Weathersfield is the first Tuesday of November. If their attendance on the subject should be ineffectual, they were to inform the Legislature.

November 9. "In consideration of God's goodness to this Colony, in y^e fruitful and seasonable haruest, the general restoration of health to y^e Plantations, and the success of y^e indeauours of y^e Reuerend Elders of y^e last Councill, for y^e composeing the sad differences at Hartford," a public thanksgiving is appointed, in three weeks, throughout the Colony.

A Committee are appointed to visit Middletown, inquire into the troubles there, and use means to compose them, but, if without effect, to report at the next session of the Court.

David, the Jew, for entering houses and trading with children for provisions, when their parents were absent, is fined 20/.

1660. May 17. The Connecticut Legislature order, that no person, who has a husband or wife in foreign parts, shall reside in their jurisdiction above two years, on penalty of 40/. a month; and that, if any such have been in it more than three years already, they shall continue here no longer than one year, on the like penalty, except with leave of the Governor.

They order, "y^t none shalbe receaued as inhabitant into any

* Hazard, vol. ii. p. 406.

† Conn. Gen. Ct. Rec. p. 342, 3.

Towne in the Collony, but such as are knowne to be of an honest conversation, and accepted by a maior part of the Towne."

30. The General Court of New Haven Colony desire * Messrs. Davenport and Pierson to visit Stamford and counsel Rev. Mr. Bishop and his people there. If Mr. Davenport is unable to attend, he may nominate one in his stead.

June 4. John Davenport having resigned, on the 30th ult., the will, etc., of Governor Hopkins to the General Court of New Haven, offers several requests:† "That the £40 per annum formerly agreed upon, to be paid by the several Plantations, for a common Grammar school, be now settled in one of the Plantations, which they shall judge fittest, and that a schoolmaster may forthwith be provided to teach the three languages, Latin, Greek and Hebrew, so far as shall be necessary to prepare them for the College. That certain orders be speedily made for the school, and when the College shall proceed, for it also; that the education of youth may be carried on suitably to Christ's ends, by the counsel of the teaching Elders in this Colony, and that what they shall conclude with consent, being approved by the honored Magistrates, be ratified by the General Court." The interest bequeathed by Hopkins and lying in New England, for the cause of education, was estimated at about £1,000 sterling.

July 25. The General Court of New Haven Colony inform the town of the same name, that the Grammar school is to be located in the last place; that Mr. Peck, now at Guildford, is to be the Instructor, beginning October next, "when his half year expires there," and teach Latin, Greek and Hebrew, and fit his pupils for College, for £50 a year, a house, school-house, benefit of scholars not of the Colony, and commonage.‡

August 11. John Davenport writes to John Winthrop: "Sir, I mistook in my letter,§ when I said Col. Whalley was one of the gentlemen, etc. It is Commissary General Whalley, sister Hooke's brother, and his son-in-law who is with him, is Col. Goffe. Both godly men and escaped pursuit in England narrowly."

22. Roger Newton, having moved from Farmington, is installed || at Milford. Hands are imposed on him by Zechariah Whitman, Ruling Elder, Deacon John Astwood and Robert Treat, who were chosen by the Church to perform the duty.

This year, Mr. Russell moved from Weathersfield, with warm friends, belonging to this town and Hartford, and settled at Hadley.¶ The Legislature of Connecticut, at their session of March 14, 1661, say, that as their body of former date had fully consented with the adjacent Churches to the gathering of the Weathersfield Church; as some of its members had gone away without

* MS. Gen. Ct. Rec.

† N. Haven Gen. Ct. Rec.

|| Lambert's N. Haven, p. 102.

† Trumbull, Appendix, vol. i. p. 566-71.

§ Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. vol. x. p. 39.

¶ Trumbull, vol. i. p. 324.

1660.]

any notice to the General Court, or any permission from them or from any churches of the jurisdiction, so that the Weathersfield Church is diminished and individuals have called in question its regular standing, though no one has charged it with irregularity; as the Legislature had ascertained "the reality and truth of" its "continuance in the same membership, church estate and station as formerly,"—the "Court doth therefore declare, that the said Church is the true and undoubted Church of Weathersfield, and so to be accounted and esteemed, for any thing doth yet appear." They at the same time give notice that, if charges to the contrary of such a conclusion, can be brought forward before the 14th of May following, they will attend to them and make up their judgment accordingly.

September 10. Mr. James, of Easthampton, is engaged by the Missionary Society, to instruct the Indians on Long Island.* He was settled in that town † in 1650. He is supposed to be the son of the Charlestown James, who had gone to England, and is referred to by Johnson.‡

"Thy son, young student, may such blessing be,
Thy loss repair."

Mr. Sampson is allowed £10 for teaching Indians about New London and Pequod Country. Mr. Pierson, of Branford, is paid £20 salary for similar labors. Mention is made of payment, last year, to Mr. Green "for printing Mr. Pierson's Catechism and the Psalms."

Six chiefs are granted a coat apiece, by the Commissioners, for their encouragement, in superintending and persuading the Pequods "to attend to such means, as shall be used to gain them to the knowledge of God."

This year, Mr. Fitch and the most of his Church settle at Norwich.§ He is succeeded at Saybrook by Thomas Buckingham. At the ordination of the latter there is a Council from Churches, but the imposition of hands is performed by lay-brethren, as it had been in the ordination of Mr. Fitch. The Council consider this as irregular, but the brethren are so tenacious of what they consider their right, they are allowed in its exercise. Zechariah Brigden, a graduate of Harvard College, 1657, and a Fellow of the same Institution, begins to preach at Stonington.

October 4. The Connecticut Legislature order, that, owing to the unsuitable disposition, manifested at Middletown, they continue to hear Mr. Stow preach and allow him his salary, until they can provide for themselves "another able, orthodox and pious minister, as soon as they can," with the advice of Messrs. Warham, Stone, Whiting, Willis and Winthrop. When this is done, Mr. Stow

* Hazard, vol. ii. p. 431, 2, 5.

† Wood's Hist. Sketch, p. 32-42.

‡ Wonder-working Providence, p. 54.

§ Miss Caulkins' of Norwich, p. 85.

"is to lay downe his preaching there," and his parish to give him "Testimoniall Letters, such as the Gentlemen forenduced iudge fit." Under the next March 14, the Court decide that, having reconsidered the statements of both sides in Middletown, the pastoral relation between the people there and Mr. Stow is dissolved, on the terms as already expressed.

CHAPTER VI.

MASSACHUSETTS. Quakers. — Baptists. — Ezekiel Rogers. — Charter in Peril. — Regal Encouragement. — Ralph Smith. — Regicides. — Quakers. — Execution of Leddra. — Eliot's Commonwealth. — Charges against New England. — John Eliot. — Means for Union. — Agents. — Thomas Gilbert. — Proclamation of the King. — French Protestants. — Appeal Granted to Quakers. — Missionary Charter. — Denominations. — Publications. — Synod. — Instructions. — Fast. — Half-way Covenant. — Consociation. — Restrictions of the King. — Protestant for Puritan. — General Governor. — Ejected ministers. — Indian Missions. — Result of Synod. — Huguenots. — William Worcester. — John Norton. — Judicial against Ecclesiastical. — Political Peril. — John Owen. — Indian Bible. — Efforts of Enemies. — Anti-Synodalia. PLYMOUTH. Illicit Marriage. — Quakers. — Kennebeck. — Excommunication. — Ministry. — Sabbath. — Treaty. — Earthquake. — Plantations Assisted. — Timothy Thornton. — Parochial. — Baptists. MAINE. Ministry. — Baptism. — Opposition. — Quakers. — Church Troubles. — Gookin's Letter. — Prosecutions. — Episcopacy. NEW HAMPSHIRE. Commissioners. — Dalton. — Quakers. — John Brock. RHODE ISLAND. Quakers. — Clark. — Controverted Lands. — Conscience. — Education. — Charter. CONNECTICUT. Regicides. — Address to the King. — Lord Say and Seal. — Gershom Bulkley. — Charter. — New Haven United with Connecticut. — Freemen. — Samuel Stone. — Fast. — Deaths.

MASSACHUSETTS.

1661. January 4. As an indication of opinion and feeling, entertained by persons who opposed the course of the Quakers, we have the following.* Some Quakers, "that by law deserved death," are allowed to depart for England in Mr. Gillam's ship; but they are wind-bound at Nantasket till the 12th, when they sailed. "The rest of the Quakers had liberty, if they pleased to use it, to depart the jurisdiction, though some of them capitally guilty. The good Lord pardon this timidity of spirit to execute the sentence of God's holy law vpon such blasphemous persons."

20. Relative to the first Boston church. When the children of parents who were of its members owned the covenant, Mr. Edward Hutchinson,† though he had promised to rest silent on this occasion, rose and turned his back on such confirmation. He desired a dismission from the church.

23. Ezekiel Rogers‡ of Rowley dies, after a lingering sickness,

* Hull, MS. Diary.

† Ibid.

‡ History of Rowley.

aged 70. While in England he studied medicine. He was greatly afflicted in the latter part of his life. He lost three wives and all his children. The very night of his third marriage, July 16, 1651, his dwelling was burnt down, with an excellent library, which he had brought from England. By falling from a horse, his right hand was disabled. But he bore these trials as a part of his discipline for heaven. His widow was Mary,* who had been previously married to Thomas Barker, deceased, of Rowley. He left Latin and some English books to Harvard College; his house and lands for the support of the ministry in his parish, except they failed for four years to support two teaching Elders, and then such property should be assigned to the same Institution. After 1696, an exigency of this kind occurred, and the College Corporation took possession of the estate which was left, and, after several judicial trials, their claim was confirmed. The property, so acquired, was disposed of in 1735, and vested in an estate at Waltham, which had been recently sold, in 1836, for \$5,000.

Mr. Rogers left a long and curious will. Among its passages, one follows: "I do protest against all the evil fashions and devices of this age, both in apparel and that general disguisement of long, ruffian-like hair," a custom most generally taken up at that time when the grave and modest wearing of hair was a part of the reproach of Christ, as appeared by the term, 'round head,' and was carried on with a high hand, notwithstanding its known offence to so many godly persons.

We have an extract from one of his letters to a brother clergyman, dated 6th of February, 1658: "I beseech all the Bay-ministers to call earnestly upon magistrates, (that are often among them,) tell them that their godliness will be our protection. I am hastening home, and grow very asthmatical and short-breathed. Oh, the weight of glory that is ready waiting for us, God's poor exiles! We shall sit next to the martyrs and confessors. Let us be zealous for our God and Christ. The Lord bring us well through our poor pilgrimage."

He was eminent for his talents, attainments, oratory and piety; an "ascension gift," indeed, to his people and the Colony.

February 15. Charles II. addresses an epistle† to Endicott. "We have made it our care to extend our thoughts to increase the trade and advantages of our Colonies abroad. Amongst which we consider New England to be one of the chiefest. Neither shall we forget to make you and all our good people in those parts, equal partakers of those promises of liberty and moderation to tender consciences, expressed in our gracious declarations; which,

* Mather's *Magnalia*, vol. i. p. 408-13. MS. Essex Prob. Rec. Cotton Mather says that the second wife of Rogers was the daughter of Rev. John Wilson.

† Hutchinson's Coll. p. 333.

1661.]

though some persons in this our kingdom, of desperate, disloyal and unchristian principles, have lately abused to the public disturbance and their own destruction, yet we are confident our good subjects in New England, will make a right use of it, to the glory of God, their own spiritual comfort and edification." The tone of this royal communication came to our ancestors as a restorer of their hopes.

27. Fast is observed. Reasons for it are,* that "amongst ourselves, this great question about the right and privilege of the children in our churches and the duty of each church toward them might be now fully understood and embraced;" that the address to the King may be favored by him so as to continue our liberties, civil and ecclesiastical; that our Rulers may be directed how to deal with Whalley and Goffe, whether to seize and send them back to England, or let them go at large.

March 1. After preaching the gospel from his coming over with Higginson and Skelton, in Plymouth and other places, and sustaining the reputation of living usefully in accordance with his opportunities, Ralph Smith finishes his earthly course in Boston. Nathaniel Masterson,† his late wife's son, who had been useful to him, administered on his estate.

4. The Council for Plantations bring up the concerns of New England. They intend‡ to consult with Capt. Bredan, Messrs. Godfrey, Gifford and Maverick. These four were complainants of our authorities, especially those of Massachusetts, who, as the stronger and more influential through their constituents, were made responsible for acts which crossed the path of royalty and episcopacy. Bredan on the 11th made the subsequent declaration.§ Holding the Massachusetts laws in his hand, he remarks: "What Laws are not mentioned in this book, are in the Magistrates' breasts to be understood; the distinction between Freemen and non-Freemen, members and non-members, is as famous as Cavaliers and Roundheads was in England, and will shortly become as odious and I hope abandoned. The grievances of the non-Freemen, who are for the King, are many. They (of Massachusetts) apprehended a gentleman not many years ago, (supposing him to be the King,) resolving to send him for England, had not Sir Henry Moody and others better known his Majesty. It is not unknown to you, that they look on themselves as a free State, and how they sat in Council in December last, a week before they could agree in writing to his Majesty, there being so many against owning the King or their having any dependence on England." Bredan then says, that he understands the petition from them owns allegiance to the King. But he asks, why they do not proclaim him; why not act and give

* Hull's MS. Diary.

‡ MS. Council Rec.

† N. E. Gen. Reg. vol. x. p. 219.

§ Com. for Plantations, MS.

oaths in his name instead of requiring oaths of fidelity to themselves and their Governor. He states, that Whalley and Goffe came to New England under the names of Richardson and Stephenson; "I knew them and tried to have them apprehended. I was abused. Many called me a malignant." Some desire a Governor from the King; "others fear it and say they will die before they will loose their liberties and privileges." It is a difficult matter to settle the country in due obedience to his Majesty. Whalley and Goffe are daily buzzing in their ears a change of Government in England, and also by multitudes of discontented persons of their gauge, sending thither. A speedy course must be taken with them, "they being the key of the Indies, without which Jamaica, Barbadoes and Carribee Islands are not able to subsist. There are many ships and persons bound for New England suddenly upon account of liberty and to secure estates."

6. A Fast is kept in Salem. The occasions* of it are, general sickness of the past winter; prevalence of seducers; renewal of covenant and adding to it a clause, which contains the words, "therefore we do covenant by the help of Jesus Christ, to take heed and beware of the leaven of the doctrine of the Quakers."

9. At the Court of Assistants, Wm. Leddra, Edward Wharton, John Chamberlain, Robert Harper and wife, the two latter from Sandwich, are arraigned.† Bradstreet asks Leddra if he will leave the country for England, provided he can have the liberty. He declines to engage. He is sentenced to death for having returned from banishment without permission. He appeals to the Laws of England, which is not allowed. The day prior to his execution, he addresses a letter to those of his denomination. He expresses himself as certain of having acted righteously and as persecuted for a holy cause. He encourages his friends to remain steadfast in their profession.

14. The time for Leddra's execution being come, and a guard of soldiers ready to convey him from prison to the gallows, he takes leave of Wenlock Christopherson and other prisoners. Brought to the foot of the ladder, he bids farewell to Wharton and says, "All that will be Christ's disciples, must take up the Cross." Standing on the ladder, a voice asks, "William, have you anything to say to the people?" On this, he replies, "For the testimony of Jesus, and for testifying against deceivers and the deceived, I am brought here to suffer." Rev. Mr. Allen remarks to the spectators, "You read, that some should be given up to strong delusions." As Leddra is turned off, he cries, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit." His body being cut down, Wharton, Chamberlain and others catch it in their arms. After it is stripped by the hangman, they put it in a coffin and see to its burial.

* MS. First Ch. Rec.

† Sewel, vol. i. p. 340, 1.

1661.]

While Leddra was on trial, Christopherson appeared in the assembly.* He was ordered before the bar. The Governor asked him, "Wast thou not banished upon the pain of death?" He answered, "Yea, I was." The former then said, "That he was come to warn them, that they should shed no more innocent blood;" and added, "For the blood you have shed already, cries to the Lord for vengeance to come upon you." Then he was taken to prison. Near this date, Elizabeth Nicholson and her two sons, Christopher and Joseph of Marblehead, were prosecuted† on suspicion of causing the death of her husband, Edmund, who was found dead in the sea. They were imprisoned, sentenced to pay a fine, stand under the gallows with ropes round their necks, and be whipped in the market place in Boston. They were also whipped at Salem. Bishop signifies that all this severity was used towards them because they sympathized with the Quakers.

18. The Governor and Council hold a session with regard to a production‡ of John Eliot, known as the Christian Commonwealth, and which had been published, for years, in England. This book was issued there, as a means to encourage and sustain Republican principles, when the friends of Cromwell had strong hope that regal authority would not be restored in that kingdom. The Council decide that it is opposed to governments in the Christian world, and particularly to that in their native country. They conclude to leave the matter for the General Court, so "that Mr. Eliot may have an opportunity, in the mean time, of making a public recantation."

27. Mr. Tompson, of Braintree, having been earnestly solicited to preach, it being a public Fast,§ conformed with the application. Before this he had relinquished all ministerial duties, and family worship of late, because he imagined himself to be a reprobate.

28. John Eliot writes|| to John Endicott, stating that the bearer is a Sachem, whose name was Ousamequin, but now changed to Matchippa, and who formerly submitted to Massachusetts, for protection, with others. He says that some of these Indians were lately attacked by men of Uncas, and lost three killed and five carried away captives, as retaliation for the conquest of the Pequods. He prays in their behalf, that justice may be demanded by the Colony, for the leader of the aggressors is son-in-law of Uncas, and "beginneeth with your skirts first."

April 8. A petition is laid before the King,¶ by Thomas Coveny, Thomas Moore, Giles Silvester and Ellis Hooker, of England, against the United Colonies. This was in reply to a petition of Massachusetts to Charles II., dated the 11th of February. It gives

* Bishop's N. E. Judged, p. 299-335. Besse, vol. ii. p. 219. Sewel, p. 263-9. Friends' Library, vol. vii. p. 478-80. † Bishop, p. 403. ‡ Hutchinson, 3d ed. vol. i. p. 195. § Hull's MS. Diary. || Belknap's Papers. ¶ MS. Com. for F. Plantations.

a particular account of the damages and sufferings which persons of their denomination experienced in that jurisdiction.

Samuel and Josiah Shattuck and Nicholas Phelps represent to the King that they were banished, have been separated from their families two years, desire to return home, but no shipmaster dares take them as passengers, and petition that the law of Massachusetts, which thus hinders them, may be repealed.

12. Leverett writes that complaints are multiplied against this Colony. He had been accused falsely with saying, that sooner than they would admit appeals to the King, they would sell themselves to the Spaniards. One of a Royal Committee had asked him, whether Massachusetts, if they dared, would not cast off their subjection to the Crown. He replied, that their address to his Majesty held different language, and that should be the rule of his opinion. He was inquired of relative to debates in their General Court about proclaiming the King, and of some speeches there against such a service. He answered, that remarks made in a deliberative assembly by individuals, should not be judged as the opinion of the whole, but their final conclusions.

20. The Council for New England, having considered various charges against them, by which terms they meant chiefly and particularly Massachusetts, proceed as follows.* They have "informed themselves by sundry other waies and meanes of the former and later constitution and alteration of y^e Governments of New England, as well by such as have been antiently upon y^e place and are still related thereunto, as by the view of the Patents of y^e Massachusetts and other Plantations from severall other persons." In this connection, they assert, that New England has wronged other adjacent governments, transgressed their Patents and made laws in opposition to those of England. Such a conclusion was an earnest of the severe course intended to be pursued by the Royalists as to the Colonists, who differed from them in political and ecclesiastical concerns.

May 18. The Corporation in England write to the Commissioners,† who had charge of their missionary affairs, that their official relations to them have ceased, through the restoration of the King. Though they are uncertain whether he will renew the Society, they have hope that he will. Still they would not advise that the printing of the Indian Bible should be suspended.

22. The General Court commenced their session. Speaking of this, Hull remarks : ‡ "The Quakers had given out such speeches, as gave cause to think they intended mischief vnto our magistrates and ministers, and threatened fire and sword to be our speedy portion. But it pleased God we had no disturbance from any."

Norton preaches the Election sermon at this period, when our

* MS. Council Records.

† Hazard, vol. ii. p. 438, 9.

‡ MS. Diary.

1661.]

authorities were in very anxious suspense. His subject is, "Sion the out-cast healed of her wounds," as applicable to the Commonwealth, from Jeremiah xxx. 17. It advocates fidelity to the royal Government. "In matters of the State, civil, and of the Church, let it be shewn, that we are His disciples, who said, 'Give unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's.' In matters of Religion, let it be known that we are for Reformation and not for Separation. Take care that the order of the Gospel may have a free passage in the churches; I mean, that our practice may effectually answer our doctrine, in that book entituled 'The Platform of Church Discipline.' 'Tis that for which we are outcasts this day; that, for the substance of it, is it that sheweth what New England is. I would I might say that there are none among ourselves that are against it. A more yielding ministry unto the people, I believe is not in the world. I beseech you let not Cæsar be killed in the Senate, after he hath fought it out and conquered in the field. Let us acknowledge the order of the Eldership in our Churches in their way, and the order of Councils in their way, duly backed and encouraged; without which, experience will witness that these Churches cannot long consist. It being a day wherein after so many attempts and feares, you are betruſted with your Liberties for another year."

"The Court being desirous to try all means,* with as much lenity as may consist with our safety, to prevent the intrusions of the Quakers, who, besides absurd and blasphemous doctrine, do like rogues and vagabonds come upon us, and have not been restrained by the laws already provided; have ordered that every such vagabond Quaker, found within any part of this Jurisdiction, shall be apprehended," and being adjudged to be "one that hath not any dwelling or orderly allowance as an inhabitant of this Jurisdiction, and not giving civil respect by the usual gestures thereof; or by any other way or means manifesting himself a Quaker, shall, by warrant directed to the constable of the town wherein he or she is taken, or in absence of the constable, to any other meet person, be stripped naked from the middle upwards, and tied to a cart's tail and whipped through the town, and from thence immediately conveyed to the constable of the next town towards the borders of our Jurisdiction, as their warrant shall direct, and so from constable to constable, till they be conveyed through any the outwardmost towns of our Jurisdiction. And if any such vagabond Quakers shall return again, then to be in like manner apprehended and conveyed, as often as they shall be found within the limits of our Jurisdiction; provided every such wandering Quaker, having been thrice convicted and sent away, as above said, and returning again into this Jurisdiction, shall be apprehended and

* MS. Mass. Gen. Court Rec.

committed by any magistrate or commissioner as aforesaid, unto the House of Correction within that County wherein he or she is found, until the next Court of that County, where, if the Court judge meet to release them, they shall be branded with the letter R, on their left shoulder, and be severely whipped and sent away in manner as before. And if after this, he or she shall return again, then to be proceeded against as incorrigible rogues and enemies to the common peace, and shall be immediately apprehended and committed to the common jail of the Country, and at the next Court of Assistants shall be brought to their trial, and proceeded against according to law, made anno 1658, for their banishment on pain of death. And for such Quakers as shall arise from among ourselves, they shall be proceeded against as the former law of anno 1658 doth provide, until they have been convicted by a Court of Assistants; and being so convicted, he or she shall then be banished this Jurisdiction; and if, after that, they shall be found in any part of this Jurisdiction, then he or she, so sentenced to banishment, shall be proceeded against as those that are stranger and vagabond Quakers, in manner as is above expressed. And further, that the constables of the several towns are hereby impowered, from time to time, as necessity shall require, to impress carts, oxen, and other assistance for the execution of this order."

24. "This Court, taking notice of a book, entitled the Christian Commonwealth, written, as is expressed in said book, by Mr. John Eliot, of Roxbury, which, in sundry passages and expressions thereof, is justly offensive, and, in special, relating to Kingly Government in England. The which the said Eliot freely and fully acknowledged to this Court. It is therefore ordered, that the said book be totally suppressed, and the author's acknowledgment recorded, and that all persons whatsoever in this Jurisdiction, that have any of the said books in their custody, shall, on their peril, within fourteen days after the publication hereof, either cancel or deface the same, or deliver them unto the next Magistrate or to the Secretary, whereby all further divulgement or improvement of said offensive book may be prevented. And it is further ordered, that Mr. Eliot's acknowledgment and the Court's order for the calling in of these books, be forthwith transcribed by the Secretary, and caused to be posted up in Boston, Charlestown, Cambridge, Salem and Ipswich, that so all persons, concerned therein, may take notice of their duties and act accordingly." Then follows the apology of Eliot. "Understanding by an act of the Convened Council, that there is offence taken at a book, published in England by others, the copy whereof was sent over by myself about nine or ten years since, and that the further consideration thereof is commended to this honoured General Court, now sitting in Boston; upon perusal thereof, I do judge to have

1661.]

offended, and, in way of satisfaction, not only to the authority of this Jurisdiction, but, also, to any others that shall take notice thereof; I do hereby acknowledge to this Honoured Court, such expressions as do too manifestly scandalize the Government of England by King, Lords and Commons, as anti-Christian, and justify the late Innovators; I do sincerely bear testimony against and acknowledge it to be not only a lawful but eminent form of government. 2. All forms of civil government, deduced from Scripture, either expressly or by just consequence, I acknowledge to be of God, and to be subjected to for conscience' sake. And whatsoever is in the whole epistle or book, inconsistent herewith, I do at once for all cordially disown. JOHN ELIOT."

As William King,* banished last March, had "declared how much he, by the rich grace and mercy of God, was now brought to loathe and abhor himself for his sinful and shameful practices against authority here established; the Court judgeth it meet, for the encouragement of such that shall turn from those principles and ways of Satan and death," to remit his trial before them, and restore him to his former privileges as an inhabitant.

Essex County Court having referred the question, "whether the town of Ipswich might not dispose" of Henry Bachelor and "his farm, so as he may live in the town and enjoy his estate and the public worship of God," from which he and his wife absented themselves, the Legislature impower that Court to dispose of said persons and their farm, "as they shall judge most conducive to their present and future good."

28. Quaker prisoners numbered twenty-seven.† Among them were John Chamberlain, John Smith and his wife Margaret, Mary Trask, Judah Brown, Peter Pierson, George Wilson, John Burston, Elizabeth Hooton, Joan Brokesup, Mary Malins, Catharine Chattam; the last four came into Boston in sackcloth and ashes; Mary and Hannah Wright, Sarah Burden, Sarah Coleman and three or four of her children, Ralph and William Allin, Richard Kerby.

June 6. Ordered that all the Quakers‡ in prison be made acquainted with the new law concerning them, and be sent from constable to constable, out of the Jurisdiction. Two of them, Peter Pierson and Judah Brown, are excepted as to departing without punishment. For standing mute at the last Court of Assistants, they are ordered to be taken from prison, stripped from their girdle upward, tied to a cart's tail, and whipped twenty stripes each in Boston; to suffer the same at Roxbury and Dedham, with the reduction of their stripes to ten in these two places. If any of them are found within the Colony twelve hours after being released, they are to be proceeded with according to law.

* MS. Mass. Gen. Ct. Rec.

† Besse, vol. ii. p. 223, 4.

‡ MS. Mass. Gen. Ct. Rec. and Papers.

Having considered the appeal of Christopherson from the Court of Assistants, in March last, to the Crown, the Legislature decide that the Governor pronounce the sentence of death on him to be executed 13th of June, presently after the Lecture, unless he will leave the Colony and give a written obligation not to return without due authority. He is immediately informed of this. He agrees on the 7th to depart, and is released.

Bishop relates,* that, while Christopherson was on trial, Edward Wharton, of Salem, who had been ordered to leave the jurisdiction on pain of death, wrote to the Court, that he was at home and "could not go away." This accorded with the declaration of Wharton when he received his sentence.

At this date, John Chamberlain of Boston is sentenced to banishment. He had children and a trade. His father and brother, Henry Chamberlain, sen. and jun., petition that he may remain in prison and labor at his business. Their request is granted, so that he be confined at the Castle, and there support himself. This John, as related by Bishop, afterwards married Catharine Chat-tam.

Informed that Nicholas Upshall,† confined in the Boston prison, drew many persons to him, the Legislature order him, on the 10th, to be kept at the Castle, and none to visit him but members of his family with supplies for his wants. On petition of Dorothy, his wife, he is allowed to dwell in the house of John Capen at Dorchester, provided he "do not corrupt any with his pernicious opinions, or admit Quakers or other heretical persons to have recourse to him." In breaking this condition, he must be put on the Castle.

In view of the King's favorable answer to the Court's address, the continuance of their civil and ecclesiastical privileges, health, and prospect of a good harvest, they appoint the 10th of July for thanksgiving.

June. While the Court warn Uncas not to commit any more aggressions on the people of Sagamore Wassamegin of Quabacooke, they desire the latter to "let the English have the bringing up of those captives, now to be released, and of some of their sons also, by means whereof they may the better know and serve God, and be more helpful to their own kinsfolk, friends and countrymen afterward, and that Mr. Eliot be desired to second and forward the motion to Wassamegin and his subjects."

This year, according to the reference of the King on the petition of Robert Mason, Edward Godfrey and others, about their claims to New Hampshire and Maine, a Committee of Parliament make a report.‡ This document, evidently drawn up by unfriendly hands,

* Besse, vol. ii. p. 223.

† MS. Mass. Gen. Ct. Papers.

‡ Farmer's N. H. by Belknap.

1661.]

contains the ensuing paragraph: "It appears further by the witnesses, that the Colony of Massachusetts have, for these many years past, endeavored to model and contrive themselves into a free State, without any relation to the Crown of England, assuming on themselves the name and style of a Commonwealth, issuing of writs in their own name, imposing of oaths to be true unto themselves contrary to that of allegiance, coining of money with their own stamps and signatures, exercising an arbitrary power over the estates and persons of all such as submit not unto their government, allowing them no appeals to England, and some have been so bold as publicly to affirm, that if his Majesty should send them a governor, that the several towns and churches throughout the whole country, under their government, did resolve to oppose him, and others have said, that, before they of New England would or should submit to any appeal to England, they would sell that Country or Plantation to the King of Spain."

Reports of unfriendly designs* by the Court against New England had crossed the Atlantic and were commonly circulated. They stated that the Colonists were to be cut off from commercial intercourse with Virginia and the West India islands; that three frigates were fitting out to impose a Governor General on the North American plantations, and other accompanying features of arbitrary power. Circumstances of this kind induced our Legislature to pass the following resolve.

"Forasmuch as the present condition of our affairs in highest concernments call for diligent and speedy use of the best means seriously to discuss and rightly to understand our Liberty and Duty, to beget unity among ourselves in the due observance of obedience and fidelity to the authority of England and our own privileges," a committee are accordingly appointed to make a report. The clerical members of this committee are Mather, Norton, Cobbet and Mitchel.

10. The report appointed to be made, is laid before the Legislature.† It has two heads, first, duties to the Colony; second, duties to the King. Under the former, it is stated that our authorities have full power "for the government of all people here, whether inhabitants or strangers, both concerning ecclesiastical and civil, without appeals, excepting law or laws, repugnant to the laws of England." Under the latter, it is declared the obligation of the Colonists to approve and maintain the rule of their Sovereign, by "propagating the Gospell, defending and upholding the true Christian or Protestant religion, according to the faith given by our Lord Christ in his Word, our dread Sovereign being styled Defender of the Faith, etc." It is allowed that Whalley and Goffe, and such others as flee hither from justice in England, should be arrested. The report is accepted.

* Graham, 2d ed. vol. i. p. 316.

† MS. Mass. Gen. Ct. Rec.

Having considered several petitions from inhabitants of Ipswich, Newbury and Sudbury, as to the relations of the Colony to England, the Court desire the petitioners to rest satisfied that they "will not be wanting in the prosecution of such further means, as may be most conducive to our own peace." Boston petitioners are referred to the same answer.

19. Before they adjourn,* the Legislature appoint a committee, of whom are Norton, and Mitchel, to prepare letters for his Majesty, the Lord Chancellor, the Earl of Manchester, Saltonstall, Leverett and Ashurst. They are also to consider means of raising four or five hundred pounds, for public use in England. The Governor is desired, if an opportunity offer, to inform the King or the Secretaries of State, of his compliance with the royal injunction for the pursuit of Whalley and Goffe.

25. The Quakers of Salem† are fined about £40. Among them is the wife of Nicholas Phelps. She is sentenced to pay £5, or be whipped, for asserting that Mr. Higginson "sent abroad his wolves and blood-hounds among the sheep and lambs." On the 2d of the next month such persons of the same Town are fined £10 for absence from parish worship.

July 10. Lord Say and Seal wrote to the Governor‡ of Massachusetts, that though John Crown, who boarded with John Norton of Boston, and was a member of Harvard College when Whalley and Goffe arrived, represented before the Royal Council that these two persons were received with marked respect by the authorities and all others, yet he spoke favorably of the Government here and allayed the prejudice against them for severity to the Quakers. He recommended that Crown have some compensation for his discretion.

16. Thomas Gilbert,§ a native of Scotland, and his wife Sarah, arrive at Charlestown. In a communication of September 12, the Commissioners of the Colonies say to gentlemen in London, "We received a letter from Mr. Gilbert, recommended to us by some of the Corporation, who hath met with suitable employment at Rowley." He was settled, November, 1663, in the ministry at Topsfield.

30. The first Church at Salem|| pass a vote that the children of persons, who had been covenant children, should be entitled to baptism.

August 7. The General Court assemble¶ by summons from the Governor, who, to lessen the force of complaints against the Colony, thought it best to have the King proclaimed. They order that this service shall be performed on the morrow in Boston, immediately after the Lecture, by Secretary Rawson. This was done in the presence of the several branches of the Legislature, Col. Tem-

* MS. Mass. Gen. Ct. Rec. and Papers.

† Chalmers' Polit. Annals, p. 264.

|| MS. First Ch. Rec.

† Essex Ct. Rec.

§ Cleaveland's Topsfield, p. 33.

¶ MS. Mass. Gen. Ct. Rec.

1661.]

ple, the Elders, multitudes of people, four foot companies, one of cavalry, and masters of ships in the harbor. All drunkenness, debauchery and profaneness were forbidden, according to the royal injunction. Under such a clause, the notice of the occasion, posted up publicly, required "in a particular manner, that no man should presume to drink his Majesty's health."

9. A petition is presented by James Pepin, Jr. An extract follows.* "Whereas your petitioner hath for these two preceding years, to his loss, voyaged into these parts, and the last year, upon the relation which he had made at home of your estate of the churches and country of New England, being ordered by his father, who is an elder of the Protestant Church at Rochelle in France, to make propositions to your Honoured Governor, Col. Temple and some others, in relation to transporting himself and some others of the Protestant Religion and their estates, into these parts, in case of a storm. And a letter then passing unto the Rev. Mr. Norton from a pastor of the church, conducing that way, who then found such encouragement as moved his father to send him now over with an estate to settle in these parts, as by two letters, which he hath now brought unto the said Rev. Mr. Norton from two of the pastors, and by one to Joshua Scottow from your said petitioner's father, will more fully appear. Your said petitioner doth most humbly crave, that he may be received under your protection as an inhabitant of this jurisdiction; and have liberty to land the estate he hath brought over to that purpose: and so far negotiate as to dispatch his ship home unto the port whereunto she doth belong." The request is granted.

10. An address is prepared for the King, but does not appear to have been sent.† A few of its items are cited. "Gospel libertie, truely so called, is sweeter than life." Referring to the insurrection of the fifth monarchy men under their leader, it says of the last, "Venner went out from¹ us, because he was not of us. May New England, under your royal protection, be permitted still to sing the Lord's song in this strange land."

September 9. The Court of Assistants sentence‡ Josiah Southwick, who had returned from banishment, to be stripped from his girdle upward, as the last law against the Quakers required, tied to a cart's tail and whipped ten stripes in each of the towns, Boston, Roxbury and Dedham. Thus turned out of the jurisdiction, he came back next day but one, to his house in Salem.

Edward Burrough and other leading Quakers in England had earnestly interceded with the King to arrest proceedings against those of their denomination in our country.§ His Majesty had told Burrough, that if he and his friends would dispatch a ship, he

* MS. Mass. Gen. Ct. Papers. † Hutch. Coll. p. 341-3. ‡ MS. Gen. Ct. Rec.

§ Fox's Journal, vol. i. p. 243. - Besse, vol. ii. p. 225.

would have a mandamus drawn up immediately. It appears that this proposition was accepted, and Samuel Shattuck of Salem, who had been banished, was appointed to bring the document of the last preceding date, addressed to all the Governors of New England. This runs as follows: "Charles R.—Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. Having been informed that several of our subjects amongst you, called Quakers, have been, and are imprisoned by you, whereof some have been executed, and others (as hath been represented unto us) are in danger to undergo the like. We have thought fit to signifie our pleasure in that behalf for the future; and do hereby require, that if there be any of those people, called Quakers, amongst you, now already condemned to suffer death, or other corporal punishment, or that are imprisoned, and are obnoxious to the like condemnation, you are to forbear to proceed any farther therein; but that you forthwith send the said persons (whether condemned or imprisoned) over into our Kingdom of England, together with the respective crimes or offences, laid to their charge, to the end that such course may be taken with them here, as shall be agreeable to our laws and their demerits."

12. The Commissioners of the Union* having been encouraged to expect that the King would revive the Missionary Corporation, address him on this subject. They speak of their Confederation as brought about by the need of mutual defense in their exposed situation. They then proceed to relate the particular effects of the labor for evangelizing the Indians. Many of their adults have learned the doctrines of Christianity with much affection for their missionaries. Large numbers of their children read and write. Some have advanced "further, so as to attain the knowledge of the Latin and Greek tongues, and are brought up with our English youth in learning."

"There are divers of them, that can and do read some part of the Scripture and some Catechisms, which formerly have been translated into their own language, which hath occasioned the undertaking of this great work, viz.: the printing of the whole Bible; which being translated by a painful laborer amongst them, who was desirous to see the work accomplished in his days, hath already proceeded to finish the New Testament, which we here have presented to your Majesty, as the first fruit and accomplishment of the pious design of your Royal Ancestors. The Old Testament is now under the press, waiting and craving for your Royal favor and assistance for the perfecting thereof. We may not conceal, though this work hath been begun and prosecuted by such instruments as God hath raised up here, yet the chief charge that hath supported and carried on these, hath been from the charity and piety of our well-affected countrymen in England, who,

* MS. Com'rs Rec. Hazard, vol. ii. p. 439-47.

1661.]

being sensible of our inability in that respect and being studious to promote so good a work, contributed large sums of money." They add: "We do most humbly beseech your Majesty, that a matter of so much devotion and piety to the honor of God, may suffer no disappointment through any legal default, without the default of the donors or poor Indians, who only receive the benefit; but that your Majesty be graciously pleased to establish and confirm the same."

The Commissioners address Richard Hutchinson and Wm. Ashurst in London. "The New Testament is already finished, and of all the Old, the five Books of Moses. We have herewith sent you twenty of the New Testament, which we desire may be thus disposed of, viz.: that two of the special, being very well bound, the one may be presented to his Majesty in the first place, the other to the Lord Chancellor; and that five more may be presented to Doctor Reynolds, Mr. Carrill, Mr. Baxter and the two Vice-Chancellors of the Universities, who, we understand, have greatly encouraged the work. The rest we leave to be disposed, as you shall see cause." They conclude: "By the account, you will find we have remaining £414 4s. 4d. stock, a great part whereof will be expended in printing the Bible and a new impression of a Catechism, and little or nothing will remain to discharge the charges of the Indian youths at the University and such as have put themselves wholly upon the work, which, for want of means, necessitated to betake themselves to other employments, to the great hindrance, if not utter ruining of the work. We doubt not of your readiness, and improvement of your utmost interest and every argument to procure his Majesty's favor and furtherance of this work, so much tending to the glory of God and salvation of poor blind Heathen, wherein you have been and we hope shall yet be continued fellow-laborers with your friends, the Commissioners of the United Colonies."

The accounts of the missions furnish various items of information. Mrs. Bland is still paid for services among the Indians at the Vineyard, and especially for "physic and surgery." Books were delivered to Indian scholars and Matthew Mayhew, son of the deceased missionary, who was being educated to follow the profession of his father. Wheels, cards and cotton wool, as a common stock, had been provided for Indian women in the same quarter. Among those who labored with the Indians were Messrs. William Thompson and Bourne, at Sandwich.

13. Mr. Usher has instructions from the Commissioners, to receive the whole impression of the New Testament in Indian, from the printer, Mr. Green; to have two hundred of them bound strongly in leather for the use of the Indians; to have one thousand copies of Mr. Eliot's Catechism printed, "which are much wanting among the Indians."

October. On petition of John Eliot,* Daniel Gookin is appointed by the Legislature, instead of Gen. Atherton, deceased, to keep Courts among the Indians, who are in favor of the gospel.

Six persons of the Church † in Salem are recorded as absenting themselves from its ordinances. They had united with the Quakers.

November 24. Being Sabbath,‡ Ralph Goldsmith, Quaker, and master of a ship, chartered by those of his denomination to bring over the Royal Mandamus, intrusted to Samuel Shattuck, arrives in Boston harbor. Some men boarded his vessel and asked for letters; he replied, No, not to-day. They went ashore and reported, that the ship was full of Quakers, and Shattuck among them. The next day, this person and Goldsmith waited on Endicott, the Governor, who, after consulting the Deputy Governor, said to them: "We shall obey his Majesty's command." Goldsmith let his passengers leave the vessel, who "met together with their friends of the Town, to offer up praises to God for this wonderful deliverance."

27. The General Court assemble to consider the King's letter of September 9, respecting the Quakers.§ The Elders, being invited to attend and advise about this subject, present a report on the 29th, through Mr. Mather, as follows: Q. Shall the laws against the Quakers, continue to be executed? A. "Upon his Majesty's letters, we conceive it expedient, that the execution of death or corporal punishment, according as is expressed therein, be suspended pro tem., provided that some effectual course be also taken in the interim, for the restraint of turbulence in Church or State, which the King's warrant, to our apprehension, no ways inhibits, but rather encourageth thereunto." Q. Whether those in prison be sent to England with the charges against them, or released and suffered to go at large here? A. It is better that they be sent to England. Q. "Whether this Court is called to make an humble address, by petition, to his Majesty in answer to his letter, now brought concerning the said Quakers?" A. Affirmative. Q. Whether agents should be sent to London for attending to the Colony's interests? A. Affirmative. Q. Whether funds should be raised for this purpose? A. Affirmative. In reference to the second question, the Deputies vote against it, but the Magistrates were in its favor.

The Court pass the subsequent declaration: "The just and necessary rules of our government and condition for preservation of religion, order and peace, have induced the Authority here established, from time to time, to make and sharpen laws against Quakers in reference to their restless intrusions and impetuous dis-

* MS. Mass. Gen. Ct. Rec.

† MS. First Ch. Rec.

‡ Geo. Fox's Journal, vol. i, p. 242, 3. Besse, vol. ii. p. 226.

§ MS. Mass. Gen. Ct. Papers.

1661.]

turbances, and not any inclination in us to punish them in person or estate, as is evident by our gradual proceedings with them, releasing some condemned, and others liable to condemnation, and all imprisoned and sent out of our borders; all which, notwithstanding, their restless spirits have moved some of them to return and others to fill the Royal ear of our Sovereign Lord, the King, with complaints against us, and have by their unwearied solicitations in our absence, so far prevailed as to obtain a letter from his Majesty to forbear their corporal punishment and death; although we hope and doubt not but that if his Majesty were rightly informed, he would be far from giving them such favor or weakening his authority here, so long and orderly settled; yet that we may not in the least offend his Majesty, this Court doth hereby order and declare, that the execution of the laws in force against Quakers, as such, so far as they respect corporal punishment or death, be suspended until this Court take further order."

Considering the ignorance and dissipation of youth, neglect of domestic government, pride and excess in apparel; "the impetuous and restless intrusions of heretics and enemies to the way, worship and ordinances of God; the enemies and underminers," who "multiply complaints against us to our Sovereign; the cursed combination of Antichrist and his adherents to ruin and trample on all the sincere servants of God the world throughout," the Court appoint the 2d of January for a public Fast.

With respect to the regal order, Neal says * "this put an effectual stop to the sufferings of the Quakers, on account of their principles." He evidently implies, as many others have, that our fathers punished this denomination for the profession of their religious doctrines as well as actions. But this was contrary to the repeated declaration of such Massachusetts authorities. While they considered and represented these principles, as exerting a ruinous influence on the spiritual interests of the Colony, they asserted that their hard dealing with the professors of them was not that their religion was wrong, but that the manner in which they professed and exhibited it tended to the subversion of all civil and ecclesiastical order, and thus threatened the overthrow of the Commonwealth. Shortly after the King's interdict came to their hands, the Legislature observed, that their necessary "laws against the Quakers were in reference to their restless intrusions and impetuous disturbances." In their reply to his Majesty, on this subject, they remarked, "that after all other means, for a long time used in vain, they were at last constrained, for their own safety, to pass a sentence of banishment against them, on pain of death; such was their dangerous, impetuous and desperate turbulency in religion, as that how unwilling soever, could it be avoided, the

* Neal's N. E. vol. i. p. 335.

magistrate judged himself called for the defence of all, to keep the passage with the point of the sword held towards them. Their willingly rushing themselves thereupon was their own act."

This accords with a passage in Winthrop's Christian Charity. "The care of the public must oversway all private respects. Particular estates cannot subsist in the ruin of the public." So believed Cotton, when he declared that the banishment of Roger Williams was no persecution, because it was for acting out his principles against the common peace, and not for the orderly belief of them. Such was the rule, professed by the authorities of Massachusetts in all their collisions with the different individuals and sects, whom they felt themselves bound to resist, as subverters of the Commonwealth. When charged with persecution for conscience' sake, as they were repeatedly, they avowed it, as previously intimated, to be at variance with the fact. It has always been the natural inclination with denominations, suffering from rulers for their irregular and injurious courses, to assume the position that their trouble was for their creed and not for their conduct. Even the Mormons of Utah have bitterly complained that the Congress of the United States, in lately sending forces to prevent their notorious violation of the national laws, were persecuting them for their religion.

Opinions embraced by the Quakers.* "They denied the Holy Scriptures to be the only rule of the faith and manners, and advanced their light within, in the place of it. They denied the received doctrine of the Holy Trinity; the morality of the Sabbath, and that there was no particular day set apart by God for divine worship. They denied the two Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper; condemned the prayers and preachings of the public ministers; called them priests of Baal, hirelings, deceivers of the people, and exhorted them to desert their market houses, as they called their meeting places, on pain of the severest judgments of Almighty God." As "to the person of Christ," they called "him a certain heavenly divine body, constituted of invisible flesh, blood and bones, in which he came down from heaven; and they directed the people not to look so much to Christ without them, as to Christ within them."

This year, the subsequent work† was published in London, by Benjamin Woodbridge, Rector of Newbury, in the County of Berks. It was left by Nicholas Noyes, of Newbury, among his MSS. It has two Epistles dedicatory, by Thomas Parker, colleague with the deceased. One of them is to King Charles II., and the other to the reader. They are both dated at Newbury, in New England, August 6, 1660. The title of the book follows.

"Moses and Aaron, or the Rights of Church and State, contain-

* Neal's N. E. vol. i. p. 341, 2.

† Calamy, vol. i. p. 132.

1661.]

ing two Disputations. The former concerning the Church, in which are examined the Principles of Separation, and their inconsistency with truth and peace demonstrated: and the Government of the Church vindicated into the hands of her proper Rulers." The latter asserts the sacredness of the persons and authority of Kings, and against sacrilegious usurpation and King-killing.

Under the first subject, are the following propositions: "That the whole visible Church is one integral body. Right to ordinances depends not on consociation with particular churches. One particular church may consist of many particular congregations. Elders are essential to the being of particular churches. Election by the Church not essential to the constitution of Elders. Ordination of Elders by common members unlawful. Common members may not govern by suffrage together with their Elders. Elders preach the Gospel by way of office. And that unto all the world, as occasion serves. And are also Elders unto all Churches, as occasion serves. Private men may not preach in the church. Bishops according to Christ's institution. The subordination of ecclesiastical power to civil. The subordination of civil and ecclesiastical power to Christ. The rule of admission into the Church. All Elders are teaching Elders."

Under the second subject, the following proposition is presented and then discussed by way of objections and replies. "Subordinate power may not offensively resist supreme power in an hostile way for its own defense, except the laws of the place do so permit."

December 3. The General Court agree on an address to the King in reply to his mandamus.

4. The Council "of the Common Weale,* do judge meet to commend unto the Reverend Elders of the Churches in our neighbouring Collonyes, the act of the General Court" for a "Sinodically meeting to be held in March next, at Boston, by the messengers of all the Churches of this Jurisdiction, with their desires, if they shall see meet to afford their presence and help in the discussions of such questions, refering to the order and practice of these Churches in the things of God."

9. The Legislature order Mr. Salter, prison keeper of Boston, to release the Quakers in his custody.

Besse informs us that of the Quakers† so discharged, were Elizabeth Hooton and Joane Brooksup; that each of them was about sixty years of age; that they came from England this year, by the way of Virginia, and through many difficulties reached Boston; that, when discharged, they with others, were carried "two days' journey," that is, out of the jurisdiction, and they reached Rhode Island; that, after tarrying here a few days, they

* Hutchinson MS. p. 240.

† Vol. ii. p. 228, 9.

sailed for Barbadoes, and "from thence, not long after, they came back to New England." On arriving at Boston, they were imprisoned, and immediately put on board of a ship for Virginia. After suffering here for her religion, Elizabeth Hooton "went back again to her habitation in Old England."

Soon after such a release, Edward Wharton comes from Rhode Island and stops at Taunton.* When the constable threatened to whip him out of town, he replied, "Take heed what thou dost, for the King hath lately sent over to the Rulers in New England, to charge them that they inflict no more sufferings upon such as I am."

10. Persons of this denomination in Salem† are fined from £1 to £10 each. John Burton, of their order, declared to the Justices that they were robbers and destroyers of the widows and fatherless, and that their priests divined for money, and that their worship was not the worship of God. Being commanded silence, he commanded the Court to be silent. He continued speaking in this manner till he was ordered to the stocks.

31. Special Court convenes.‡ They appoint Simon Bradstreet and John Norton as agents to present their address to the King, and negotiate for the welfare of the Colony. A reason for such an appointment is that information had come from London of further complaints against our Rulers, and the King had required persons to be sent thither and make answer. The individuals selected for this difficult mission are loth to consent, and especially Mr. Norton. Their instructions are to represent the Colonists as loyal subjects; to remove the "scandalous objections" to them; to obtain a knowledge of what the King and his Council think of them, and endeavor to establish their rights and privileges; to make no engagement which may invalidate their charter standing; and to send an account of their transactions and whatever else may concern them.

A letter is ordered for the "Church of Christ in Boston to stir up their willing mind to part with Mr. Norton to further the service and occasions of the Country."

"The Court having taken into consideration that there are several questions and doubts yet depending in the Churches of this Jurisdiction, do therefore order and hereby desire that the Churches aforesaid do send their Elders and Messengers to Boston 2 Tuesday of 1 mo.;" that they "make due provision for the messengers by them sent; that the neighboring Elders, with as much convenient speed as may be, do meet together and consider of such questions, besides what is hereunder proposed, as they shall judge necessary to be then and there discussed for the settling of

* Bishop, p. 395.

† MS. Essex Ct. Rec.

‡ MS. Mass, Gen. Ct. Papers. Chalmers' Pol. Annals, p. 264-8.

1662.]

peace and truth in the Churches of Christ, and make their return with as much convenient speed as may be to the Governor or Secretary:

“ 1. Who are the subjects of Baptism ?

“ 2. Whether according to the Word of God there ought to be a Consociation of Churches, and what should be the manner of it ? ”
This last question was returned to the Secretary by the Elders.

1662. January 4. A matter which excites much thought and remark* is the mission to London, as laid on Messrs. Bradstreet and Norton. These persons thought, from the opposition exhibited there to Massachusetts, they, if going thither, might be detained long as prisoners. Though the Governor and his Deputy had been designated to unite with others of the General Court, to dispatch the Agents, they were not favorable to the enterprise, and therefore declined. The Committee now hold a session at the Anchor Tavern in Boston. They converse with the Elders of the first Church in the town, about Mr. Norton's being one of the messengers. Expecting that old and recent difficulties will be brought up, they order copies of them, in relation to Rhode Island, Dr. Child and his friends, Gorton and company, Quakers, etc.

18. They reply to objections presented by the Agents. They observe: “ The Committee, taking the premises into their serious consideration, cannot but look upon it as a humbling providence of God towards his poor people, that whilst they are endeavoring to wait on God in the use of all lawful means left unto them for the preservation of such high favors as, in sundry respects, he hath been pleased to trust us withall, that so many clouds should hover over our heads for the darkening our paths.”

24. After several other communications between the Committee and the Agents, the former prepare for the latter, various documents. The instructions require the Agents to use endeavors for removing objections from the Colony, and retaining the Charter. An address to the King states that, as he ordered, the corporal punishment and death of Quakers had been suspended. It mentions that so uncertain are affairs here, the Rulers are continually in dread of some great evil, and that they will be so until he shall please to give them some security. A letter is addressed to Lord Say, as a tried friend of Puritan plantations, entreating him to use his influence in favor of the agency. Another is sent to Lord Clarendon, of similar import. It says that the Quakers so abuse their indulgence, that “ unless his Majesty strengthen our hands in application to some suitable remedy to suppress these and others ill-affected to our tranquillity, this hopeful plantation is likely in all probability to be destroyed.”

25. Fifteen gentlemen raised, as a loan to the Colony, over

* Hutchinson's Coll. p. 345-74.

£300 for the Agents to carry with them. A letter is prepared for Herbert Pelham, Francis Willoughby and others, who had lived in this country, desiring them to grant help to the Agents, if needed.

28. The Committee send a note to Governor Endicott, desiring him to give his official sanction to the papers for the Agents. Their words are, "Which if you refuse, the whole business will be frustrated, and we fear his Majesty greatly incensed, our enemies advantaged, our friends discouraged, the chief power of this Colony disappointed, many of its eminent servants grieved, and above all, our God dishonored, which we pray may be avoided." Endicott complies. But on account of Mr. Norton's illness, the Commissioners did not sail till the 11th of February. Four days previous to their embarkation, when there was little hope that they would go, the Committee prepared letters for Richard Saltonstall, Henry Ashurst, John Leverett and Thomas Temple, and besought them to speak in behalf of Massachusetts as need should require.

As an expression of prevalent opinion,* respecting this embassy, we quote from a letter of John Pynchon to Mr. Davenport, of New Haven, under the next March 26: "Our General Court, after much agitation and opposition, have at last sent two messengers to England. I pray God, it may be for the best. The event is doubtful to me, seeing we have so many false friends and open enemies." The fears of the people about Messrs. Norton and Bradstreet, while absent, were denoted by reports in many letters, stating that they were detained, and that the former was committed to the Tower.

February 7. Though many in England would have had the King utterly disannul the Act, which provided Christian instruction for the Indians of our country, because, as they urged, it was granted without any royal assent, he still declined to comply with their wishes.† He renews the document, which styles those, who are so privileged, "The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel among the heathen natives of New England and the parts adjacent." This was a favor, welcome to our fathers, who desired and sought the religious improvement of the original inhabitants. "The Act mentions that several ministers had learnt the language of the natives, and had been instrumental of bringing many of them to the knowledge of the true God and the profession of the Protestant religion. It incorporates Edward, Earl of Clarendon, the Lord Chancellor and others, and empowers them to purchase and take lands, etc. to the value of £2,000 per annum, and goods, etc. to any value." It provides for the appointment of Commissioners in New England who may contract with ministers and school-

* Hutchinson, 3d ed. vol. i. p. 202. † Humphrey's Hist. p. 6. Mather's MS. Papers. Birch's Life of Boyle, p. 319-35.

1662.]

masters, and with others for supplies, for teaching the Indians not only in civilization and religion; "in the knowledge of the English tongue, liberal arts and sciences;" but "for educating them or their children in some trade, mystery or lawful calling."

10. William Pynchon dates the preface of his reply to John Norton, at Wraisbury, England, denominated "The Covenant of Nature with Adam described and cleared from sundry mistakes."

19. Three members of the Salem Church are excommunicated for neglect of its ordinances. Three more are admonished and were cut off on the 26th, for a like offense. They were Quakers.

26. The Council of the King order all persons,* who have commissions from New England and who can give account of these parts, for the benefit of the Crown, to attend the Board, on March 6, at 3 o'clock, P. M., "particularly Col. Thomas Temple and Mr. Winthrop."

March 10. The Synod having assembled in Boston,† the opinion of dissenting brethren is laid before them. It is signed by Charles Chauncy, as messenger from the church of Cambridge, John Mayo, from North Church of Boston, Eleazer Mather from that of Northampton, and Increase Mather from that of Dorchester, "with the consent of several others" in the Synod.

As the members perceive, on the 11th, that the questions before them require more time for deliberation than they can give, they adjourn to the 10th of June. They agreed to discuss the topics proposed to them by the General Court at their next meeting, viz., subjects of baptism and association of churches.

30. Samuel Haugh, or Hough, the second minister of Reading, dies at the house of his brother-in-law, Hezekiah Usher, Boston. He was son to Atherton Haugh, who came in 1633, from Boston, England, where he had been Mayor, and settled with Mr. Cotton in the place named after that city.

The Magnalia represents him as among the young scholars who had not finished their education when emigrating to our Colony, but did so here before Harvard bestowed its degrees. Circumstances indicate, that Cotton was his spiritual guide, and that he followed this eminent teacher while he lived, and became a partaker with him in perfect wisdom, when he died. His widow, Sarah, daughter of Rev. Zechariah Symmes, married John Brock, the successor of her first husband. He left three daughters, who had divisions of his property in 1682, and a son, Samuel, who inherited his father's estate at Cambridge.

May 7. The General Court assemble.‡ They pass various orders. "Whereas there is excess in apparel among us, unbecoming a wilderness condition and the profession of the gospel, whereby the rising generation are in danger to be corrupted," it is

* MS. Council Rec. † Mather's MS. Papers. ‡ MS. Mass. Gen. Ct. Rec.

required, that all persons, who wear clothes above their "quality and condition," shall be admonished for the first offense, fined for the second, and increasingly so for subsequent violations.

With reference to Quakers, it is ordered, that all strangers and foreigners, who go from one town to another, drawing away young and old, shall be prosecuted and punished as vagrants.

In view of sickness, disunion, drought, depression on account of the public affairs, and the Synod, soon to convene, Fast day is assigned to the 5th of June.

One thousand acres of land are granted to Malden for the support of their ministry.

On petition of Jane Harwood, her daughter is allowed to return from banishment, and submit to the discretion of the Court.

As Nicholas Upshall had not complied with the restrictions imposed on him, he is again confined to the house of John Capen at Dorchester.

Benjamin Gillam's wife, fined for non-attendance on public worship and imprisoned, is discharged, if she keep at home and attend meeting, as the law requires.

Robert Lord, captain of the ship *St. George*, relates the manner in which he received Ann Coleman on board of his vessel, not being aware that she was a Quaker, when she paid her passage money. After her arrival, she had actively circulated books, which treated on the doctrines of her denomination. She said her errand here was to bear her testimony against the authorities, for the death of such as had been executed. He agrees to keep her in the ship until he sails. He is released from the £100 fine, and required to pay only one barrel of powder.

15. The Missionary Corporation write* to the Commissioners. They state, that his Majesty and Council had granted them a charter for the continuation of their work, having added to their number "many of the nobilitie and other persons of qualitie." They mention, that no small part of their landed property had been taken from them by unjust lawsuits.

27. President Boyle writes to Michael Boyle,† bishop of Cork, respecting forfeited impropriations in Ireland, committed to his care. He remarks: "And I should possibly employ the other third part also the same way, but that his Majesty has been pleased to appoint me Governor to a Corporation for the propagating of the Gospel among the heathen natives in New England and other parts of America. And this Corporation, being at great charges for necessary works, and especially for the translating and printing of the Bible in the Indian tongue, above one half of their revenue is injuriously detained from them by a person, who had sold it to a Corporation, erected for the same purposes with ours, under the

* MS. Com. Rec. Hazard, vol. ii. p. 453, 4. † Birch's Life of Boyle, p. 136.

1662.]

late usurping powers, and now has repossessed himself of his land, because those, that we sold it to, were not legally qualified to have a sale made to them. By which means so pious a design, as is pursued by this Corporation, is now in danger to miscarry for want of maintenance; so that the work being so charitable, and I having a peculiar call to promote it, I think, after having advised with the bishop of Lincoln in the case, that it becomes me, on such a juncture of circumstances, to apply the one third part, or thereabouts, of what the King's grant will yield me, for six or seven years at least, to the carrying on of so unquestionably good a work; so that the main benefit I intend to derive from the King's bounty, is the opportunity of doing some good with what, if my friends had not obtained it, might have been begged by others, who would have otherwise employed it." On August 13, Bishop Boyle replies and objects to any appropriation of such funds to New England.

June 10. The adjourned Synod meet. A reply of John Davenport to the seven propositions, concluded on by them, and another from his colleague, Mr. Street, are laid before them by Increase Mather.

On July 4, the Synod having adjourned, Eleazer Mather of Northampton writes to Mr. Davenport: "There was scarce any of the Congregational principles but what were layen at by some or other of the assembly; as relations of the work of grace, power of voting of the fraternity in admission, etc., profession of faith and repentance not to be required of such as were baptized in the church, in reference to the baptism of their children.* Mr. Parker of Newbury was one of the great antagonists of the Congregational way and order, though it not being the work of the present Synod, his many motions to consider whether we were in the right ecclesiastical order, were not attended." This writer was the senior brother of Increase Mather, and both of them felt morally constrained to differ from their father on the decision of the Synod, as to baptism.

This Body, on the 9th of September,† reassemble in Boston. Their number consisted of above seventy elders and messengers. The following comes before them. First. "Who are the subjects of Baptism?" The answer may be given in the seven propositions, briefly confirmed from the Scriptures.

1. They that according to Scripture, are members of the visible church, are the subjects of baptism.

2. The members of the visible church, according to Scripture, are confederate visible believers, in particular churches, and their infant-seed, i. e. children in minority, whose next parents, one or both, are in covenant.

3. The infant-seed of confederate visible believers, are members

* Hutchinson, 3d ed. vol. i. p. 205.

† Hubbard's New Eng. p. 287-90. Magnalia, 2d ed. vol. ii. p. 239-58.

of the same church with their parents, and when grown up, are personally under the watch, discipline and government of that church.

4. These adult persons are not therefore to be admitted into full communion, merely because they are and continue members, without such further qualifications, as the Word of God requireth thereunto.

5. Church members who are admitted in minority, understanding the doctrine of faith, and publicly professing their assent thereto; not scandalous in life, and solemnly owning the covenant before the church, wherein they give up themselves and their children to the Lord, and subject themselves to the government of Christ in the church, their children are to be baptized.

6. Such church members, who either by death or some other extraordinary providence, have been inevitably hindered from public acting as aforesaid, yet have given the church cause in judgment of charity, to look at them as so qualified, and such as, had they been called thereunto, would have so acted, their children are to be baptized.

7. The members of orthodox churches, being sound in the faith and not scandalous in life, and presenting due testimony thereof; these occasionally coming from one church to another, may have their children baptized in the church whither they come, by virtue of communion of churches; but if they remove their habitation, they ought orderly to covenant and subject themselves to the government of Christ in the church where they settle their abode, and so their children to be baptized. It being the churches' duty to receive such into communion so far as they are regularly fit for the same.

The reply to the Apologetical Preface, p. 3, says as to members, who did not agree with the large majority on the first topic, "We suppose there were not five twice-told, that did in anything vote on the negative. In the third proposition, which some think carries the whole cause, there appeared not above three that dissented. The conclusion of the rest, after they had heard and considered all that the Dissenters had to say, or were pleased to say, both by way of writing and verbal dispute, may well pass for the Synodical Sentence, and is to be received according to order."

On this subject we have the following observations* from Increase Mather: "There were multitudes of well-disposed persons, who professed themselves desirous to renew their baptismal covenant, and submit unto the church-discipline, and so have their houses also marked for the Lord's; but yet they could not come up to that experimental account of their Regeneration, which would sufficiently embolden their access unto the Table of the Lord, and

* Remarkables of Increase Mather, p, 50-2.

1662.]

which the Churches required of them." To make no distinction between persons of this character and others of less seriousness, "was judged an unwarrantable strictness, which would quickly abandon the biggest part of the country unto circumstances by no means to be wished for. But on the other side, it was feared, that if all such as had not yet exposed themselves by censurable scandals found upon them, should be admitted unto all the privileges in our Churches, a worldly generation of men might, before we are aware, carry things into such a course of proceeding, as would be too disagreeable unto the kingdom of Heaven, which the Church is to represent unto the world. The thing became a *considerable controversy*." Therefore, a Synod is assembled by order of the General Court. He says of the fifth proposition, "This was most contested of all the subjects presented."

The Synod then take up the inquiry, whether there should be a Consociation of Churches? Their reply will be given compendiously* so far as its signification will allow.

"1. Every Church or particular congregation of visible saints in gospel order, being furnished with a presbytery, at least with a teaching elder, and walking together in truth and peace, hath received from the Lord Jesus full power and authority, ecclesiastical within itself, regularly to administer all the ordinances of Christ, and is not under any other ecclesiastical jurisdiction whatever.

"2. The Churches of Christ do stand in a sisterly relation to each other.

"3. Communion of Churches is the faithful improvement of the gifts of Christ, bestowed upon them, for his service and glory and their mutual good edification, according to capacity and opportunity.

"4. Acts of Communion of Churches are such as these: 1, hearty care and prayer one for another; 2, to afford relief, by communication of their gifts in temporal or spiritual necessities; 3, to maintain unity and peace, by giving an account one to another of their publick actions, when it is orderly desired; 4, to seek and accept help from, and give help unto each other, in case of divisions and contentions,—in matters of more than ordinary importance,—in doubtful and difficult questions and controversies, doctrinal or practical,—for rectifying mal-administrations and healing errors and scandals; 5, in love and faithfulness to take notice of the troubles and difficulties, errors and scandals of another church, and to administer help, (when the case necessarily calls for it,) though they should so neglect their own good and duty as not to seek it; 6, to admonish one another, when there is need and cause for it, and after due means with patience used, to withdraw from a church, or peccant party therein, obstinately persisting in error or scandal, as in the platform of discipline.

* Magnalia, 2d ed. vol. ii. p. 256-8.

"5. Consociation of Churches is their mutual and solemn agreement to exercise communion in such acts as aforesaid.

"6. The Churches of Christ in this country, having so good an opportunity for it, it is meet to be commended to them, as their duty thus to consociate.

"7. The manner of the Churches' agreement herein, or entering into this Consociation, may be by each church's open consenting unto the things here declared in answer to the second proposition.

"8. The manner of exercising that communion may be by making use occasionally of elders or able brethren of other churches, or by the more solemn meetings of both elders and messengers, in less or greater councils, as the matter shall require."

With regard to the latter subject, the Defence* of the Synod, whose language we have just quoted, has the following sentences. "Touching Consociation of Churches,—there appeared no dissent or dissatisfaction in the Synod about the matter. Our brethren that dissented in the former question, readily and fully consented in this."

In reference to such an occasion, the Magnalia observes:† "As the divines of New England were solicitous that the propagation of our churches might hold pace with that of our offspring, so they were industrious for the combination of our churches into such a bundle of arrows, as might not be easily broken."

June 28. The declaration of Charles II. to this Colony,‡ presents several passages of great interest. After mentioning the reception of an address from them, through their agents, it proceeds: "Wee are willing that all our good subjects of that Plantation do know, that wee doe receive them into our gracious protection, and doe confirm the Charter, granted to them by our royall father of blessed memory; and wee require, that they, that desire to use the booke of common prayer and perform their devotion in that manner, that is established here, be not denyed the exercise thereof; and that all persons of good and honest lives and conversation, be admitted to the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, according to the said booke of common prayer, and their children to baptism. Wee cannot be understood hereby to direct or wish that any indulgence should be granted to those persons, commonly called Quakers, whose principles being inconsistent with any kind of government, wee have found it necessary, with the advise of our Parliament here, to make a sharp law against them, and are well content you doe the like there." "Wee commanding all persons concerned, that, in the election of the governor or assistants, there be only consideration of the wisdome and integrity of the persons to be chosen, and not of any faction with reference to their opinion or profession, and

* Page 99.

† Magnalia, vol. ii. p. 239.

‡ Hazard, vol. ii. p. 605-7. Council for N. E. papers.

1662.]

that all the freeholders of competent estates, not vicious in conversation, orthodox in religion, (though of different persuasions concerning church-government,) may have their vote in the election of all officers, civil or military." Thus while our ancestors were relieved from the fears of losing their Charter, they were commanded to admit usages in the choice of rulers, which required essential changes in the relations between their political and ecclesiastical privileges.

Near this date, Fox counsels* his friends in New England to be valiant for the truth among those "whose hearts are dens of dragons." He states, that at a meeting with Bradstreet and Norton in London, he questioned them about the hanging of Robinson and other Quakers at Boston; and that they, at first, confessed that they had a concern in such execution, but afterwards were less willing to own it. A good reason suggests itself for such conduct of the agents.

On account of the Court party's opposition to all dissenters from the order of the national Church,† the term Puritan, which had been applied to the Congregationalists, is dropped in England, as Burnet says, and that of Protestant non-conformist is applied to the last denomination, and also to the Presbyterians, Anabaptists and Quakers.

July. A letter from Eleazer Mather‡ to Mr. Davenport, showing the severity of government in England, holds the subsequent language: "Here is come with Woodgreene, one Mr. Davies, a rich merchant; and there came with him one Mr. Allen, a young man, a very able teacher, recommended by Mr. Goodwin. He hath taught here divers times since he came. Many are expected this summer. Mr. Bartlett of Biddeford and his son were shipped for New England, but an oath being required of them before they could get out of the harbor, they chose to die in prison rather than take it. Mr. Allen was named James, and had been a fellow of New College, Oxford."

2. The Royal Council order§ that a contribution be taken, throughout Wales and England, for the Society to Propagate the Gospel in New England.

3. A writer expresses himself as follows: "There was a Generall Governour and a major Generall chosen for this Countre|| to serve vpon y^e Melitia for y^e King, and a Bishop and Suffracan for ecclesiastical government, but Mr. Norton writes y^t they are not yet out of hopes to prevent it. The Governour's name is Sir Robert Carr, a rank papist." This shows that our fathers scarcely escaped going over a political precipice. "There are great thoughts of heart among

* Fox's Work, vol. ii. p. 178, 243.

† Neal, vol. ii. p. 524.

‡ Hutch. 3 ed. vol. i. p. 207. Calamy, vol. ii. p. 75.

§ MS. Council Records.

|| Mather, MS. Papers.

y^e godly about vs, what imposicons wilbe laid vpon N. E. The Episcopal Government is by act of Parliament proclaimed throughout England. There is great talke of many ministers with their Congregacons comeing ouer the next yeare, if roome can be found for y^m."

7. John Bushrod of Dorchester, England, writes to Increase Mather of Boston: "I presume you heare what a dreadfull day 24 Aug. next is like to be with us; exact conformity being then enjoined, to which few good men can come up. The Lord fit us for that tryall."

August 24. The Act requiring uniformity* with the Episcopal forms and doctrines of worship in England, goes into effect and occasions the ejection of two thousand ministers. Many of them and their families must have starved, had not their sympathizing countrymen contributed to their necessities. Part of them intend to embark for this country.

September 10. The Commissioners write† to the Missionary Corporation in London. They speak in grateful terms for the favor shown by the King in continuing "the wonted liberties" of the Colony and the Indian missions. They relate, "The Bible is now about half done. The other half is like to be finished in a year." Of the various Indian scholars under their patronage, are two at the College.

They invite Mr. Peirson to take up his residence at Southertown, [Stonington,] and preach to the Pequots, who dwell thereabouts. They advise John Stanton to improve in his preparation for preaching among the natives, and "in the presence of his father communicate the Catechism and some part of Scripture to them, teaching their children to read and write." They request Matthew Mayhew, "devoted by his parents to the work," while attending to other studies, also to learn the Indian language, now he has a convenient opportunity.

October 8. The General Court assemble.‡ The Royal letter brought by Bradstreet and Norton, is read to them. As a guarantee to them of their Charter, they have ground for encouragement, though it restrains their previous freedom.

They appoint public Thanksgiving for fruits of the earth, for safe and speedy return of the agents from England, for continued peace, liberties and the Gospel, to be the first Wednesday of November.

They revive the law of May, 1661, for inflicting corporal punishments on Quakers, except that they shall be whipped only in three towns.

They order a Fast to be observed on the first Wednesday of December, because of the "low state of the cause and people of

* Neal, vol. ii. p. 516-22. † MS. Com'rs Rec. Hazard, vol. ii. p. 457, 8.

‡ MS. Mass. Gen. Ct. Rec.

1662.]

God universally, with the prevailing power of Antichrist over the Reformed Churches, beyond the seas, together with some public rebukes of God among ourselves."

Rev. John Wilson, Sen., Richard Mather, John Allen and Zechariah Symmes enter the Court and present the result of the late Synod.* When the Court had heard it, they commended it to "all the churches and people of this jurisdiction," and ordered it to be printed. They recommend that it have a preface prepared by Mr. Mitchel. The work was accordingly issued from the press, accompanied with the Anti-Synodalia, or judgment of the dissenting messengers, from the pen of President Chauncy.

In the Preface of Norton's Letter to Dury, we have the ensuing passage as to the Synod's result. "It will be found most evident to any, that shall survey the constitution and state of the churches, that the principal, if not the sole reason, why the same things, then agreed upon, were not long before set afoot and practised, was not any doubt or scruple about the duty of the things themselves, but the want of agreement about the way and manner, how they might most conveniently and safely be put in practice; which being now fully cleared up in the Propositions of the said Synod, the aspersion cast upon their former church-administrations, as too much favouring the way of the Separation, is not only now removed, but an expedient found out for the holding communion with other Orthodox Churches, in things lawful and necessary, without any prejudice to the purity of their worship." This was the expression of most of the ministers in New England.

Mr. Mitchel, who was one of the principal composers of the Result, remarked, as his Life states: "We make account that if we keep baptism within the non-excommunicable, and the Lord's Supper within the compass of those that have (unto charity) somewhat of the *power of godliness, or grace in exercise*, we shall be near about the right middle-way of church-reformation." This middle-way has ever since been called the half-way covenant, which was long observed by most of the orthodox Congregationalists.

To prevent abuses by the printing press, the Court order that no copy shall be printed unless first licensed by Daniel Gookin and Jonathan Mitchel.

15. A petition of John Touton, Chirurgion of Rochelle,† France, that he and many other Protestants, living in that city, but ordered to leave their homes on account of religion, may dwell in Massachusetts, is granted.

Capt. Thomas Breedan or Breden, who had taken a strong stand in London adversely to the politics and religion of this Colony, and been appointed to govern Nova Scotia and Acadie, appears before

* MS. Mass. Gen. Ct. Rec.

† MS. Mass. Gen. Ct. Papers.

the Legislature. He has leave to raise troops for protecting Indian traders there against the Mohawks. But assuming authoritative airs over our Rulers, they have him committed to prison, fined £200, and obligated in an equal sum more to keep the peace. The fine was remitted next year, at the request of Sir Thomas Temple. He seemed to imagine, that because our authorities were unpopular with the royal functionaries at home, he could intrude on their rights here as Englishmen. But he found, that though they had made concessions to preserve the Commonwealth, there was a limit beyond which they would not be driven. On the other hand, individuals who spoke against royal authority, were called to account.

21. Increase Mather writes to John Davenport : * “ I have your writings still in my hands. I offered the Synod to read them, but Mr. Norton advised them not to suffer me, whereupon I let them have a copy of them, which was generally transcribed. I have given in yours and Mr. Street’s testimony unto the General Court, with a preface subscribed by Mr. Chauncy, Mr. Mayo, my brother and myself, in the name of others of the dissenting brethren in the Synod, wherein we declare, that we fully concur with what is inserted by yourself in those papers. Some of the Court would fain have thrown them out without reading, but the major part were not so violent. It was moved they might be printed. All the answer we could get was, that we might do as we would. We count it a favour, we were not commanded to be silent. You may see which way things are like to be carried.”

To the reply of Davenport, which was printed, Increase Mather wrote an Apologetical Preface.

28. William Worcester dies.† He emigrated to New England about 1637. The next year he seems to have become pastor of the Salisbury Church. He was accepted as a member of the Massachusetts Company, or as a freeman, 1640. He was held in high estimation by the principal colonists. On the submission of his parish concerns to the decision of the General Court in 1658, then a reference of propriety and frequency, they remarked as to his eminent labors, “ They of New Town should forbear to content themselves with private help, whilst the Lord is pleased to continue *so bright a star in their candlestick.*” His wife Sarah died April, 1650, and left several children. He next married one of his parishioners, Mrs. Rebecca Hall, a lady of education, wealth and piety. She survived him and took for her fourth husband, Deputy Governor Samuel Symonds. Mr. Worcester, after a ministry of devotedness to Christ, deceased at an advanced age.

November 25. A considerable amount of money,‡ as fines on

* Hutchinson, 3 ed. vol. i. p. 205, 6.
of Samuel Worcester, D. D. vol. i. p. 6-24.

† MS. Mass. Gen. Ct. Rec. Life
‡ MS. Essex Ct. Rec.

1663.]

Salem Quakers, is assessed for absence from public worship. John Hitchen is displaced from his office, as sergeant, accused of "unworthy and malignant speeches and carriages in open Court." The wife of Robert Wilson, for going through Salem without any clothes on, as a sign of spiritual nakedness in town and colony, is sentenced to be tied to a cart's tail, uncovered to her waist, and be whipped from Mr. Gedney's gate to her own house, not exceeding thirty stripes. Her mother, Tamison Buffum, and sister, Margaret Smith, being abettors of her conduct, are sentenced to be tied on each side of her, with nothing on to their waists, but an under garb, and to accompany her the distance mentioned. This was an exhibition of zeal beyond discretion, attributable to its actors and approvers.

After some time, Elizabeth Hooton,* having returned to England, obtained from the King a license to purchase a house and land in any of his Plantations. She and her daughter of the same name directly took passage, this year, for Boston. On her arrival here, the Magistrates were about to fine the Captain £100 for bringing them, but they desisted when assured that she had a royal permit to buy an estate in this country. She repeatedly applied to the General Court for leave to make such a purchase in Boston, particularly a house for her family and where "her Friends" might assemble, and "a piece of ground to bury their dead." She claimed this privilege as an English woman, and especially by the license she had from his Majesty. Still the Court did not grant her application. Of course, their principal objection to her becoming a freeholder among them was, that it would be the advancement of her denomination, which they considered a great evil.

Katharine Chattam, from London, came again to Boston, where she publicly appeared, clad in sackcloth, "as a sign of the indignation of the Lord against that oppressing and tyrannical spirit which bore rule in the magistracy of that place."

1663. January 12. As an indication † how the result of the last Synod was disposed of, one of them, printed and recommended by the General Court, is received by the first Church of Salem.

February 4. The Church, of like rank, in Charlestown, have the subsequent entry on their records: "The decision of the late Synod about Baptism and Consociation, was read by the Elders, at a church meeting (except the preface of the book, containing that decisive act, which had been read before at a church meeting, January 7, and generally approved,) and liberty given to the brethren to express their objections (if they had any) against any part thereof; and after some discourse, the brethren did generally express themselves, (at least three-fourths of them by word of mouth,) that they did consent to the whole book for the substance thereof,

* Besse, vol. ii. p. 229, 31.

† First Ch. Rec.

and desired that the will of God therein might be attended; and upon a vote *silentiary* propounded, it was so carried, *nemine contradicente*, in the affirmative."

March 5. Col. Temple addresses* the authorities of Massachusetts. The Royalists are much incensed, that Whalley and Goffe are at the head of an army in New England. Such a rumor, though false, indicates the jealousy with which the movements of the Colonists were watched. He proceeds: "The Chancellor commanded me to assure you of his true love and friendship to the Country, and that neither in your privileges, Charter, Government nor Church discipline, should you receive any prejudice. Neither did the King nor Council intend, in the Quakers' letter, that you should not punish them, but only not put any to death without their knowledge."

27. Complaint is made to the Council, that Quakers have meetings by day and night, week days and Sabbaths. Order is issued, that they be prosecuted.

April 5. John Norton, æ 57, suddenly finishes his ministry on earth. When called to part with his first wife, it is unknown. He married Mary Mason of Boston, July 23, 1656, who survived him. She died January 17, 1678, and was buried in the tomb which contained his remains. It is not known that he left any children to sit beneath the light of his wide-spread and well-earned fame. Having his faith based on Christian principles, he passed through an eventful life with extensive usefulness to his fellow beings, and great honor to the cause of his Maker. Thus prepared, he met death with the true hope of a blessed immortality. The chief production of his pen was a system of divinity, delivered in sermons, but not published. The substance of them is contained in his Orthodox Evangelist.

9. A letter from the Missionary Corporation† is addressed to the Commissioners. They desire the latter to contract their charges, because the income was reduced to £320 a year. They relate, that they are engaged in an expensive law-suit for an estate at an annual income of above £500. They give order for the Psalms of David in metre, to be printed in the Indian tongue. They observe: "It is matter of great joy to us to hear of the Lord's effectual work upon the hearts of so many of the natives of those two Plantations, you mention in your letters, which doth not only affect our hearts, but we hope, also, will quicken our endeavors so that nothing shall be wanting to further so truly desirable a work."

10. As an event, ominous of trial to the liberties of New England, the King in Council remarks,‡ that he intends to send Commissioners hither to see how they (of Massachusetts) observed their charter and "reconcile differences at present amongst them."

* MS. Mass. Gen. Ct. Papers. † MS. Com'rs Rec. Hazard, vol. ii. p. 470, 1.

‡ MS. Council Rec.

1663.]

May 4. The Lynn Church had called two of their members to account,* who were suspected to have sworn falsely on a case before the County Court. This Body interposed. The pastor, Samuel Whiting, addresses them a letter. "Seeing by what we have done, we have gone in our own way as a church in the search after sin, we hope the Court will be tender of us and of him, who complained to us on that account, and if not, we humbly crave that it be not grievous to you, that we humbly tell you, that in our judgment the discipline of these churches must fall, and if so, of what sad consequence it will be, we leave it to those that are wiser than ourselves to judge; for this case, being new and never acted before in this country, doth not only reflect on our church, but on all the churches of the country; for if delinquents that are censured in churches shall be countenanced by authority against the church in their acting in a just way, we humbly put it to the consideration of the Court whether there will not be a wide door opened to Erastianism, which we hope all of us do abhor from our hearts."

7. John Emery of Newbury is presented for entertaining Quakers. He is fined £4.

May 11. The Deputies of Salem† are instructed by their constituents to vote in General Court for enlargement of political franchise, as the late royal letter required.

27. The Legislature assemble. John Higginson, of Salem, preaches the election sermon. His text is 1 Kings viii. 57, 8, 9. His subject, "The Cause of God and his People in New England." In their recommendation to this discourse, Messrs. Wilson of Boston, and Whiting of Lynn, observe: "The sermon when preached was acceptable to all, and found general approbation among all the wise-hearted and godly so far as we have heard." Several extracts follow:

"New England is originally a Plantation of Religion, not a Plantation of Trade. If any man amongst us make Religion as *twelve*, and the world as *thirteen*, let such an one know he hath neither the spirit of a *true New England man*, nor yet of a *sincere Christian*. The end of our coming hither was not a toleration of all Religions, or of the heresies and idolatries of the age we live in. The Gospel hath a right paramount to be received in every nation, and the knee of Magistracie is to bow at the name of Jesus. This right carries liberty along with it for all such as profess the Gospel, to walk according to the faith and order of the Gospel. That which is contrary to the Gospel hath no right, and therefore should have no liberty." He then states affirmatively that the great objects of settling New England were as follow:

1. "Reformation of Religion according to God's Word; that

* MS. of Charles H. Morse. History of Lynn, 2 ed. p. 148-52.

† MS. Town Rec.

Christ alone might be acknowledged by us as the only head, Lord, and Law-giver in his Church; that his written word might be acknowledged as the only Rule; that onely and all his institutions might be observed and enjoyed by us, and that with puritie and libertie, with peace and power."

2. A progress in Reformation. "It is the duty of the people of God to go on unto perfection." Referring to the fear which prevailed here, lest the national Government should impose their church order on the Colonists, Higginson remarks: "If any of us should be instrumentall to set up in this Country Prelacie, imposed Leiturgies, humane ceremonies in the worship of God, or to admit ignorant and scandalous persons to the Lord's table, this would be a backsliding indeed." He then observes as to prominent topics of thought and remark among the people, "That baptisme be administered to the children of church members who have a right thereunto. And that the communion of churches be better improved among us."

3. The Union of Reformers. To carry this out, he recommends one Catechism, one Confession of Faith, and one Covenant, for all the churches, and also frequent Councils, guarding against the abuse of them. He asserts, respecting these purposes in the plantation of our country, "Nor is there any power upon earth that can lawfully hinder this." From his advice for the people to act peaceably, a report had been spread that persons not yet admitted to be freemen meant to vote at the General Election, though the law, as then standing, forbid them. He suggests to the Legislature the alteration of such a statute, as proposed by the Royal letter. Among his final conclusions is, "Therefore, as in the matter of Religion, we are to keep to the Word of God, so in the matter of civil government, keep to the Patent."

While the Court are careful that their authority should not be trampled on, they use means to prevent disobedience to the royal commands.* Isaac Cole, constable of Woburn, is arraigned for refusing to publish the King's letter, and issue an attachment in his name. Edward Converse, a selectman of the same town, is charged with asserting that such a document tended to Popery. They were both cleared.

Of a committee to answer his Majesty's letter are Rev. Messrs. Allen, Higginson and Mitchel. Others of the clergy and laity are invited to send in their opinion on "matters of great concernment, both ecclesiastical and civil," before such a Body.

Christopher Goodwin of Charlestown † is sentenced to pay £10, or be whipped ten stripes, for so exhibiting his zeal in the meeting-house, as to throw down the basin of water, and commit other disorders, when baptism was administered.

* MS. Gen. Ct. Rec,

† MS. Middlesex Ct. Rec.

1663.]

June 1. An artillery election discourse is delivered. Being in MS., it is endorsed as if composed by Edward Brown. From the text 1 Samuel xxii. 14, it considers the faithful military officer. The ensuing extracts show, that sermons on such occasions were very different from those on the like calls in modern times.

One of its doctrines follows: "Fidelity and obedience are (among other duties, or virtues) especially requisite and commendable in a religious soldier, or to be faithful and obedient to them, that are set up as under God, is the duty and honor of every Christian, especially a matter of singular commendation in military undertakings." One of the uses of the discourse: "See how much it concerns superiors, and so now especially the chief commanders in the armies of Israel, to be men of sound principles and orthodox in Religion; for how else can it be expected that such soldiers as are religious and that fight the Lord's battles and accordingly are true friends to the prosperity of Israel, should in an active manner, yield obedience and accordingly serve under such, whose commands shall be irreligious and unjust, and contrary to the interests of Israel, and contrary to the sovereign commands of Him who is the highest Lord of hosts? For as before was said, we are actively to obey in all lawful commands, and such as are not contrary to the commands of the great God. Our obedience to man must be such as may stand with our obedience to God. And 'tis unfaithfulness to man to gratify him in that wherein we shall be unfaithful to God. How can they look for obedience to their commands, who have not learnt to obey the Lord of hosts?"

This is a sample of the discourse, delivered before commanders and subordinates, in the military line, who were professors of religion and expected such doctrines. That its style of sentiment was correct, according to Revelation, and harmonious with the highest duties of the soul, there can be no reasonable doubt.

3. John Woodbridge,* who had left his ministry at Andover and gone to England, now returns after an absence of about sixteen years, to Newbury, the residence of his father. He was immediately employed to assist Mr. Parker in pulpit labors, at a salary of £60. But he found the waters of controversy, which had been long stirred here, as to Congregational and Presbyterian polity, still far from being calmed. Having sustained the cause of Mr. Parker, the opponents of the latter obtained May 21, 1670, a repeal of the vote, which secured salary to the former. Though this was not considered decisive by all concerned, yet the General Court advised Mr. Woodbridge, May 19, 1672, to comply with it, as a means of diminishing the contention. Ten years after, he was excused by them from paying rates, as others of his profession were, so long as he constantly preached. Thus related to the calling, which he

* Mather's *Magnalia*. Coffin's *Newbury*.

had conscientiously chosen and followed, he still continues to spend his life usefully and respectably. He was elected an Assistant 1683, and 1684, and acted as a Magistrate till his decease, March 17, 1695. He married Mary, the daughter of Gov. Thomas Dudley. They had twelve children. They left three sons and two sons-in-law, who were ministers of the Gospel, and four grand-sons preparing for the same profession. The *Magnalia* relates: "At last the stranguary arrested him; and he, who had been a great reader, a great scholar, a great Christian, and a pattern of goodness, after much pain, went unto his everlasting rest. His age was about eighty-two."

6. Mr. Higginson, desirous to express his thoughts more fully than he had in his Election sermon, writes* to the General Court. He remarks that he considered the Civil Government of Cotton as deficient, because it omitted to notice the Patent and allegiance to the King, and represented persons who were not members of the church, as the unbaptized Corinthians were in Paul's day. He proposes, as he had, that persons be made freemen, "provided they be orthodox in religion and of unblameable conversation;" that the Common Prayer Book might be cited against the wicked, as the Heathen Poets were by an Apostle; and that presents to the King were proper, and a sign of allegiance. He adds in a P. S.: "I doe further entreate y^t y^e hon'd Court will please to consider what course may be taken for y^e dissolueing of y^e Quaker meetings here, which we have frequent and constant, without interruption a long time, strange Quakers often repaireing hither y^t occasion may be given for others abroad to looke upon Salem as a nest of Quakers, from hence to infect y^e rest of y^e country."

12. John Miller, who received a call to become the minister of Groton, the preceding March 18, is recorded† among their deaths. Leaving the office of preacher in England, and coming to this country in 1637, he resided at Roxbury, where he had a daughter, Mehitable, born the next year. He assisted Ezekiel Rogers in the ministry at Rowley, and was also Town Clerk there from 1639 to 1641. The year after the last here specified, he was nominated among three, by the Elders of Massachusetts, for the Virginia mission. Declining this trust, he had a lot of land granted to him in Rowley, January, 1643-4, which indicates that his ministerial labors may have been still continued there. On May 2, 1647, he had a daughter, Susannah, born at Yarmouth, showing that he had been residing in this place. We find his continuance here June 3, 1652, and he was probably the Mr. John Miller made freeman of Plymouth, June 1, 1658. The settlers of Groton, having conformed with the requisition of their Government in obtaining a

* MS. Essex Inst. Hist. Coll.

† Gage's Hist. of Rowley. Butler's Hist. of Groton. Gen. Ct. Rec. of Mass. and Plymouth.

1663.]

spiritual leader, appear to have selected him as worthy of such a trust. But while girding himself for his calling, he was smitten and fell, no more to renew his toils among mortals.

July 4. Edward Wharton, who had lately come from New Netherland,* is sentenced at Dover, whither he had gone to pronounce a woe on the Justices for their severity against his denomination, to be whipped at the cart's tail in three towns, and brought to his house in Salem.

August 6. Persons in Old and New England, concerned in the contemplated settlement of "a Plantation at Charles River of Florida," make proposals to the Lords, who have lately had a grant of North Carolina. The adventurers of Massachusetts decline the enterprise, unless they can have the free enjoyment of civil and religious privileges there, as they have here.

Williamson relates a tradition in his History of North Carolina, as though emigrants from Massachusetts were settled on the same premises there in 1660, and driven away by Indians in 1663. The reason assigned by him for this expulsion was, that they had obtained the children of these natives, and sent them northward for education, but, as their parents came to suspect, to sell them as slaves. Facts in the case, as follow, prove the utter mistake of such a charge. Our people had neither agreed nor received permission to take up lands at Cape Fear by September 8, 1663, where its proprietors propose to their Governor that he settle the terms with the persons so intending to occupy the soil.† Nor had they deserted the premises, after entering upon them, up to May 15, 1667, when the Bay Legislature recommended them, as objects worthy of charitable relief from their former fellow-Colonists.

15. The First Church of Boston agree to send for John Owen ‡ in England, who had been ejected from his living as a distinguished supporter of Oliver Cromwell, to supply the place of Mr. Norton.

21. They hear and accept letters on this subject. They also agree on another communication to Messrs. Thomas Goodwin, Carrill and Greenhall, desiring them to promote the application; but, if unsuccessful in that quarter, to inform them of some other suitable minister.

September. It is ordered that £50 of the proceeds from lands § which had been owned by Quakers and sold to pay their fines, be appropriated towards the erection of a prison in Salem.

18. The Commissioners write to Robert Boyle, || President of the Corporation in England: "We were much affected to hear of so great a loss like to befall the stock, but some letters from private friends of a later date, give us hope, that it is re-

* Besse, vol. ii. p. 231.

† MS. Hutch. Papers, p. 248.

‡ MS. Ch. Rec.

§ MS. Essex Ct. Rec.

|| Hazard, vol. ii. p. 472-6.

covered, for which we rejoice and are thankful. We shall be ready to attend your honour's advice as to the particular abatements, propounded in your letter for the future so far as may be expected. We are much solicited by cordial friends to this work, to continue that small allowance to Mistress Mayhew, her husband being the first or one of the first, whose heart God stirred up effectually to labor in this work; and that several years of his own charges without any recompense for the same; and one whom God made instrumental for the spiritual good of very many of the poor natives of Martin's Vineyard. We have therefore, for this past year thought it most expedient, (lest it should be a discouragement to others as well as over grievous to herself, yet remaining a poor desolate widow with six children,) to allow her as formerly six pounds." They speak of the Indian Bible, as finished. They mention Marmaduke Johnson, who had been sent over to take part in this work, and with whose conduct they had been dissatisfied. Still, as the Corporation had agreed with him to print another year for the mission, the Commissioners say: "We shall endeavor to employ him, as we can, by printing the Psalms and another little treatise of Mr. Baxter's, which Mr. Eliot is translating into the Indian language. We have spoken with Mr. Eliot and others concerning Captain Gookin's employment among the Indians in governing of them in several plantations, ordering their Town affairs, (which they are not able to do themselves,) taking account of their labor and expense of their time, and how their children profit in their learning, with many things of like nature, and find it to be of much benefit to them; and, therefore, could not but desire him to go on in that work, and have ordered £15 to be paid him towards his expenses for the year past. We are informed by Mr. Eliot and others, that there is an hopeful progression of the work in several parts of the country. The two students at Cambridge College follow their study diligently and are good proficients therein, and five other hopeful youths at the inferior schools, which are maintained out of the stock." As instructed by the Corporation, they had omitted John Stanton and Matthew Mayhew, as beneficiaries from their list, because the funds would not allow their continued support. They add: "We have ordered Mr. Usher to present your honors, by the next ship, with 20 copies of the Bible and as many of the Psalms, if printed off before the ship's departure from hence." Others employed by them are John Eliot, his interpreter, Job, and three school-masters; John Eliot, Jr.; John Mayhew and eight Indian teachers and school-masters at the Vineyard; Mr. Bourne at Sandwich and two Indian school-masters; Mr. Pierson and Mr. James, of Easthampton.

19. Simon Bradstreet and Thomas Danforth are desired by the rest of the Commissioners, to prepare a dedicatory epistle to his Majesty, for the Indian Bible, and have the same printed.

1663.]

23. Mr. Wigglesworth, of Malden,* sails for Bermuda for the benefit of his health. After an absence of seven months and a half, he returned with no great improvement in his pulmonary complaint. Unable to preach, he practiced medicine with much success. About 1685, he resumed his pulpit labors with a high rank among his clerical brethren. In 1662 he composed an unpublished poem called "God's Controversy with New England, written in the time of a great drought." Then was the first edition of his *Day Doom* printed.

October 6. Elizabeth Hooton,† above sixty years old, is arraigned before the Middlesex Court. She was on her second visit from England to promote the cause of Quakerism. She had been confined at Hampton, and also at Dover, where she stood in the stocks, as an additional punishment. Coming back, she visited Cambridge. Here she passed through several streets, crying, *Repentance*, with a loud voice. She charged the Court with turning justice against the righteous, declared that the ministers had proved deceitful, and the College was a cage of unclean birds. Her sentence is to receive ten stripes at Cambridge, conveyed to the constables of Watertown and Dedham, and receive the same number of lashes in each of these two places. Sewel says that when her sentence was executed, she went to Rhode Island. After a while, she returned to Cambridge for clothes, which she left there with her daughter and Sarah Coleman, "an ancient woman." They were all three whipped there, as the law required. Hooton suffered the same in Boston and other places where she visited those of her denomination. She subsequently went back to England.

Priscilla, wife of John Cole, of Charlestown, is admonished for attending a Quaker meeting at Benanuel Bowers's, warned to attend the stated worship, and pay costs to the witnesses. She is also fined £5 for reviling Rev. Messrs. Symmes and Shepard.

Sarah, wife of William Osborn, of the same town, is alike dealt with, except the last fine, for the first of these charges. Bowers is ordered to pay 20/. for absence from worship, and £5 for twice entertaining Quakers at his house, besides 3/. for witnesses. He remarks, that "the Spirit of God is the Christian Rule, and that David had no need of the Word, for he said that he had no other law than that of his heart."

The ordination of John Emerson takes place at Gloucester. He was son to Thomas Emerson of Ipswich, graduated at Harvard College 1656, and married Ruth, daughter of Dep. Gov. Samuel Symonds.

20. The Legislature agree to send a letter‡ to Rev. Dr. John Owen,

* Malden Bi-Centennial, p. 153.

† MS. Middlesex Ct. Rec.

‡ MS. Gen. Ct. Rec. Mass. Hist. Coll. 2 s. vol. ii. p. 265, 6.

which earnestly seconded the call of the first Boston Church for him to become their pastor. They say: "We are your brethren and companions in tribulation, and are in this wilderness for the faith and testimony of Jesus. Whilst the Lord shall see meet to betrust us with the things of Zion in peace and liberty, we hope no due care will be found wanting in the Government here established, to encourage and cherish the churches of Christ and the Lord's faithful labourers in his vineyard."

21. As many persons of this jurisdiction are enemies to all government, civil and ecclesiastical, will not obey, refuse to bear arms, make their religion a means of opposition to authority, combine and make parties to elect such persons as suit their designs, it is ordered that Quakers or others who act as aforesaid, and neglect public worship, shall not vote in any civil assembly. Under 19th of the like month, next year, this order is repealed, because not so satisfactory to the freemen as was expected, and for some other reasons, and it is enacted, "that elections shall run in the ordinary course as formerly."

November 18. The first Charlestown Church Records give us the following facts: "Thomas Osborn, being leavened with principles of Anabaptisme, and his wife leavened with the principles of Anabaptisme and Quakerisme," are admonished for frequent neglect of worship with the church. Thomas Gool is again admonished for denying the power of the church over him, and neglecting their ordinances. They deny "our churches to be true churches." On the 27th, "There having been many thoughts of hearts touching the doctrine of the late Synod about *the children of the church*, in order to the effectual practice of the same, it was propounded to vote whether the brethren were satisfied so far forth as that there might be a proceeding to the practice thereof, and it passed in the affirmative by their *silence*, (the testimony of their consent,) after liberty was granted once and again to any of them that would, to object if they had anything from the Word of God to allege against it; but there was not one contradictent." By the introduction of such a change in baptism, this church, like others, had corresponding records. These run as follows: The catalogue of members in full communion. "Names of such children of the Covenant as have publicly renewed their Covenant with God and his Church, yet not taken into communion in the Lord's Supper. Names of such as have been admitted into this church, but not unto full communion." The difference between these two classes was, that the former had been offered in baptism by their professing parents, and the latter were baptized when they united with the church by the half-way covenant.

About this time, Reverend begins to be the title of Congregational ministers, instead of Mr. and Elder.

1663.]

24. The Essex Quarterly Court call Thomas Millet minister at Gloucester, and order them to pay him £10 for a quarter's service among them. He came to this Colony in 1635, with his wife, Mary, and son, Thomas, and settled at Dorchester. Here he had several children born till into 1647. In 1655, with the title of Mr., and as the purchaser of William Perkins's lands and successor to him in the Gospel ministry, he appears at Gloucester. In 1662, he was residing at the house of Nicholas Shapleigh of Kittery, and preaching to the people there. But he soon left that place. He seems to have become an inhabitant of Brookfield, where he and his wife consented, June 3, 1675, to the sale of land, which he had left at Gloucester. He died within a year of this transaction, aged 70, and his wife followed him September 27, 1682, aged 76.

A considerable number of the Salem Quakers* are fined for absence from the parish worship. Samuel Shattuck, for charging the Court and Country with shedding innocent blood, is ordered to pay £5 or be whipped. Joshua Buffum is commanded to the stocks for one hour, because he affronted the justices about his marriage. Philip Veren is sentenced to be put by the heels in the stocks, an equal time, for denying the Colony's power to compel any to attend on Gospel ordinances. He is excused from common trainings, by the payment of 5/. a year.

December 12. The Salem Church set apart one day† for humiliation and prayer in each of the four succeeding months, "for mercy with respect to the great affliction and reproach, which have come on so many thousands of ministers and Christians (of England) in these times by means of Episcopal usurpation; also, with respect to dangers, threatening ourselves."

The Church of Boston,‡ who had called Dr. John Owen, are so sanguine of his coming, that they agree to pay Mr. John Harwood the charges of bringing him over. Graham, in his North America, states that Owen shipped his effects, but he was stopped by a royal order.

This year John Leverett addresses§ Sir Thomas Temple in London. He remarks: "This Summer wee have been under some trouble by the Pagan natives, who have had their plottings and contrivances for our disquiet, but the Lord hath prevented it, blessed be his name, and there is a better understanding now betweene the English and them, than there was in the Spring of the yeare. If soe be that from the complaints of Rhoad Island men, or any others, any thing should be reflected upon the Collony of the Massachusetts, may wee by the means of any friend or friends but obtaine the favour to be heard before wee are concluded with those complained against, or have any conclusion made of us, it will be a

* Transactions of an Essex County Court. MS. Ct. Rec.

† MS. Rec.

‡ Ibid.

§ Hutchinson's Coll. p. 381-3.

verry high obligation unto us. Another thing desirable is, that wee may be advised what motions there may be concerning us, if any, whether for our advantage or disadvantage. 'Tis well knowne that many have been the attempts to give us disquiet or interruption in the worke the Lord hath set us about in this wilderness, and wee cannot thinke that we are yet without ill-wishers. But God that hath prevented and disapoynted all hitherto, can and will, soe far as it may concur with his own counccills and good pleasure."

Joseph Nicholson, John Liddal, Jane Millard and Ann Coleman, have the requisition of law executed on them, as "vagabond Quakers," in Salem, Boston and Dedham. Soon after this,* John Liddal and Thomas Newhouse attended a meeting at Salem, for which they were similarly punished in three towns. Edward Wharton, for testifying against such proceedings and charging the justice with deceit, was whipped fourteen stripes. Newhouse came to Boston, entered one of the meeting-houses, delivered his message to the audience, and, having two glass bottles, struck them together, and said, "That so they should be dashed in pieces." He was arrested as a disturber of the peace and whipped.

This year, the following sentence† was passed on Elizabeth Webster: "She shall stand at the meeting house door at Newbury, the next Lecture day, from the ringing of the first bell until the minister be ready to begin prayer, with a paper on her head, written in capital letters, FOR TAKING A FALSE OATH IN COURT."

The Commissioners of the Union dedicate the whole Bible,‡ translated into Indian by John Eliot, and from the press at Cambridge, to the King. They remark: "The southern colonies of the Spanish nation have sent home from this American continent much gold and silver, as the fruit and end of their discoveries and transplantations. That (we confess) is a scarce commodity in this colder climate. But (suitable to the ends of our undertaking) we present this and other concomitant fruits of our poor endeavors to plant and propagate the gospel here, which, upon a true account, is as much better than gold as the souls of men are more worth than the whole world."

President Chauncy publishes his "Anti-Synodalia Scripta Americana" in England, against the half-way covenant, recommended by the last Synod. He fears that their result will prove an apple of discord. He learnedly, kindly and ably discusses the subject in behalf of himself and others, who were a minority of that body. A reply to this of like ability and spirit follows, from the pen of Richard Mather, who, as well as Mitchell, his co-worker,

* Besse, vol. ii. p. 232. † MS. Essex Ct. Rec. Coffin's Newbury, p. 66, 7.

‡ Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. 1 s. vol. vii. p. 227.

1661.]

were induced to perform such parts by request of fellow-members of the Synod.

 PLYMOUTH.

1661. February 5. William Reap and Peter Peirson,* two foreign Quakers, are apprehended at Sandwich, and after some "menacing speeches" from each, they were ordered to depart on the morrow. The latter had been in the Colony several times. They left, as required, towards Rhode Island. Ten of their friends, for resisting their arrest, are cited to appear the next month.

March 5. Robert Whetcomb and Mary Cudworth, without consent of parents and lawful marriage, having chosen each other as husband and wife, are fined £10 and imprisoned. They were orderly married on the 9th, as they desired. On 4th of March, next year, as they lived orderly, industriously, and attended "the worship of God diligently," the Court remit £5 to them, and in respect to their poverty, the rest is to be waited for indulgently.

A person is cited to answer because he had spoken with contempt of singing psalms. The Court admonish and require him to confess his fault. This he promises to do and departs.

Dinah, wife of Joseph Sylvester, had accused the wife of William Holmes of Marshfield with being a witch. For such a charge, she is ordered, May 7, to pay £5, or be whipped, or make a public confession. She preferred the last.

Several Quakers of Sandwich are fined on different counts. Property seized and fines imposed on some of them there are returned. Benjamin Allin having been kept in the stocks the greatest part of the night, and endured other sufferings from the Marshal, recovers damages of him.

June 4. The General Court convene. They pass the succeeding orders: All persons, as previously, are required to take the oath of fidelity. This has particular application to the Quakers.

8. If Quakers come into the Colony,† they shall be imprisoned till the Court sits, who shall order them to depart, and, if refusing, they shall be publicly whipped with rods, not above 15 stripes, or pay their fees and sent out of the jurisdiction with a pass, and if found not departed or without the pass, or going differently from what it stated, they shall be similarly punished. They may be allowed what the Colony grants other prisoners, three pence a day for each one. If the wives, children or servants of the Colonists be found at Quaker meetings, or young people under no guardians,

* MS. Plym. Col. Rec.

† Plym. Col. Laws.

they shall be confined in the stocks, not exceeding two hours in winter, nor four hours in summer; or in the cage no longer than till night, in the former season, nor longer than till next morning, in the latter. Whoever allows these to meet in his house, shall pay £5, or be publicly whipped. Whoever speaks there shall be fined 40/. or receive the like corporal punishment.

"Whereas there is a constant monthly meeting together of the Quakers from divers places, in great numbers, which is very offensive, and may prove greatly prejudicial to this Government, and inasmuch as the constant place for such meetings, is at Duxborrow, this Court have desired and appointed Mr. Constant Southworth, and William Paboddy, to repaire to such their meetings, together with the Marshall or Constable of the Towne, to use their best endeavours by argument and discourse, to convince or hinder them. In case the place of their meeting should be changed, the Court desires the above named or other meet persons to attend them there also."

Charles II. is acknowledged by the Court, as having "undoubted right to the Crowns of England, Scotland, France and Ireland," and they declare their submission to him, his heirs and successors forever. He is "solemnly proclaimed at Plymouth."

10. As an exemplification of man-stealing, which has been practiced, more or less, since the colonization of America, William Hiferney, an Irishman, testifies before the Legislature, that he was stolen away from his own country, brought hither and sold to his master, John Hallet, of Scituate, for twelve years, "when he was unacquainted with the English tongue." The case being heard, Hallet, by persuasion of the Court, agrees to take off two years from the servant's engaged time, if he be faithful.

The Court granting a divorce to Elizabeth Burge, from her husband, Thomas Burge, Jr., for adultery, she is allowed one-third "of all his estate."

August 10. Nicholas Davis of Barnstable,* imprisoned at Boston as a Quaker, has a permit to settle his affairs before his banishment.

September 12. Mr. Bourne of Sandwich, and William Thompson,† preach to the Indians in that neighborhood.

1662. June 3. The Plymouth Legislature‡ "proposeth it as a thing they judge would be very commendable and beneficial to the townes where God's Providence shall cast any whales; if they should agree to sett apart some parte of every such fish or oyle for the encouragement of an able godly minnester amongst them."

As "great quantities of wine and stronge waters," were brought into the Colony and were used to great excess by English and Indians, it is enacted, that whoever imports such articles, by land or

* Mass. Gen. Ct. Papers.
Plym. Col. Laws.

† Hazard, vol. ii. p. 444.

‡ Gen. Ct. Rec.

1662.]

sea, shall give an invoice of them to persons appointed by Government.

As dissatisfaction had been expressed "about the sale of Kenebecke," the Court consider the question whether they shall repurchase it, as they have an opportunity to do. They decide, that, "finding noe way presenting itselfe by the takeing of it againe for the better advantage of the Collonie," they "have with one consent agreed, that they desire not to meddle with it againe, but doe ratify the sale thereof."

The Treasurer is instructed to obtain a volume of English Statutes for the use of the Colony.

As some ordinary keepers allowed people to drink at their houses, between the hours of worship on the Sabbath, such a practice is forbidden "except in case of nessesitie, for the reliefe of those that are sicke or faint, on penaltie of 10/. for every default."

It is required, that the laws against profaning the Sabbath by travelling, and "setting up of any publicke meeting without allowance of Government," be carefully enforced.

4. A Council, convened at Barnstable,* give their result. It is signed by Henry Flint, Thomas Thacher, Jonathan Mitchell, John Miller, Samuel Bo——, Samuel Arnold, John Bradford, Anthony Thacher, Thomas Prentice, William Morton and Thomas Southworth. They had convened there the previous September, at the request of the Assistants and the deserted brethren. The case was, that John Smith and others had seceded from the Barnstable Church and formed themselves into a distinct Church. Their advice is, "We do conceive that so disorderly and scandalous a separation and schism, so long and obstinately (after the use of so many means) persisted in, calleth on neighbour churches to bear their testimony against it, and do their duty to the persons aforesaid so offending, by renouncing communion with them while they continue in that way, and by declaring them incapable of regular Church communion amongst themselves. It is the duty both of neighbouring Churches and each Christian, that hath been of their Society, to withdraw from them, and therefore neither may other Churches regularly hold communion with them nor they among themselves. Finally we conceive, that if this advice be read in neighbour Churches, and their consent be taken to the substance thereof, it may be an expedient way of declaring the aforesaid non-communion." Thus the new Church at Barnstable is virtually excommunicated.

August 6. A suspicion being circulated that Indians had concerted a plot against the English, Philip, the Sachem of Poconaket, and the authorities of Plymouth, renew the treaty of friendship, formerly made between his people and their predecessors.

* MS. Papers in Mass. Hist. Soc. Lib.

October 3. Samuel Howland, of Duxbury,* is fined 10/. for taking a grist from the mill on the Sabbath, and William Ford, Sen., the like sum, for allowing him to take it away "at such an unseasonable time." Kenelme Winslow, Jr., although pleading necessity, is fined 10/. for journeying on the Lord's day, and Timothy Halloway, the same amount, for "triming his servant thereon."

1663. January 26. Morton relates: "At the shutting in of the evening, there was a very great earthquake in New England." The concussions did not cease till the next July. The same author observes of them: "But those we have been sensible of, have been rather gentle warnings unto us, to shake us out of our earthly mindedness, spiritual security and other sins."†

June 1. No new Plantation shall be settled,‡ unless it have inhabitants enough to "carry on things in a satisfactory way both to Civill and Religious respects," and that lands, uninhabited, in such places, shall be rated "in some meet proportion" for these purposes. Such settlements as have "an inconsiderable number" of people, are required to use exertions for their enlargement from other towns, so that they may secure such ends, "especially an able, godly" ministry. Two of them are named, "Saconeesett and Acushenett." For the "encouragement of the well-affected in the Town of Sandwich or any other plantation, who shall be active" for the support of able, faithful ministers, "this Court taking into their serious consideration the great need thereof in every Plantation as to the propagation of the Gospel and flourishing of religion, the great and known end of our transplanting into these parts of the world, as also of the grant of competent quantities of lands to the respective Plantations,—do hereby declare their readiness to assist such well-affected as aforesaid." The Court propose to the several Townships "as a thing they ought to take into their serious consideration, that some course may be taken, that in every Town there may be a school-master set up to train up children to reading and writing."

Thomas Thornton, of "that eminent body of Confessors for Truth and Liberty," having suffered under the Act of Uniformity of August 24, 1662, arrived at Yarmouth as early as June 18.

July 5. Samuel Newman dies§ at Rehoboth, æt. 63. While in England, he "compiled a more elaborate Concordance of the Bible than had ever been seen in Europe." After emigrating to our country, he greatly improved so excellent a work. For the revision of it during his ministry here, he used the light of pine knots for that of candles and oil. He had a son Samuel, and daughter Hopestill who married Rev. George Shove, of Taunton. Noah, of Rehoboth, was his son, and Antipas, minister of Wen-

* Plym. Gen. Ct. Rec. † Memorial, p. 201-4.

‡ MS. Gen. Ct. Rec.

§ Morton's Memorial, ed. 1721, p. 206, 7.

1661.]

ham, is supposed to have been. He was eminently hospitable and charitable. "He was a very lively preacher and a very preaching liver." When near his end, he sent for one of his deacons, and, after desiring him to offer a prayer in his behalf, he said, "And now, ye angels of the Lord, come and do your duty." He then immediately breathed his last. The *Magnalia* says of him: "The Neander of New England is dead. Before death he learned to die, and the art of dying well died with him."

September. "At a meeting of the church* and town" of Rehoboth, "it was concluded that Mr. Zachariah Symmes should have £40 for this year, his diet at Mr. Newman's besides." They voted, November 25, to look out for an assistant to him in the ministry.

About this year, John Holmes,† who was a student under President Chauncy, 1658, and who succeeded Mr. Partridge, of Duxbury, in the duties of the pulpit, is ordained in this place.

Thomas Walley, recently from England, where he had been ejected from his ministry at St. Mary's, White Chapel, London, is ordained pastor at Barnstable. The church here were much divided. He was well fitted in disposition, principle, habit and perseverance, to heal their divisions.

The town of Plymouth‡ vote £60 for the completion of a parsonage house, half of it payable in tar and corn, and the rest in wheat, barley, peas, butter or money.

This year, John Miles, pastor of a Baptist church§ at Swansea, Wales, having been ejected, settles with some of his people at Wannamoisett, then within the bounds of Rehoboth, but afterwards Swansea. Being of a denomination not allowed by laws of Plymouth, their formation as a church soon after their arrival led to difficulty. Mr. Miles brought the records of his church in Wales with him, written in the Welsh language, and they are still preserved.

Among those who joined the church with Mr. Miles was James Brown. But the *Magnalia*|| mentions a person of the last name as a resident at Swansea, and among the ministers who had fled from the persecution in England.

Mr. Holmes, and his friends of the Baptists, had had a meeting at Rehoboth for a time, and then they moved to Newport.

MAINE.

1661. March 11. Soon after this date, when he was banished, Edward Wharton visited Saco, Black Point, Casco Bay, and other places. After various endeavors to impress his opinions on others,

* Baylies, vol. ii. p. 212.

† Ibid. p. 256.

‡ Hist. of Plymouth, p. 120.

§ Backus, vol. p. 350-3.

|| *Magnalia*, vol. i. p. 237.

and several narrow escapes from being apprehended, he goes back to Salem.* He takes another journey to Maine, several months subsequently.

May 21. Edward Littlefield, John Wadleigh and others, of Wells, petition† the General Court of the Bay, that Nathaniel Fletcher may have liberty to accept a call and settle among them. On the 28th, the Court defer granting the request until Fletcher obtains a certificate from the County Court of York, that he has reformed.

At the same session they pass the following: "Upon this Court's information of the want of a settled, able and orthodox ministry in some places of this jurisdiction, especially relating to the County of York, viz., Wells, Saco and Scarboro', the accomplishment whereof, through God's blessing, might prove an effectual remedy for healing and preventing much disorder, ignorance and profanity," Ordered, that the said towns, within six months after receiving notice of this, obtain "some able and pious ministers."

On petition of George Cleaves, a Committee are designated to visit Falmouth and examine charges against Mr. Jordan. It appears from Williamson, that Jordan, at the close of worship, had resumed his duties of an Episcopal minister there, and baptized three children of Mr. Wales.

John Thorpe is required to suspend his preaching at Scarborough, till he can be heard by the York Court.

July 1. The County Court, at York,‡ make the subsequent decision. "The town of Wells, at present being destitute of any fit person to carry on the worship of God amongst them on the Lord's day: It is therefore ordered by this Court, that 'till they can better provide for themselves, (which we hope they will not neglect any opportunity to do,) that Mr. Ezekiel Knight and William Hammond shall duly attend the place of public meeting on the Lord's day, and that they improve their best abilities in speaking out of the Word of God, Praying, Singing of Psalms, and reading some good orthodox Sermons, as may most tend to the edification of them that hear, and the sanctification of the Sabbath, as the law of God and this jurisdiction require."

This year a Committee§ of Parliament report unfavorably to the claim of Massachusetts upon the territory of Maine. This representation tends to encourage the Episcopalians and Royalists of the Colony in their opposition to the Bay authority.

Antipas Boies, Edward Tyng, Thomas Brattle and John Winslow purchase of Plymouth Colony|| their Patent of a large tract of

* Bishop, p. 324 and 396.

† MS. Mass. Gen. Ct. Papers and Rec.

‡ Greenleaf's Ecclesiastical Sketches, p. 19. York Records.

§ In session Jan. 21, 1663. Farmer's Belknap, p. 436, 7.

|| MS. Plym. Gen. Ct. Rec. Sullivan's Me. p. 117.

1662.]

land at Kennebeck, for £400 sterling. Thus that Colony part with what had been the refuge of Puritans in this quarter, and had greatly assisted by its traffic, to alleviate the severity of their losses.

1662. May 27. As Commissioners of Massachusetts, Daniel Dennison, William Hawthorn and Richard Waldron* address a communication at Wells, to Henry Jocelyn, Francis Champenon, Nicholas Shapleigh, Robert Jordan and Mr. Purchas. The former entreat the latter to consider their oath of fidelity to the Bay. They proceed: "We are not affrighted by any commissions from Ferdinando Gorges, Esqr. You have made too large a progress in these disorderly actings, wherein if you shall continue to the disturbance of the King's peace, you will inforce us to change our style. You know we cannot own Mr. Gorges' Commissioners." In another note of the same day, they protest against such a course and add, we "do hereby in his Majesty's name, require you to return to your subjection and obedience to the General Court of Massachusetts, according to the articles and subscription at Kittery, York, Wells and Spurwinck, and that you forthwith quietly dissolve this assembly, called by your own authority." Jocelyn and his associates, the day before, had left notice for Dennison and his associates, that they were ready "to give the General Court" at Boston, "all civil and Christian return," when they shall ask for it in their own name.

June 3. As dissatisfaction† had been expressed by inhabitants of the Plymouth Colony with the sale of their patent at Kennebeck, and an opportunity was presented of having it again, the Deputies there consider the matter and decide that it is best for the general good that the contract be not disturbed.

October 8. At their session of this date,‡ the Bay authorities order that the people of Yorkshire be publicly notified that they be in subjection to Massachusetts till the royal pleasure be more fully known.

November 24. A letter from George Cleaves,§ at Falmouth, to Governor Endicott and other magistrates of the Bay, contains the subsequent particulars. Henry Jocelyn had been active to have the royal orders published among the people, while he was equally engaged to suppress those of the Massachusetts authorities. Cleaves took pains to have the latter orders read before the congregation of Falmouth after the close of public worship. "The pretended Commissioners have appointed a meeting at Saco on the 25th of this present November, and we suppose it is to see what strength they can gather and suppress your authority, and to establish their pretended interest. We may expect, speedily, Mr. Jocelyn and Mr.

* MS. Mass. Gen. Ct. Papers. † Plym. Col. Rec. ‡ MS. Mass. Gen. Ct. Rec. § MS. Mass. Gen. Ct. Papers. Willis's Portland, pt. 1, p. 104-6.

Jordan to come to our town to see what they can do here, but my care will be to defeat their purposes in what I may." He desires them to make an example of those who had taken the oath of fidelity, but acted perfidiously, so as to deter others from imitating their conduct.

Towards the close of this year,* Mary Tomkins and Alice Ambrose, George Preston and Edward Wharton, of the Quaker denomination, visit Maine. They are accommodated by Major Nicholas Shapleigh, of Kittery, who had a minister, T. Millet, living at his house, and officiating as a pastor to the people. The result of such a coincidence is the departure of Millet, and the continuance of the Quakers with free liberty to hold their meetings. Here they had many to countenance them. After a while, Ambrose and Tomkins, with Ann Coleman, return to Dover. The rest had probably left before. When at the latter part of December, these three females had been thrice whipped and released, they returned to Major Shapleigh's house. They held a meeting at Newichawaneck, where they met with Shubal Dummer, a minister. He questioned them as to their rule of faith and life. They said it was the Spirit. They visit Dover and are apprehended.

1663. May 27. The Bay authorities,† in order to suppress an insurrectionary spirit, which prefers royalty and episcopacy, appoint William Philips to succeed Nicholas Shapleigh as major of the York County militia.

June 6. They issue the subsequent precept: "To the inhabitants of Yorkshire. You and every of you are hereby required in his Majesty's name to yield faithful and true obedience to the Government of this jurisdiction, established amongst you, according to your covenant articles, until his Majesty's pleasure be further known."

10. Joseph Emerson,‡ of York, desires them by letter that they would appoint some persons to examine difficulties in his congregation. They accordingly designate William Hawthorn and Major Lusher to consider the subject and endeavor to settle it by themselves, or associate such others with them as they may choose.

25. A letter is directed from Daniel Gookin§ to Sir Ferdinando Gorges. It states that the father of the former was intimate with the predecessor of the latter, and was interested with him in New England affairs. It then gives the subsequent representations. The people of Maine, wearied with anarchy among themselves, made earnest application to Massachusetts for protection and government. Their request was granted, after which Massachusetts had their line run, a thing never before done, "according to the

* Besse, vol. ii. p. 227, 8.

† MS. Mass. Gen. Ct. Papers.

‡ MS. Mass. Gen. Ct. Rec..

§ MS. Papers of the Council for N. Eng.

1663.]

judgment of good artists therein employed, taking in the greatest part, if not all your Province." Of late there has been disturbance. "The body of the people, in conscience to their oath and articles, still adhere to the Government of the Bay, and frequently make their address to it for protection and justice, and yourself do not appear to have interest enough to compose and satisfy them. The jurisdiction of Massachusetts have not been forward to enter into any contest with you in this matter, finding it difficult to rule well a remote and divided people. The frequent solicitations of the people in that Province, urging a performance of covenant, hath" called them "to suppress the contrary. And for that end Commissioners have been once and again sent, and composition made with yours, but presently again broken by some among them upon pretense of your authority, so that now it is probable you will hear, and that with great aggravations, that Mr. Jordan is secured, the only end whereof is to preserve public peace, for some men there are in the world who are impatient of any power that will bridle their lusts and disorders." He hopes that he will not hearken to them; proposes that he offer to settle with Massachusetts, who will be likely to give him a reasonable sum for the government of Maine, and he, if wishing it, may still hold the propriety of the Province.

July 4. A declaration of Scarborough, Falmouth, Black Point and Casco, is laid before the Court, or Commissioners from the Bay, at York. They speak of the very perplexed situation in which they are, commanded to obey Massachusetts, and also the authorities who were chosen according to the Charter of Gorges. They express their unwillingness to decide in the premises, until they have the decision of his Majesty.

The Court arraign James Wiggin* for answering, more than a year previously, when asked to carry a dish of meat to the Bay Commissioners, then in session at Wells, "with an oath, if it were poison he would carry it to them." He is sentenced to receive fifteen lashes, and give bonds to keep the peace. But it was finally compromised by his paying £10.

Thomas Booth is presented for calling their magistrates "a company of hypocritical rogues," who feared "neither God nor the King." Mr. Williams, R. Hitchcock, R. Trustring, H. Waddock, J. Gibbins, Vic. Edgecomb, E. Sanders, J. Smith, R. Cummins, T. Rogers, J. Bonighton and R. Hill, of Saco, are presented for disobedience to such commands, as, by oath of freemen, they had bound themselves to perform. Francis Small is called to answer for asserting in open Court, that "Mr. George Cleaves was a traitor, and that he could prove that the said Cleaves said, that the

* MS. York Rec. Sullivan's Me. p. 373. Folsom's Saco and Biddeford, p. 92, 3. Willis's Portland, part 1, p. 107, 8.

King was an atheist, a papist, etc., and it was proved in Court, that Cleaves so spake." Francis Hooke is presented, because, on a Sabbath, after Mr. Fletcher of Saco had exhorted his people "to be earnest in prayer to the Lord to direct them in respect they were under two claymes of government;" he rose and answered Mr. Fletcher, "he need not make such a preamble, for they were under Gorges' authority. And the said Hooke doth act by his authority, granting warrants, summonses, taking depositions and hearing causes." H. Jocelyn of Black-point, F. Champernoon of Kittery, Robert Jordan of Spurwink, and Nicholas Shapleigh, are presented "for acting against the authority they were under, and so renouncing the authority of Massachusetts, using means for the subverting thereof, under pretense of a sufficient power from Esq. Gorges to take off the people, which is manifest to the contrary." Mr. Jordan is also presented for speaking rashly of Rev. John Cotton, deceased, and for denouncing the Rulers of Massachusetts as traitors and rebels against the King." He had been brought as a prisoner to Boston, as soon as July, by Joseph Phippen. A pamphlet * represents, that Jordan was imprisoned and largely fined at Boston, because he preached and baptized according to the English Church.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

1661. May 1. Among considerations† for establishing his Majesty's interest in New England, we have the following. It is proposed, that five Commissioners go over; proceed first to Portsmouth, where it is said "many persons, some of great estates, are well inclined to admitting" the royal pleasure to prevail among them. Such Agents are to "use the best means they can to make an acquaintance with the chief and best inclined persons in the two Provinces of Hampshire and Maine, magistrates, ministers and others."

This year, a Committee‡ of Parliament report. As royalists, who had given ear to complaints against Massachusetts, they expressed themselves in severe terms, relative to that Colony's transactions under Cromwell's administration. In this, they had particular reference to the Bay's taking New Hampshire into their bounds.

December 28. Timothy Dalton, minister of Hampton, dies, aged about 84. He left a widow, Ruth, who deceased May 12, 1666, aged 88 years. He bequeathed property to Samuel, son of his

* "Persecutors Maul'd with their own Weapons," supposed by Thomas Maule. † MS. Council for N. E. Rec. ‡ Belknap, p. 436. N. E. Rock. Co. Papers.

1662.]'

brother, Philemon Dalton, and also to his people, as a town, which constituted the present ministerial funds of Hampton and North Hampton. Though he ceased to declare the Gospel, he left means so that its truths might still be delivered to his successors, without let or hinderance."

1662. October 8. At a session of the Bay Legislature,* Edward Colcort, imprisoned at Boston, as a troubler of their liberties, according to a decision of a Court at Hampton, is released.

Prior to this date, Mary Tomkins and Alice Ambrose,† from England, George Preston and Edward Wharton of Salem, appear at Dover. They were active in the dissemination of their opinions. They had a discussion with Rev. Mr. Reyner. The people of his parish petition the Legislature of Massachusetts to adopt measures for arresting the progress of the Quaker doctrines there. They empower Richard Waldron to execute the law on "all criminal offenders." The females, mentioned, went into Maine.

Eunice Cole, by a petition of herself and inhabitants of Hampton, is allowed to leave Boston prison, released from her former sentence, and to depart from the Colony.

Having come back to Dover and renewed their labors, Tomkins and Ambrose are prosecuted, with Ann Coleman. On the 22d of December, these three are sentenced to be tied to a cart's tail, whipped not above ten stripes in each of the towns, Dover, Hampton, Salisbury, Newbury, Rowley, Ipswich, Wenham, Lynn, Boston, Roxbury and Dedham. The sentence was executed at Dover, where William Fourbish, of the same place, and Eliakim Wardel, of Hampton, testified against it as unjust. When they were whipped at Hampton, their friend Edward Wharton denied that they should be so treated. After being thus dealt with at Salisbury, they were released by Walter Barefoot, a deputy constable. Though he did not act according to the warrant in releasing them after three whippings, he was borne out by the exception of the last Legislative order. Having revisited Kittery, and then Dover, they are apprehended at a meeting. The persons who took them, meant to carry them away by water, but a storm arising, they suffered them to go at large.

Hull in his journal remarks: "In some of our Eastern plantations, as Dover, etc., many are become Quakers."

Before the 13th of November, John Brock leaves the ministry at Gosport, among the Isles‡ of Shoals, or Appledore, or Star Island, for a settlement at Reading. He was born at Shadbrook, England, 1620, came to New England 1637, graduated at Harvard College, 1646. After residing here two years longer, and then engaged as a preacher at Rowley to 1650, he continued as a "fisher

* MS. Gen. Ct. Rec.

† Besse, vol. ii. p. 227, 8.

‡ Partly in New Hampshire, and partly in Maine.

of men" among the hardy population of those Islands, twelve years. His faith and works were of an eminent rank. The noted Mr. Mitchell remarked of him, "He dwells as near heaven as any man upon earth."

1663. May 5. Lydia, wife of Eliakim Wardwell,* of Hampton, is sentenced to be severely whipped and pay costs of prosecution, because she had appeared naked before the congregation in Newbury meeting-house, where she had been a church member. Bishop and Besse justify such an act, as the means of expressing her deep impression of the spiritual destitution among her former fellow worshippers. But the sign, so given, however well intended, was too indelicate for a useful effect.

July 4. A Court of Commissioners being in session at Dover, are visited by Edward Wharton of Salem, who gloried in opposition to authority and in the consequent sufferings. He cried aloud † to them, "Wo to all oppressors and persecutors, for the indignation of the Lord is against them. Therefore, friends, whilst you have time, prize the day of his patience, and cease to do evil, and learn to do well; ye who spoil the poor, and devour the needy; ye who lay traps and snares for the innocent." He is put into the stocks. William Hathorne, his townsman, and one of the justices present, asked him why he came thither. He replied, "To bear my testimony for the truth against persecution and violence." Thomas Wiggin, of the bench, rebuked him. To this he answered, "Thou art an old persecutor. It's time for thee to give over, for thou mayest be drawing near to thy grave." He was sentenced to suffer the legal penalty, tied to a cart, and ten stripes in each of three towns, through which he was to pass. These were Dover, Hampton and Newbury. Orders were also sent to constables of Salisbury, Rowley, Ipswich and Wenham, so that they should send him along towards his home. Having been punished at Dover, and no horse could be obtained for him to ride, he was committed to prison. The next week, the rest of his sentence was put in force. He was conducted through the route on horse-back; one of the guard led the horse, and two walked each side of the prisoner.

After the preceding date, Joseph Nicholson and John Liddal visited Newcastle. They were whipped at Portsmouth and allowed to depart. At another time, they appeared with Edward Wharton, Jane Millard and Ann Coleman, on the Sabbath, at the Dover meeting-house. They were taken to prison and detained there nearly a fortnight. Then they held a meeting with Friends at Hampton. The constable, with assistants, took and carried them to prison, where they were kept awhile, and then suffered to go at large.

* Besse, vol. ii. p. 225. MS. Essex Ct. Rec.

† Besse, vol. ii. p. 231-3.

1661.]

RHODE ISLAND.

1661. February 5. Joshua Coxall forfeits his horse* in Plymouth Colony, because a Quaker rode it thither, contrary to their law.

June 10. Mr. Henry Hobson, of Newport, is bound to answer before the General Court of Plymouth Colony, "for his derision of authority in counterfeiting the solemnizing of the marriage of Robert Whetcomb and Mary Cudworth," who lived in the jurisdiction of said Legislature.

This year Elizabeth Hooton† and Joane Brooksup, forced to leave Massachusetts, came to Rhode Island, and "after some stay," went to Barbadoes, and thence, not long after, returned to New England.

August 27. Having received letters from Mr. Clark, the Commissioners agree‡ to send him their thanks for the faithfulness with which he had attended to their Colonial interests. They also order a commission for the continuance of his agency in England. They vote him £200, to be raised by assessments on the towns.

September 13. The Commissioners§ of the Union request the authorities here not to suffer any of their people to occupy land which fell to Massachusetts by conquest, and "near Pautucket and the Pequot country," nor injure "the heathen or others, which may draw upon yourselves and us uncomfortable consequences."

November 14. A letter from the Governor and Council of Massachusetts|| is directed to the authorities here. It refers to Tobias Saunders and Robert Burdett, who are committed to Boston prison for intrusion on the bounds of Southertown. Various correspondence passed between the two Colonies on this subject.

1662. May 22. General Court of Providence Plantations reply to a communication¶ of the 8th, from Massachusetts, who therein complained of intrusion upon their rights in "the Pequitt and Narraganset country." They consider themselves as allowing none of their people to occupy any lands which do not belong to them, and desire all suspension of a forcible action until the pleasure of the King can be ascertained.

About the middle of this year the General Assembly have the two succeeding addresses** presented to his Majesty, for the continuance of their charter privileges. One of these papers was signed by John Clark, as their agent, and the other from them, signed by

* Plym. Gen. Ct. Rec. † Besse, vol. ii. p. 228, 9. ‡ Staples' Annals, p. 130. § Hazard, vol. ii. p. 448, 9. || Ibid. p. 455. ¶ MS. Mass. Gen. Ct. Papers. ** J. C. Brown's MSS.

him in such official capacity. Both of them state the readiness with which the people of the Colony welcomed him to the throne. The latter remarks that they "have it much on their hearts, they may be permitted to hold forth a lively experiment, that a flourishing civil State may stand, yea, be maintained, and that among English spirits, with a full liberty in religious concerns, and that true piety, rightly grounded upon gospel principles, will give the best and greatest security to true sovereignty, and will lay in the hearts of men the strongest obligations to true loyalty." This passage was so pertinent to the occasion, that it became almost literally adopted by the charter.

August 15. Spori, in his account of a voyage* from Zurich to the Caribbean Islands and New England, mentions that the vessel in which he sailed anchored near the place where the Governor of Rhode Island lived. He relates that the latter immediately sent a message on board, to obtain the usual information about the voyage, and for the captain to bring the surgeon ashore if he had one. This is accordingly done, and Spori, who appears to have been master of the healing art, performed a great cure for the Governor's son. Among his descriptions, he mentions New England Indians. "They believe in many gods, but not all of one rank, and think they all have natures like men. They believe in the immortality of the soul after death. They worship also the moon and stars."

September 16. The Commissioners of the Union,† except Samuel Willis, who consented in part, send a letter to Rhode Island. The former complain of violence committed by individuals, who plead authority from their Rulers; charge them with "giving ill example to Pequot Indians, that are in subjection to us, profaning the Sabbath, and selling great quantities of liquors to them." They proceed: "Being jointly desirous to prevent any further disturbance of the peace of the Colonies, though we have no doubt of the present right and interest of the Massachusetts to those lands, we are willing to improve the argument that yourselves have owned." Then they observe that, as the late Charter of Connecticut covers the premises which Rhode Island claim, there is sufficient reason why this claim should be withdrawn till it can be peaceably decided. They close: "Otherwise assuring you that the United Colonies are engaged to assist and defend each other in their just rights and professions, entreating you to weigh the scandal of your actings, against which we do protest, and that the United Colonies are innocent of the sad consequences and disturbances that will unavoidably attend your further continuance therein. The righteous God, the God of peace, incline your hearts and direct your counsels to the ways of righteousness and peace."

* Hist. Magazine, vol. iii.

† Hazard, vol. ii. p. 467.

1663.]

October 27. The General Assembly send a letter through their Secretary, Joseph Torrey, in reply to one which they received from the Commissioners of the Union, and which stated that they had not answered several communications about differences as to Pawcatuck lands. It says that a sufficient rejoinder had been made to these letters and sent to Massachusetts.

1663. April. George Sheppard, of Providence,* perceiving that the men there were dissatisfied, because he took no part in their municipal transactions, gives the reasons. He says it is owing to his physical infirmity and insufficient qualification. He relates that he came hither to enjoy his conscience, and not for the land which they had assigned him. He expresses his willingness that if they prefer to take his grant and give him one of less dimensions, he shall be satisfied. The sentiments uttered by him on this occasion, show a regard for the freedom of conscience and the promotion of harmony, which are seldom witnessed in communities.

May. The earliest encouragement for education,† in Rhode Island, which has come to the eye of the writer, is on the records of Providence, as quoted by Judge Staples: "It is agreed by this present Assembly, that one hundred acres of upland and six acres of meadow (or lowland to the quantity of eight acres, in lieu of meadow) shall be laid out without the bounds of this Town of Providence. The which land shall be reserved for the maintenance of a school in this town: and that, after the said land is laid out and the bounds thereof set, it shall be recorded in our town records, according unto the bounds fixed, and shall be called by the name of The School Lands of Providence." In reference to this subject, the same author, just quoted, remarks: "It is a matter of regret, that education has not always received the same degree of attention in Rhode Island, as in the other New England States." We may add, that there has been a hopeful advance, within the last half century, as to the cause of letters, in this Commonwealth. A principal reason why it has been in the rear, was the influence of ancient and long-continued objection to taxes for religion and schools, and compliance with the mistaken position, that liberty was so liberal as to allow every man to do as he pleased in these two most essential means to combat natural selfishness and secure instruction for the intellect and the soul.

July 8. On the petition of John Clarke, who had been indefatigable in exertions for the benefit of his constituents, a Charter is obtained from Charles II. for Rhode Island and Providence Plantations. The document relates, that the original settlers here came over to enjoy Christianity themselves and impart it to "the poor ignorant savages," but not tolerated in their sentiments where they first settled, they moved to the premises in view. It allows

* Annals of Providence, p. 132, 3.

† Ibid. p. 492.

the colonists "the free exercise and enjoyment of all their civil and religious rights," as subjects of England. It proceeds: "Because some of the inhabitants cannot conform to the liturgy, form and ceremonies" of the established church of the kingdom, they may enjoy "their own consciences in matters of religious concerns, not using this liberty to licentiousness and profaneness, nor to the civil injury or outward disturbance of others." In reference to acts of banishment passed by adjacent Legislatures, it says: "That it shall be lawful to and for the inhabitants of the said Colony, without let or molestation, to pass and repass with freedom, into and through the rest of the English Colonies, upon their lawful and civil occasions, and hold commerce and trade with such of the inhabitants of our other English Colonies as shall be willing to admit them thereunto, they behaving themselves peaceably among them."

September 13. Complaint is made* to the Commissioners that some men of Rhode Island, on the authority of their Government, had committed violence on persons and property of Southertown, claimed by Massachusetts. The Commissioners protest against such conduct, and assert the obligation of the Union to put it down.

October 26. Eleazer Lusher and John Leverett† are appointed Commissioners by the Bay Legislature, to visit the General Court of Rhode Island, state their grievances about Southertown, to ask explanation, propose settlement by arbitrators, and desire that no further molestation be committed there, until the query of jurisdiction is settled.

November 23. A letter from the Bay Legislature‡ to that of Rhode Island. Its words follow: "They apprehend it is not unknown unto you, that the Government of Connecticut, by virtue of his Majesty's royal charter and grant made to yourselves, do lay claim to and challenge jurisdiction over the same place, Southertown, notwithstanding your and their knowledge of the justice of our claim to the said place by conquest over the bloody nation of the Pequode Indians and so many years' possession, which his Majesty has not been informed of," and who "in all his charters provided for the indemnity of persons in possession within the lands of the place granted." The claim here made by Massachusetts, was true, beyond all just contradiction.

24. The General Court of Commissioners vote their thanks to Mr. John Clarke for "his great pains, labour and travel, with much faithfulness, exercised for above twelve years in behalf of this Colony, in England," and "a gratuity of £100 sterling in current pay of the country."

They "solemnize the receipt of the Charter." The instrument§

* Hazard, vol. ii. p. 484, 5.

† Hazard, vol. ii. p. 509, 16, 7.

‡ Mass. Gen. Ct. Rec.

§ Staples' Annals, p. 135.

1661.]

was taken from the box, containing it, and read by Capt. George Baxter. It was then held up by him before the people, "with much becoming gravity," and returned to the box, which was locked by the Governor. Such a document was very acceptable to the freemen, because of the difficulties which stood in the way of its being obtained. Their previous instrument of this kind was procured for them by Roger Williams, in a considerable degree, through his friendship for Cromwell and Vane.

CONNECTICUT.

1661. March 7. Whalley and Goffe* reach New Haven: here they were entertained very cordially by Mr. Davenport, and they appeared openly. Assured that two pursuivants from London had reached Boston, and, May 7, had started to apprehend them, they hid themselves. The searchers waited on Winthrop at Hartford, who informed them that the Judges made no tarry there, but departed for New Haven. The day after, they went to Guilford, and made known their business to Deputy Governor Leet, who was backward to afford them facilities. In the meanwhile, the Judges were secreted in different places till the 15th, when they took up their abode in a cave, prepared for them on the side of an eminence, which they called Providence Hill.

May 16. The Connecticut Legislature accept the Address† to his Majesty, as drawn up by Governor Winthrop, with the proviso that the Committee, of whom the latter was one, may alter it so as to retain the substance. Winthrop is to sail speedily for England, to carry this and other documents, with the main purpose of obtaining a Charter.

29. Such a disinclination‡ prevailed in the Colony of New Haven against the oath of office, requiring allegiance to Charles II., that several of the persons elected magistrates refused to accept. This was probably augmented by the favor which Whalley and Goffe had gained among the principal men there, and the severity with which they were pursued as regicides.

June 7. The Court of Connecticut write§ to Lord Say and Seal. After relating the large sum which they paid for the Patent, that finally came into the hands of Fenwick, they ask the aid of the former. Their words are: "Be pleased to consider our condition, who have taken upon us to address his Majesty, and to petition his favor towards us in granting us the continuance of his protection, and of those privileges and immunities that we have hitherto

* Hutchinson, 3d ed. vol. i. p. 198, 9. Stiles's Judges, p. 24.

† Gen. Ct. Rec. ‡ Trumbull, vol. i. p. 251. § Ibid. vol. i. p. 544-6.

enjoyed in this remote western part of the world ; and likewise for a patent whereby we may be encouraged and strengthened in our proceedings."

In their address to his Majesty,* they say: " Our fathers, and some few yet alive of their associates, in so great an undertaking of transporting themselves, their wives and children, into this western world, had certainly very pious publique ends, the propagation of the blessed Gospel of the Lord Jesus amongst the heathen, who, til then had never heard the sound thereof, as also the honour and further extent of the British monarchy." They also write to the Earl of Manchester, a friend of the Puritans, to assist their agent.

July 1. The Council of Massachusetts write† to Governor Leet of New Haven. The former suggest that the latter Colony were blamed in London, for not having the Judges apprehended, and not sending an address to the King. Seeing that royal authority‡ constrained their friends to take part in the means of their apprehension, Whalley and Goffe left Providence Hill on August 19, and removed to Milford, where they continue two years.

August 1. The General Court of New Haven assemble.§ They assign reasons to the Council of Massachusetts why they had not done as they advised. They state that the warrant for arresting Whalley and Goffe was so directed to their Governor, that had they acted on it, they should virtually have owned " a General Governor, dangerous to the liberties of the people." They engage to use means for the apprehension of the Judges. They further relate, that their omission to address the King was not disloyalty, and that they should do it, as Massachusetts had.

19. John Davenport writes|| an apology to the King, through Sir Thomas Temple in Boston, so as to clear himself and the authorities of New Haven Colony from the charges made against them, of favoring the escape of the two Regicides. In this respect he also desired the favorable interposition of his relative, Lord Say and Seal, if living.

21. New Haven Court proclaim Charles II., and avouch themselves to be his faithful subjects.

About this time,¶ Winthrop embarks for London, followed with ardent desires and petitions for success in his important mission. Among his instructions are the following: To get a copy of the Patent, granted to Lords Say, Brook and others, and sold to the Colony by Fenwick ; and, if this cannot be obtained, to inquire if the price for it may be recovered from Fenwick's heirs. To obtain, if practicable, a Charter of their territory with " liberties and privildges, not inferior to what is granted to y^e Massachuset."

* Trumbull, App. vol. i. p. 542, 3. † Hutchinson, 3d ed. vol. i. p. 991.

‡ Trumbull's Hist. vol. i. p. 255. § Trumbull, vol. i. p. 256, 7.

|| Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. 3 s. vol. viii. p. 327-9. ¶ Trumbull, vol. i. p. 258.

1661.]

September 12. The Governors* of the two Colonies are allowed each £5 from missionary funds, "to distribute among well deserving Indians."

October 3. The Connecticut Court order,† "Next Wednesday come fortnight to be kept a solemn Thanksgiving throwout the Colony, for God's merceys in y^e remaineing fruits of y^e earth, and our peace, and that God is pleased to free vs from y^t mortality y^t y^e Plantations haue bin afflicted with."

December 11. The firm and consistent supporter of Puritan principles, Lord Say and Seal, writes‡ to Winthrop in London. He was then seriously ill, and unable to be in the metropolis. Though his religious views did not harmonize entirely with those of the royal party, yet he thought it better to have Charles II. restored, than risk the miseries of threatened anarchy. Therefore, he was made Lord of the Privy Seal. He says that he has desired the Earl Manchester, "Lord Chamberlain of his Majesty's household," to promote the embassy of Winthrop. He continues, "He and I did join together, that our godly friends of New England might enjoy their just rights and liberties; and this, Colonel Crowne, who, I hear, is still in London, can fully inform you."

While on such a negotiation,§ Winthrop discovered much tact and talent for its successful accomplishment. On an introduction to Charles II., he presented him with a ring, which Charles I. had given to Winthrop's grandfather. This highly gratified the restored king, who was strongly attached to his father, and valued the relic of him the more for his tragic end.

This year, Gershom•Bulkley of Concord, son of Rev. Peter Bulkley,|| graduated at Harvard College, 1655, married Sarah, daughter of President Chauncy, October 26, 1659, and had preached several months at New London, contracts to become minister of this town. They agree to give him £80 annually for three years, and afterwards more, or "as much more as God shall move their hearts to give, and they do find it needful to be paid." The compensation is to be calculated in provisions or English goods. For the period specified, he is to have "all such silver as is weekly contributed by strangers, to help towards buying of books." He is, also, to have himself, family and effects, transported from Concord, with a house and small farm and fire wood, free of charge. Should he die in the ministry of New London, they are to pay his wife and children £60 sterling. The agreement was afterwards altered to meet some contingencies. Mr. Bulkley continued to preach here till June 10, 1665, when his people desired him to remain in his office. He appears to have ceased soon after this, from his connection with them as pastor, though he labored

* Hazard, vol. ii. p. 444. † Conn. Gen. Ct. Rec. ‡ Trumbull's Hist. vol. i. p. 547. § Ibid. p. 258. || Caulkins's New London, p. 131, 2.

for them occasionally, between the last date and the early part of 1667, when he removed to Wethersfield.

1662. April 20. Through the judicious procedure of John Winthrop,* the King is induced to grant a Charter to Connecticut, of all the soil formerly patented to the Earl of Warwick. The document secured to them the Colony of New Haven, and to the inhabitants all privileges enjoyed by the free subjects of the English Realm.

In New Haven there was much uneasiness that they had been united to Connecticut, and as to other policy of Charles II. There were some cases of insurrection. On the other hand, individuals complained that the Colonial law, requiring freemen of the Corporation to be church members, was too strict.

May 15. Connecticut Legislature† receive Huntington, on Long Island, under their jurisdiction, on the terms by which Southampton had assumed such a relation.

28. Though some had faulted Leet and Gilbert‡ for not having the Regicides apprehended in New Haven, yet they are elected, the former as Governor, and the latter as Lieut. Governor.

July. About this time the wife of Goffe writes§ to him from England. "Persecution begins to be high here. The bishops' Courts are up as high as ever. But we have the promise of a faithfull God to live upon. I do heartily wish myself with thee, but that I feare it may bee a meanes to discover thee, as it was to —, and, therefore, I shall forbear attempting any such thing for the present. Let us comfort ourselves with this, though we should never meete in this world againe, yet I hope, through grace, wee shall meete in heaven, and soe ever be with the Lord, and it will not be in the power of man to part us. I shall not send but by those I judge to be faithfull. Though it is an unspeakeable comfort to mee to heare of thy wellfare, yet I earnestly beg of thee not to send too often, for feare of the worst, for they are very vigilant here to find out persons. And now, my dear, with a thousand tears, I take my leave of thee, and remember thee to the great Keeper of Israell, who never slumbers nor sleepes. Many friends here desire to be remembered to you. It will not be convenient to name them. I am sure you have a stock of prayers going for you here, which you and I reape the benefitt of. Frederic and the rest of thy dear babes, that can speake, present their humble duty to thee, talke much of thee and long to see thee."

September 10. William Tompson is allowed by the Commissioners,|| £20 salary, for his instructions to the Indians "about Pequott." In feeble health, he left New London, 1663, and was in Virginia, April 26, 1664.

* Trumbull's Hist. vol. i. p. 259, 60.

† Gen. Ct. Rec.

‡ Trumbull's

Hist. vol. i. p. 260.

§ Hutchinson, 3d ed. vol. i. p. 457.

|| Hazard, vol.

ii. p. 458, 9, 61, 7.

1662.]

12. Mr. James is granted the same amount for like labors on Long Island. As Indian parents had bound their children to English families, the Commissioners order that such children be under the protection of the Colonial authorities where they reside.

The Commissioners speak of the Charter to Connecticut as a favor from the King. They hope it will prevent the hurtful intrusion of some from Rhode Island, and "also their corrupting the manners of the Heathen by profaning the Sabbath, and making them drunk with strong waters, to the great dishonor of God and reproach to the English nation, and thereby not a little hindering to the progress of the gospel among the natives."

Trumbull, in referring to the adjourned Synod, called by the Court of Massachusetts and convened this month, in Boston, states that no churches of Connecticut and New Haven were represented therein, though they were invited. As well known, Davenport and Street were opposed to the half-way covenant which a majority of that body confirmed.

October 9. The royal Charter* of Connecticut was publicly read before the General Court,† at Hartford, "in audience of y^e Freemen, and declared to belong to them and their successors."

Southold, on Long Island, is received under the government of Connecticut, who advise a prominent inhabitant of the town "to see that y^e minister be duely paid his meet and competent maintenance."

Part of the inhabitants of Guilford are admitted to the jurisdiction of Connecticut, whose authorities counsel them "to carry peaceably and religiously in their places towards the rest of y^e inhabitants, that have not submitted in like manner. And also to pay their iust dues vnto y^e Minister of their Towne; and also all publique charges due to this day."

Westchester, Stamford and Greenwich, are declared as parts of Connecticut.

For persons to be admitted freemen of Connecticut, they must have a "certificate under the hands of the major part of the Townsmen where they live, that they are persons of civil, peaceable and honest conversation, and that they have attained the age of 21 years and have £20 estate, besides their person in the list of estate; and that such persons, so qualified to the Court's approbation, shall be presented at October Court yearly, or some adjourned Court, and admitted after the Election at the Assembly in May. And in case any freeman shall walk scandalously, or commit any scandalous

* Roger Williams stated that this document cost £6,000. To discharge the debt, constables are ordered to collect grain, two-thirds in wheat and one-third in peas, dry and merchantable. Such articles are to be deposited in "the warehouse," ready for shipment. Under the 8th "of October, 1663, a rate of one farthing and a half on the pound is ordered to be paid within three weeks, in wheat, for completing the charge about procuring the charter."

† Gen. Ct. Rec.

offense, and be legally convicted thereof, he shall be disfranchised by any of our Civil Courts."

It is ordered "that Wednesday come fortnight be set apart, throughout this Colony, for a solemn day of thanksgiving for the mercies that God hath extended to this Colony the year past, and particularly for the good success God hath given the endeavors of our honored Governor in obtaining our Charter of his Majesty, our Sovereign; as also for his gracious answer of our prayer in the late drought, in sending rain; and for abatement of the sickness, and for the hopes we have of settlement in the ways of peace and righteousness."

November 5. New Haven date a letter* to Connecticut. Some extracts follow: "If it shall appear (after a due and full information of our state) to have been his Majesty's pleasure so to unite us, as you understand the Patent, we must submit according to God; but, for the present, we cannot answer otherwise than our committee hath done, and likewise to make the same request unto you, that we may remain distinct as formerly, and may be succoured by you as Confederates; at least, that none occasion be given by yourselves for any to disturb us in our ancient settlements, until that, either by the honored Mr. Winthrop, by our other Confederates, or from his Majesty, we may be resolved therein. All which are in our thoughts to use, except you prevent, for the gaining of a right understanding, and to bring a peaceable issue or reconciliation of this matter; and we wish you had better considered than to act so suddenly, to seclude us from Patent privileges at first, if we are included, as you say, and to have so proceeded since, as may seem to give advantage unto disaffected persons to slight or disregard oaths and covenants, and thereby to rend and make division, manage contention and troubles in the townships and societies of this Colony, and that about religious worships, as the inclosed complaint may declare, which seems to us a great scandal to religion before the natives, and prejudicial to his Majesty's pious intention, as also to hold forth a series of means very opposite to the end pretended, and very much obscured from the beauty of such a religious and peaceable walking among English brethren, as may either invite the natives to the Christian faith, or unite our spirits in this juncture." It is evident that the Colony of New Haven felt aggrieved because Connecticut had included some of their people and territory within their jurisdiction, by authority of their late Royal Charter. The former Colony had reason to suspect that they were not regarded in so favorable a light by the King as the latter were, and therefore, that their boundaries and privileges had not been justly protected by this document.

1663. March 3. The petition and address† to the King, from

* Trumbull's Hist. vol. i. p. 547-9.

† Ibid. vol. i. p. 553, 4.

1663.]

New Haven, having reached London, John Winthrop writes to Connecticut, that before he took out their Charter, he had engaged that its provisions should not be allowed to injure the interests of the former Colony. He therefore desires the authorities of Connecticut to cease from every course which had trenched on the peace and property of New Haven.

11. The Legislature* of Connecticut, "understanding that the hand of God has gone against the people of New Netherland, by pestilential infections, do, therefore, prohibit all persons for coming from any of these infectious places into this Colony† and amongst our people, until the Assistants are informed and satisfied that the distemper is allayed; and that whoever breaks this order shall pay five pound to the public Treasury. And if any person shall bring a vessel from thence, and land their men or goods in any harbor in this Colony, the Master of the vessel shall forfeit £10."

They choose a committee to visit New Haven, and use means for effecting a union between the two Colonies.

May 6. The General Court of New Haven‡ meet. They protest against the conduct of Connecticut towards them. They state that the latter's appointment of officers in towns under their jurisdiction, and the reception of people subject to their rule, is contrary to the purpose of first settling the plantations of New England, and to the principles of the Confederation; causes great offense to their consciences, and is "matter of high provocation and complaint before God and man."

July 2. Elizabeth, wife of Richard Seagar, is indicted by a Court at Hartford for witchcraft, but in June, 1665, is cleared of such a charge by a jury.

18. John Winthrop writes to Peter Stuyvesant, Governor of New Netherland: "The mind of the magistrate here is to promote all amicable ways of peace and neighborhood, as most desirable for so few Christians amongst those barbarous people the Indians. I shall not be wanting, if opportunity be offered at any time, to help forward such measures."

20. Samuel Stone dies at Hartford, where he had labored faithfully and successfully thirty years. He was talented, learned, and judicious; eminently devoted to the cause of God. Morton§ calls him "another star of the first magnitude in the firmament of New England." He lost a wife in 1640. His wife Elizabeth and son Samuel survived him. The former married George Gardner, merchant, of Salem. The latter was a preacher at Middletown, in 1679, and drowned October 8, 1683. Among his works, was one called a 'Congregational Church,' etc., published in London in 1652. He left in manuscript, a refutation of Antinomianism, and

* Gen. Ct. Rec. † This was repealed under session of 14th of next May.

‡ Trumbull's Hist. vol. i. p. 266. § Morton's Memorial, p. 10, 11.

a Body of Divinity. The last was highly appreciated, and frequently copied by students in theology. One of his discourses to the Hartford Church, copied and preserved in a manuscript of Joseph Gerrish, 1697, was "Against y^e binding persons to make a relation of y^e time and manner of their conversion in order to y^e admission into y^e church." From the *Threnodia*, composed on the occasion of his decease, by E. B., supposed to be Edward Bulkley, we have the subsequent lines :

" May Nature, Grace and Art be found in one
So high as to be found in few or none.
In him these three with full fraught hand contested,
With which by each he should be most invested."

August 19. The General Court* of Connecticut renewedly appoint a committee to treat with New Haven Colony about the subject of union with them, and if they do not consent, to inform them that such denial is disliked by the proposing party, who expect them to yield. The messengers are also instructed to read the Charter publicly at New Haven. Such policy wears the aspect of the stronger's purpose to force the weaker to comply with their wishes.

September 19. The Commissioners,† having heard the complaints of New Haven against Connecticut, for efforts to absorb their territory and population, give the subsequent decision. They "do judge meet to declare that the said Colony of New Haven being owned in the articles of confederation as distinct from Connecticut, and so owned by the Colonies jointly in this present meeting, in all their actings, may not by any act of violence have their liberty of jurisdiction infringed by any other of the United Colonies, without breach of the articles of confederation ; and that, where any act of power hath been erected against their authority, the same ought to be recalled, and their power reserved to them entire, until such time as, in an orderly way, it shall be otherwise disposed ; and for particular grievances mentioned in their complaint, that they be referred to the next meeting of the Commissioners at Hartford, where Connecticut, having timely notice, may give their answer thereunto, unless, in the meantime, there be an amicable uniting for the establishment of their peace, the which, we are persuaded, will be very acceptable to the neighboring Colonies."

October 8. The Legislature of Connecticut meet.‡ As they had granted a farm to Rev. Samuel Stone, for his service as chaplain in the Pequod war and since, they now confirm it, by granting to his widow, Elizabeth, and son, Samuel, five hundred acres of upland, and fifty of meadow in some suitable place.

* Gen. Ct. Rec. † MS. Com. Rec. Hazard, vol. ii. p. 487. ‡ Gen. Ct. Rec.

1663.]

They request Messrs. Jones, Hanford and Wakeman, to hear the difficulties between John Tompson and the Church at Stratford, and endeavor to have them settled.

They protest against the refusal of New Haven Colony to come within their jurisdiction, though claiming the right of distinct government. They add: "We do expect their submission, according to our charter and his Majesty's pleasure therein exprest, it being a stated conclusion of the Commissioners, that jurisdiction right always goeth with Patent."

They declare that they will forbear authority over the English plantations on the westerly end of Long Island, if the Dutch will do the same; but that, if the latter Colony molest them, they will defend their interests until they can know the will of their Sovereign in the premises.

October 22. The General Court of New Haven convenes.* Governor Leet lays before them the facts relative to the proposition of Connecticut for a union. He states the decision of the Commissioners, and that a committee of the former Colony had sent a request to the latter, that they would cease from all further interference with their plantations and inhabitants, as the best way to attain their desired end. The freemen, in view of such facts, resolved to hold no farther negotiation with Connecticut on so vexed a question, until they revoke "the acts of power exerted by them" on some of their towns. They conclude to tax the persons, in their bounds, whom Connecticut had received as subjects; to petition the King for an exemption from her government, and leave the matter of obtaining a Patent to the wisdom of their agents in England. They order a levy of £300 to prosecute their purpose before the King in council. They appoint a day of fasting and prayer to implore divine protection for all the distressed people of God, and particularly for themselves, so that they may secure the enjoyment of their Colonial rights and privileges. So involved had their pecuniary affairs become through the encouragement which Connecticut gave their people to withhold taxes from their treasury, that they are unable to give their Governor more than £40, and their Deputy Governor more than £10 salary.

December 30. The constables having begun to collect the rates, difficulty arises.† Two men of Guilford, father and son, who had persuaded officers of Connecticut to come thither and aid them in withholding their taxes, discharge guns in the night and produce a great alarm. The persons who had thus joined the two, were not sparing in their threats. Governor Leet immediately sent to Branford and New Haven for men to help him preserve order, who promptly complied. He so conducted the affair, that no personal

* Trumbull, vol. i. p. 272, 3.

† Ibid, p. 274, 5.

injury ensued. The men from Connecticut argued against the collection of rates from individuals, who had put themselves under the protection of their Colony, and desired New Haven to suspend the matter till further consideration.

In the course of this year, Zacharias Brigden,* graduate from Harvard College, 1657, and preacher at Stonington, dies. He is succeeded by James Noyes, who officiated there more than ten years prior to his ordination.

Richard Denton dies at Hempstead, L. I., where Trumbull says he left descendants. Wood states that he had been minister at Halifax, Yorkshire, and immigrated hither before 1635. While in this country he had preached at Wethersfield and Stamford, Conn. Though his position was changed, his purpose, prayer and exertions were continued so as to comply with the duties of his profession.

"Another Essay for the Investigation of the Truth," is published by John Davenport, in reply to the result of the late Synod.

* Trumbull, vol. i. p. 300.

CHAPTER VII.

MASSACHUSETTS. Half-way Covenant. — Baptists. — Mission. — King's Commissioners. — Quakers. — Indian Bible. — Letter to Dury. — Non-conformists. — Freemen. — Indian Students. — Colonial Peril. — Address to the King. — His Commissioners are as a General Governor. — Liberty of the Churches. — Supervisors of the Press. — Death of Endicott. — A Rebellious Son. — Assumption of Judicial Power. — Indian College. — Papal Excommunication. — Traitors. — Common Prayer Book. — Ecclesiastical Constitutions. — Protest against the Royal Commissioners. — Their Proposals. — Religious Observances. — Means to conciliate the King. — Baptists. — Quakers. — Violation of Saturday Evening by the Commissioners. — Confederation continued. — Rupture. — Half-way Covenant viewed as Declension. — Address to the King. — Plague in London. — Dutch Fleet. — Baptists. — Fount of Letters. — Royal Letter. — Persons ordered to answer before the King. — Reduction of Canada. — Fearful Condition of the Colony. — Advice of Elders. — Petitions from Several Towns. — Opinions of Prominent Men. — Questions for the Petitioners. — Carr's Answer. — Danger from the French. — Division among the People. — Narrative of the Commissioners. — William Tompson. **PLYMOUTH.** The King's Letter. — Comet. — Indians instructed. — James Keith. — Commissioners' Propositions. — Design of the Colonial Union. — Freemen. — Church Members. — Confederation. — Doctrine. — Royal Approbation. — Public Worship. — Governor appointed by the King. — Ministry. **MAINE.** Charter to Duke of York. — Joseph Emerson. — Position of Massachusetts. — King's Commissioners. — Petition of Lygonians. — Perplexity of the People. — Mr. Jordan. — Seth Fletcher. **NEW HAMPSHIRE.** Commissioners' Counteraction. — Quakers. — Petition. — Report. — Corbet's Sentence. — Misrepresentation. **RHODE ISLAND.** Roman Catholics. — Gortonists. — Seventh-day Baptists. — Propositions. — Episcopalians. — Address to the King. — Engagement. — Quakers. — Statements of Royal Commissioners. — Pumham leaves his Territory. — Letter of Williams. — Regal Appropriation. — Blackstone. — Letter of Harris. **CONNECTICUT.** Trouble between New Haven and Connecticut. — King's Address. — John Scott. — Duke of Hamilton's Patent. — Joseph Eliot. — Advice of Massachusetts. — Indians taught. — Sackville. — Grant to Royal Commissioners. — Half-way Covenant. — Episcopalians. — New Haven yield to Connecticut. — College. — Propositions. — Davenport's Letter. — Blackman. — Israel Chauncy. — King's Letter. — Newark Settlers. — Bulkley. — Nathaniel Chauncy. — Woodbridge. — Synod.

MASSACHUSETTS.

1664. January 6. John Allin, pastor of Dedham Church, by request of ministers who co-operated with him in the late Synod, dates the preface of his answer to the *Anti-synodalia Americana*.

Replying to an objection, that if the decision of the Synod was correct for the baptism of infants on the half-way covenant, then their omission of such duty so long before 1662, was wrong, he uses the subsequent language :

“It is indeed a grief of heart to many Elders and Brethren, that the practice of the rule, according to the doctrine of the late Synod, cannot yet obtain in their churches ; but they are not convinced it is a sin in them that cannot stand with peace of conscience, as the case standeth ; because all things in the church must be done to edification, which, in this case, cannot be put in practice, especially in reference to the fifth proposition, with peace and edification, by reason of the strong opposition made by these and other like dissenters. When this matter was under consideration in the Synod, 1648, the author knoweth well who it was that professed he would oppose it with all his might, by reason whereof and the dissent of some few now, it was laid aside at that time.” He adds that some churches have practiced on the half-way covenant “for divers years.”

He makes an essential difference between a church and a parish. To the remark, that the change in baptism had brought afflictions on the country, he answers, “Can any prudent man say that the deliverances of New England are not as great and wonderful in the last years, and at this day, as in former years.” And as for those afflicting Providences, that have lately befallen us, have we not had as heavy strokes many ways formerly.” He observes that while Chauncy and his supporters oppose the half-way covenant, they do not object to the Consociation of Churches.

In course of this year, Richard Mather complies with the wish of those who had induced Mr. Allin to make the preceding publication, and he issues the following work. Of it John Higginson of Salem observed : “A pattern for all ansiberers to the end of the world.”

“A defense of the answer and argument for the Synod in Boston, 1662, concerning the subject of Baptism and Consociation of the Churches, in reply to the Rev. John Davenport of New Haven, as he had expressed himself in his ‘Another essay for investigating the truth,’ etc., with a reply to the preface of this essay.” The preface here mentioned was “published in the name and behalf of the brethren who dissented in the late Synod.” It has remarks on objections made to these brethren, and reasons for their dissent. The answer to it states that the dissenters were few, and, in no question, did they exceed ten out of seventy members. As well known, the dissenters did not hold to so extensive a baptism of children as the majority did ; and they maintained that the excommunication of parents deprived their infant children of this ordinance, and that church membership in full of the former was requisite to the baptism of the latter, while the majority held to the contrary

1664.]

of these two positions, or what was called the half-way covenant. The dissenters had published their *Anti-synodalia*.

With regard to the Consociation of Churches, the majority of the Synod professed that no church should be cut off from communion for inferior and dubious offenses; that such consociation was no more than communion of churches. They said of it as Dr. Ames did, that it was a "combination which doth neither constitute any new form of a church, nor ought it to take away, nor in any measure to diminish the liberty and power which Christ hath left to his churches, but only it serves to direct and abridge the same." Among the charges laid to the majority, was that they abridged the liberty of the churches.

The author of the foregoing preface was Increase Mather. The writer of the reply to it was Jonathan Mitchell, who consented to assume such a stand by advice of the persons who prevailed on Richard Mather to speak for them as just related.

February 1. Sir John Wolstenholme,* in a communication to Edward Rawson, Secretary of this Colony, on the navigation law, observes as follows: "I am a great well-wisher and good friend to your plantation, and so was my father before me, who died twenty-four yeares since, because wee did observe your plantation industrious, and when some clouds were then there about your plantation, with our best advice to those sent from thence heather, endeavoured to remove and disperse them, and although different in opinion in the discipline of the church, yet earnestly desired to preserve and keepe you faithfull to his Majesty's crowne."

21. The Charlestown church† re-admonish Thomas Osborn for still refusing to commune with them, because they hold to the baptism of children.

28. They perform like duty to Thomas Gould, for having a meeting of Anabaptists last November 8, at his house. Stephen Fosdick, who had been excommunicated from the same church in 1643, for speaking against their covenant, confesses his offense, and is "by sentence of the Eldership, declared to be restored."

March 7. Robert Boyle, President of the Missionary Society, addresses the Commissioners‡ here. "We are glad to hear of the progress of the gospel amongst the poor Indians, and that it pleaseth the Lord to succeed the endeavors of them that labor therein, notwithstanding the many difficulties and discouragements that it hath met withall." He hopes that the Society will be put in possession of an estate, which had been long detained from them, and thereby have their means of usefulness increased. He commends the labor of Mr. Eliot among the natives; his translation of the Bible and correction of its sheets while in the press; his present

* Hutchinson's Coll. p. 383, 4.

† MS. Charlestown Ch. Rec.

‡ MS. Com'rs Rec. Hazard, vol. ii. p. 491, 2.

translating a work of Mr. Baxter into the Indian tongue, and wishes, when the funds allow, that he may be proportionably compensated. He grants leave that the contract with Marmaduke Johnson, a printer, who had come from England to issue works for the mission, might cease at the end of the year. From his remarks, Rev. William Tompson had declined to continue his labors among the Indians. He rejoices that "Captain Gookin hath proved so useful an instrument among the Indians, as in governing their plantations and ordering their affairs, also his taking an account of their labors and expense of time and of the proficiency of their children in learning. We are glad to hear, that the Indian youths at Cambridge have made so good a proficiency in learning, and we are not without hopes but that the Lord will use them as instruments in his hand to preach and promote the Gospel of Christ among their own countrymen. To which end and for the better carrying on thereof, we desire that care may be taken, that they retain their native language. As for those five Indian youths at inferior schools, we desire that all encouragement might be given them, according to their several capacities and attainments in learning."

April 23. The King in Council writes to the Massachusetts authorities.* He mentions New England as an example of industry and sobriety. He proceeds: "Having a tender impatience to make use of God's extraordinary blessing on us and our subjects in those parts, by improving the knowledge of him and his holy name in the conversion of Infidels and Pagans, which ought to be the chief end of all Christian Plantations." He says that Commissioners are appointed to visit this country to settle difficulties about Colonial bounds and jurisdiction and other subjects; the complaints of Indian chiefs; and that they are to make out a report for him, so that "we may thereby make the better judgment what we are to do, either for the better repairing any thing amiss, or the better improving and encouragement of what is good."

25. He gives instructions to such Commissioners. In them, it is remarked: "We having received some addresses from the great men and natives of those countries, in which they complain of breaches of faith, whereby not only our government is traduced, but the reputation and credit of Christian religion brought into reproach with the gentiles and inhabitants of those countries who know not God, the reduction of whom to the true knowledge and fear of God is the most worthy and glorious end of all those plantations." The persons † so appointed were Richard Nichols, Robert Carr, George

* MS. Council Rec. for N. E. Hazard, vol. ii. p. 634.

† They were allowed £500 each, and £300 for clerks. Nichols wrote to the Governor and Council of Massachusetts that he had been appointed sub-commissioner of prizes, as to Dutch vessels, by order of the Lords Commissioners of prizes.

1664.]

Cartwright and Samuel Maverick. Nichols was to be of the Commission for life. Any two or three of them might be a quorum for business. Carr was the one recently intended as a General Governor of New England. Such functionaries of the Crown were feared by the authorities of New England as partaking in some measure of the offensive qualities which they had apprehended would be exercised by a General Governor and his officials, with whom they had long been threatened. Clarendon, in the draught of his plan for appointing these Commissioners, remarked, as to the confederate Colonies, "They are already hardened into Republics." From such steps, it is evident that the long entertained project of forming an English empire in America, composed of twelve Provinces, each under a Governor, and all subject to one ruler, resident in the country, had been revived and was intended to be executed.

May 4. Edward Wharton,* for attending a meeting with George Preston and Wenlock Christopherson and others of his denomination in Boston, is ordered to be whipped at a cart's tail here and at Lynn, and carried to Salem, his place of residence. This sentence was executed the next day as to the part of it in Boston, but the constable of Lynn did not perform that assigned to him. On the morrow after he was whipped, Wharton returned from Salem to Boston, to meet some of the rulers and thus show that, as before, he set their laws at defiance.

18. The General Court begin their session.† Under it are the subsequent transactions. Rude singing at public houses is forbidden, on the penalty of 5/. for each offense, and the keepers of such places, who allow it, are to be deprived of their licenses.

Four hundred pounds are allowed for a faithful agent in London, to present answers of the Assistants to the King's letter and to the complaints of Tobias Saunders and Robert Burdet. Orders are given for an honorable reception of the Commissioners of the Crown, who are expected into the port of Boston.

In view of troubles in the country and the sad condition of God's people, referring particularly to the Congregationalists of England, a Fast is to be observed the 15th of June.

Feeling that there might be special danger of the Charter, when the Commissioners should have arrived, and while they chose to continue here, as overseers of the several Governments, the Court order that this document and its duplicate be brought before them and there delivered to a Committee, empowered to leave them with several persons from each House, who shall deposit them secretly and safely in two separate places.

As William Cotton, probably strengthened in his purpose by the strong hand with which the rulers at home had taken hold of our

* Sewel, p. 433.

† MS. Gen. Ct. Rec.

public concerns, had spoken reproachfully of the Governor, and deeply reflected on the Freemen of this jurisdiction, he is sentenced to be disfranchised, to receive not above ten stripes, or pay £15. On his petition of August 8, he was abated £10 of this sum, and restored to "his former liberty of freedom and serviceableness of country."

Charles Chauncy, President of the College, is granted 500 acres of land N. E. of Merrimack river. Six hundred acres, given to the same Institution by Rev. Nathaniel Ward, is required to be improved or sold for its benefit.

26. Hull informs * us, that there is an arrival from London, but it "brought not Dr. Owen or any certain information of his resolution to come." "The whole Bible is printed in the Indian Tongue." As to the children of the Church, he remarks, that sufficient care is not taken, that "their knowledge and life might answer their relation."

27. Increase Mather, having received invitations to settle over twelve parishes, and begun to preach for the second Boston church, September 8, 1661, is ordained over this body.

This year, John Cotton begins to assist Mayhew in his missionary labors among the Indians at the Vineyard.

The Latin Letter of John Norton to John Dury, which had been sent to the latter by "the Ministers of New England," is translated and published. Dury, ever since 1635, had been trying to effect a union between the "Reformed Protestant Churches of Europe." A reason for so issuing this communication is to convince some persons, who appeared in opposition to the half-way covenant. A passage or two from the work, follow: "So to stand for truth, that by too tenacious insisting upon doctrine, we make no reckoning of the rights of Society, is to be carried with the study of parties, not of truth; and to undertake the patronage of an opinion, rather because it is our own, than because it is true. We give thanks unto the Father of Lights with all our hearts, who hath put this work into the mind of Dury, savoring of a spirit more than human. However the issue of the matter fall, yet it is a great deal to have attempted a great design." Though "we chose rather to depart into the remote coasts of the earth, for the sake of a purer worship, than to lie down under the Hierarchy in the abundance of all things, but with the prejudice of conscience. But, that in flying from our country, we should renounce communion with such churches as profess the Gospel, is a thing which we confidently and solemnly deny. Certainly, so far as concerns ourselves, in whatever assemblies amongst us the whole company of them that profess the Gospel, the Fundamentals of doctrine, the Essentials of order are maintained, although in many niceties of contro-

1664.]

versial divinity they are at less agreement with us, we do hereby make it manifest, that we do acknowledge them all, and every one, for brethren; that we shall be ready to give unto them the right hand of fellowship in the Lord, if in other things they be peaceable, and walk orderly."

June 26. "About this time began the blasting of the wheat to be perceived." Part of the Quakers imputed this as a judgment against the people of Massachusetts for the severities inflicted on some of their denomination.*

28. Several Quakers of Salem are fined for absenting themselves from worship.

30. Mary Tomkins and Alice Ambrose,† alias Gary, having gone from New England to Virginia, where they suffered much for the practice of their belief, now come to Boston. The first of them was very sick. Edward Wharton and Wenlock Christopher-son, called Christison, came from Salem to visit and console her. The four are taken to the magistrates. Bishop says they would all have been whipped, had not Col. Temple interceded and prevailed for the release of three. The other, Wharton, was ordered to receive thirty stripes in Boston, and handed from one constable to another in Charlestown, Malden and Lynn, on his way to Salem. Governor Endicott's wife advised Wharton to promise that he would attend no more Quaker meetings in Boston, that he would report himself to the authorities when he came thither, that he would take the oath of fidelity, and give bonds for £20 to keep the peace, as a means of being cleared from his sentence, but he declined.

July 1. After this date, an Act of Parliament, having an influence on our affairs, takes effect. It had reference ‡ to non-conformists with the Episcopal Church. It required that all persons above sixteen years old, who should assemble, to the number of five or more, "than the household," for purposes of worship, contrary to the established form, shall be fined or imprisoned, and, for the third offense, be banished seven years, or pay £100, and, if returning without leave, suffer death.

The severity of Massachusetts against the Quakers was thus adopted by Old England against all dissenters.

23. Two of the Commissioners,§ Nichols and Cartwright, arrive at Boston, and Carr and Maverick at Piscataqua, about the same date. Though conscious of intending to fulfill the commands of their Sovereign, they are far from being welcome to the great body of the Colonists, who look on them as agents to promote royalty and hierarchy, more than what they deem the liberties of their country.

* Roxbury Ch. Rec. Coffin's Newbury, p. 69. † Besse, vol. ii. p. 234, 5.

‡ Neal, vol. ii. p. 531.

§ Danforth's MS. Narrative.

24. First English church gathered at Nonantum,* or Cambridge Village. Of the elders and messengers of churches who attended, were Richard Mather and John Eliot and their delegates. John Eliot, Jr., son of the Apostle, was ordained pastor. Thomas Wiswal, late of the Dorchester church, was ordained ruling elder.

26. At the request of the Commissioners, the Governor and Council meet them. They present the King's letter of April 23, and a part of an order for the reduction of the Dutch at New Netherland, and the raising of men for such an enterprise.

27. They propose that this be done, which, as their words are, "we conceive will be of great honor to this Colony, and of good example to all the rest." The Council answer, that they will lay the matter before the General Court on the 3d of August. Such delay did not please the Commissioners, who were not aware that it was necessary according to the constitution of the Government.

They state that there are various questions to be proposed on their return from Manhadoes, and desire the Court to consider the royal epistle of June 28, 1662, and give a fuller and more satisfactory answer to it than they had. The Commissioners left Boston immediately before the session of the Legislature, as they declined to let our authorities know the number and extent of the requisitions in their Commission, and from some words which they let drop, and particularly from threats of Maverick on his first arrival at Piscataqua to the constable of Portsmouth, "the hearts and minds of the people" were filled with "a deep sense of the sad events threatening this Colony, in case the Commissioners should improve their power in such a manner as they feared they would."

August 3. At the call of the Governor,† the General Court assemble. They resolve, in accordance with advice of the Elders, "that they would bear faith and true allegiance to his Majesty, and adhere to their Patent, so dearly obtained and so long enjoyed by undoubted right in the sight of God and men."

With regard to freemanship,‡ "they enact that all Englishmen presenting a certificate under the hands of the ministers or minister of the place where they dwell, that they are orthodox in religion, and not vicious in their lives, and also a certificate under the hands of the Selectmen of the place, or a major part of them, that they are freeholders and are for their own proper estate, (without heads of persons) rateable to the country in a single country rate, after the usual manner of valuation in the place where they live, to the full value of 10/. or that they are in full communion of some church among us: it shall be in the liberty of all and every such person or persons, being twenty-four years of age, householders and settled inhabitants in this jurisdiction, from time to time, to present themselves and their desires to this Court, for their admittance to the

* Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. 1 s. vol. 5, p. 266.

† Gen. Ct. Rec.

‡ Ibid.

1664.]

Freedom of this Commonwealth ; and shall be allowed the privilege to have such their desire propounded and put to vote in the General Court, for acceptance, to the Freemen of the Body Politick, by the suffrage of the major part, according to the rules of the Patent."

The Court agree to petition * the King. They appoint Jonathan Mitchell on the committee for this purpose, and desire the advice of Elders, now in Boston, on the subject. They comply with the proposal of the royal Commissioners, and allow volunteers, not above 200, to assist in the reduction of Manhadoes. They appoint Mr. Graves as chaplain of such a force. They designate Thomas Clark and John Pynchon to repair to the rendezvous of the Commissioners and inform them of this vote for these soldiers.

But as the Dutch at New Amsterdam surrendered on the 27th, the troops did not march. Over this place, called New York, and over Fort Orange, given up September 24, and named Albany, and over the Dutch and Swedes, on Delaware bay and river, captured October 1, Nichols became Governor, as the Deputy of the Duke of York. Such a neighbor, whose policy was expected to be the same with that of his colleague Commissioners, the confederated Colonies, who dreaded their mission as designed to subvert their state and ecclesiastical liberties, feared more than they had his Dutch predecessors.

September 1. The Commissioners of the Union write* to the President of the Missionary Society. They mention that, however much opposition is made to the Indians, who seek after God, yet they have cause to rejoice that some of them have found him, and "a great light has risen vpon them." They proceed: "We are informed by Mr. Eliot, that several companies of Indians in the country, do request that some of their countrymen may be sent to teach them, which we rejoice to hear, and shall labor to promote by giving all due encouragement, as they may deserve. We also understand by him, your honors have requested his advice how a greater revenue might be best improved for the furtherance of this good work ; which thing we have often had in serious debate, and find it easier to expend money than to improve it to any good advantage. The best expedient that yet we can find is the sending forth and settling fit instruments amongst them to teach and instruct themselves and children, as opportunity or willingness in any of them to embrace the same, appears, which we shall use our utmost endeavors to further and encourage. The number of Bibles with Psalm books printed, were upwards of a thousand ; of Baxter's Call one thousand, and of Psalters five hundred ; divers whereof, all sorts, are disposed to the Indians and the rest ready for their use, as they can be bound up and there may be occasion."

* Gen. Ct. Rec.

† MS. Com'rs Rec. Hazard, vol. ii. p. 493-5.

[Mass.

They had two Indian students at college, two at the Grammar school, besides others at schools of the English and Indians. Mr. Weld, of Roxbury, had four Indian youths in his family for instruction. John Eliot still continues his superintendence of missionary stations. Richard Bourne sustains a like trust in Plymouth Colony, and has two native school-masters in his circuit. Thomas Mayhew looks after the Indians at the Vineyard and Nantucket. At the former place, he has eight Indian school-masters and teachers to aid him in his labor, and he had sent another, named Samuel, to instruct at the latter island. Mr. Mayhew's widow is yet employed in the work. Mr. Pierson remains in his missionary location, and Mr. James in his at Easthampton, Long Island.

Fearful lest more was meant by the commission of the King's Agents, than appeared on its face, the Commissioners of the Confederation* advise each of their General Courts, that, whenever a proposition be laid before it by said Agents, notice be given to the other Courts, "to the end, that if they see meet they may send their Commissioners invested with full power to advise and act in any case that may be of common concernment to the whole, that, so much as in us lies, we may approve ourselves faithful and loyal to his Majesty's just interest and the best good and welfare of these Plantations."

In reference to the declination of New Haven to come under the jurisdiction of Connecticut, the Commissioners of the other two Colonies of the Union, remark: "Considering how much the honor of God, and as well the weal of all the Colonies as themselves, are concerned in the issue thereof, they do heartily and affectionately commend to their brethren and loving confederates, that such a compliance be between them, whereby the sad consequences that will inevitably follow upon their further contentions one with another, might be prevented." They propose to the Legislatures of Massachusetts and Plymouth, that if the other two Colonies unite, they, so joined, shall be represented by two Commissioners, and that the meetings of all the Commissioners shall be triennial instead of annual.

About this date, Wenlock Christopherson,† being arraigned before authorities in Boston, said: "Time was, that sentence of death was passed on me, yet, by help of God, I continue unto this day, standing over the heads of you all, bearing a faithful witness for the truth of the living God. Some of your associates are gone, and the Lord hath laid their glory in the dust, and yours is a fading flower." He was remanded to prison. The next day, he was before the Court again. He appealed to the "Laws of England," but was denied. He then appealed to the royal Commissioners, and was also denied. He "is sentenced to be whipped ten stripes, and Mary Tomkins and Alice Ambrose to have six stripes each."

* MS. Com'rs Rec. Hazard, vol. ii. p. 497. † Bishop's N. E. p. 457-9.

1664.]

October 19. The Legislature convene. Desirous to treat the King's Commissioners with due respect, they desire the Selectmen of Boston to have suitable accommodations provided for them, and order £100 to meet the charges. They appoint that when they are summoned to meet with the said Commissioners, each Governor of the other united Colonies shall be notified, so that he may be present, if he please.

They address a letter to Robert Boyle,* President of the Missionary Society. They state their confidence in him by his "continued endeavours as in promoting that good work of the natives' conversion, so in taking opportunities for ingratiating us with his Majesty. But, alas, Sir, the commission impowering those Commissioners to hear and determine all cases whatever, military, criminal, or civil, (what they have further, by instruction at present we know not,) should it take place, what would become of our civil government, which hath been, under God, the head of that liberty for our consciences, for which the first adventurers passed through and bore all difficulties and discouragements, that encountered them as in the way to, so in their continuance in this wilderness? But if the decree be past soe that it cannot be recalled, wee shall wait the Lord's issue with us; and whatever may be the conjectures of any, rendering alterations here adviseable, the issue will speak them to be the subversion of all that which makes this place of our abode therein desirable. We can sooner leave our place and all our pleasant outward enjoyments, than leave that which was the first ground of wandering from our native country, nor are we thereby made such strangers thereto but we can rather choose to return and take up our lot with our brethren than abide here under the deprivation of the end of our travels."

They resolve to address his Majesty.† The document for this purpose, dated the 25th, offers several extracts. "What afflictions of heart must it needs be unto us, that our sins have provoked God to permit our adversaries to set themselves against us by their misinformations, complaints and solicitations, (as some of them have made it their work for many years,) and thereby to procure a commission under the great seal, wherein four persons (one of them our knowne and professed enemy) are empowered to hear, receive, examine and determine all complaints and appeals, in all causes and

* Birch's Life of Boyle, App. p. 450-2.

† They represent that their civil and religious liberties are the strongest tie which holds them to the country, and if deprived of them, they would seek for them in other distant habitations. In reference to this, Chalmers, vol. i. U. S. p. 333, observes: "The preamble to one of the laws of Aragon declares, that such was the barrenness of the country, that but for the sake of the liberties by which they were distinguished from other nations, the people would abandon it, and repair in quest of a settlement to some more fruitful region." Robertson's Charles V. Thucydides (B. i.) ascribes to the poverty of its soil the peculiar adherence of the Athenians to their country.

matters and to proceed in all things, for settling this country, according to their sound discretion. Whereby, instead of being governed by rules of our own choosing, (which is the fundamental privilege of our patent,) and by laws of our own, we are like to be subjected to the arbitrary power of strangers, proceeding not by any established law, but by their own discretions. Though we have yet had but a little taste of the words or actings of these gentlemen, that are come over hither in this capacity of Commissioners, yet we have had enough to confirm us in our fears, that their improvement of this power 'in pursuance of their commission' (should the same proceed) will end in the subversion of our all." The Court proceed to state that the resources* of the country could not conveniently maintain one of the Commissioners, although very different representations had been made to the home authorities. They observe that the relations given to the Government in England, that the Colonies here were so divided it was necessary for them to have foreign Commissioners come over and settle their difficulties, was not true. They say: "Let our Government live, our patent live, our religious enjoyments live, so shall we all yet have further cause to say, from our hearts, Let the King live forever."

While thus alarmed at what may be the policy of the royal Commissioners, who were practically another name for a general government over and in the midst of the Colonies, who might, if they chose, trample upon all their charter privileges, the Legislature are sustained by their constituents. The records of the General Court have the subsequent entry.† They are "informed that several persons, inhabitants of Cambridge, were at the door, and desiring liberty to make known their errand, were called in, and Messrs. Edward Jackson, Richard Jackson, Edward Oakes, and Deacon Stone, coming before the Court, presented a petition from the inhabitants of Cambridge, which was subscribed by very many hands; in which they testified and declared their good content and satisfaction they took and had in the present Government in Church and Commonwealth, with their resolution to be assisting to and encouraging of the same, and humbly desiring all means might be used for the continuance and preservation thereof." A passage in this petition is, "that we may not be subjected to the arbitrary power of any who are not chosen by the people according to their Patent." The aim of this observation was direct and well understood. "At the same session and next day, several petitions of like nature from Woburn, Dorchester, Reading, Chelmsford, Concord, Billerica, Boston, Dedham, and Meadfield. As also one from several inhabitants of Roxbury." From the one of Dorchester, dated the 20th, some passages are given as indications of

* MS. Danforth Narrative.

† MS. Gen. Ct. Rec. and Papers.

1664.]

the popular sentiment concerning the "*imperium in imperio*, a government existing within another government," relative to the distinct authorities of the Colony and the King's Commissioners. "We do acknowledge with all thankfulness to God and to yourselves, as a great mercy, the Lord was pleased to put it into your hearts, in your late session, to express and declare, that it is your resolution (God assisting) to bear faith and true allegiance unto his Majesty, and to adhere unto our Patent, the duties and privileges thereof, so dearly obtained and so long enjoyed by undoubted right in the sight of God and men. Likewise we do acknowledge it a favor from God in directing the honored Council, in a late meeting of theirs at Boston, to set forth such a declaration, wherein they do recite the sum of sundry particulars, what our power and privileges are, granted to us in the said Patent, as this is one, that full power and authority is granted to this Colony for making and executing laws for the government of this people, not repugnant to the laws of England. Another is, that it shall be lawful for this government by all fitting means, and, *if need be, by force of arms, to defend ourselves* against all such as shall attempt the detriment or annoyance of this Plantation, or the inhabitants thereof. It is our humble request unto this honored Court,* that as you have expressed and declared your resolution to adhere to the Patent and the privileges thereof, so there may be a constancy therein, and no declining from the same. Next of all, one of the laws here established being this, that no injunction shall be put upon any church officer or member, in point of doctrine, worship, or discipline, whether for substance or circumstance, besides the institutions of the Lord, therefore it is our humble request that the liberty of our churches and faithful ministers in this Colony, may be still continued, without the imposition of any such injunction not ordained of God, whose consciences, truly tender, would be troubled withall, but that, as hitherto, our churches and ministers have been freed from such human inventions and impositions, so they may be still, it being well known to the world that to be freed therefrom was one special cause that moved many to remove from their dear native country into this wilderness, and how lamentable and grievous it would be to be here burdened and encumbered again with such matters, is easy for any to judge. We entreat that the inhabitants may not be urged and compelled to make any other payments, but what is by Patent expressed, unto any person or persons whatsoever, but such as do here reside and dwell, and are by the country chosen to labor amongst us in the church and civil government." It is evident from these clauses, that the people were very fearful lest the design of the Commissioners was to impose conformity with the national church upon them, and also taxes for the support of royal officials in this country.

* MS. Gen. Ct. Rec. and Papers.

The Legislature set apart November 16, as a Fast day, "for frowns of greater evils." To prevent abuses of the press, they order that there shall be no other besides the one at Cambridge, and that nothing be issued from it there, except by leave from its supervisors.

26. As an indication* of differences between Mr. Parker of Newbury, and his people, about his long cherished opinions in favor of Presbyterianism, the major part of them vote to reduce his salary. The next year, they raised it again, though still dissatisfied with his ideas of church polity.

November. "The great and dreadful comet," as Josselyn calls it, makes its appearance. Many believe, as Morton in his Memorial, that it is "sent immediately by God to awake the secure world." Such an alarming luminary continues to April. Then, here, as in other parts of the Christian world generally, phenomena of this sort were considered as signs of speedy judgments.

6. Mrs. Lydia Banks,† who had been absent twenty-two years, desires a dismission from the Salem church, to the like body under Rev. Philip Nye, in London. Her request was granted. She was united with the former church, 1637. She had owned Playne's farm of four hundred acres, which was sold about 1655.

27. The Charlestown church‡ adopt the half-way covenant, as recommended by the Synod.

29. Several of the Salem Quakers§ are fined for non-attendance at public worship.

This year, adjacent Indians|| having desired of the people of Northampton leave to build a fort within the town, are granted such a privilege on the subsequent conditions: "That the Indians do not work, game, or carry burdens, within the town, on the Sabbath; nor powow here or any where else. Nor get liquor, nor cider; nor get drunk. Nor admit Indians from without the town. Nor break down the fences of the inhabitants. Nor let cattle or swine upon their fields, but go over a stile at one place. Nor admit among them the murderers *Calawane*, *Wuttowhan*, and *Pacquellant*. Nor hunt, nor kill cattle, sheep or swine, with their dogs."

In every town of West Massachusetts there were fortified houses, to which the whites might flee, in case of an alarm that hostile Indians were near.

1665. February 15. Carr, Cartwright and Maverick, having returned¶ from New York, have an interview at the Governor's house, with him and several magistrates. They state to the latter, it is their purpose to set out for Plymouth on the morrow; that, on their return, they should like for some persons to accompany and show them the bounds of the Patent, and that, on the day of

* Coffin's Newbury, p. 69. † MS. First Ch. Rec. ‡ Charlestown Ch. Rec. § Essex Ct. Rec. || Dwight's Travels, vol. i. p. 349. ¶ MS. Danforth Narrative.

1665.]

election, "all concerned in our Charter" might be assembled in Boston, "so they might understand his Majesty's favor towards them." Our authorities consent to the first proposition, but object to the last, as inconvenient for the season and unsafe to families and aged people, exposed to attacks from Indians. They observe that whoever of the colonists prefer to be present on such an occasion, can be, but they see no reason for summoning them to appear. Cartwright replied, that the man who would not comply with such a request, was a traitor.

Before the Commissioners departed, they sent the following letter to some non-freemen in the country towns. "Sir, we desire you to acquaint all your neighbours, that, though we are now going to Plymouth and so to Rhode Island, yet we intend, God willing, to be back here at Boston, before the Court of Elections, at which, if they please to be, they shall be both ear and eye-witnesses of the favours and kindnesses which his Majesty really intends them, and hath commanded us to assure all his subjects hereof: Which, if they will do, will be the best way to prevent all slandering of his Majesty, and all misapprehensions in his subjects, and all prejudice from us."

25. A communication to the General Court,* from William Morris, Secretary, is dated at Whitehall. He informs them that, as they waited for an order from the supreme Authority to deliver up Maine to the heir of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, such a document is now made known to them, and they are to conduct accordingly.

March 5. Samuel Maverick writes† from Rhode Island to Col. Nichols: "I have used my utmost endeavours in the Massachusetts Government to undeceive the deceived, and to prepare them for the election, which will be on the 3d of May, at which time, I hope we shall have the happiness to enjoy your presence."

15. The Earl of Clarendon writes to the Massachusetts authorities.‡ He refers to their petition to the King, for revoking his instructions for Carr and the other Commissioners. He thinks that they mistake the royal purpose in sending these agents hither, and that the orders of the letter are consistent with the Charter of the Colony and the right of appeal to the Crown. He says that the Commissioners were sent over to settle difficulties, which were believed by the Government in England, to demand their presence and advice. He regrets, with Mr. Boyle and the Lord Chamberlain, that the General Court had resorted to such means of redress, while they appeared to have so little occasion. With whatever purpose these words may have been uttered, our fathers had cause to apprehend an unconstitutional and injurious interference of the Commissioners.

* Hutchinson's Coll. p. 292-2.

† Brown, MS. Papers.

‡ MS. Danforth Narrative.

While the leading men were anxiously expecting a development of the purposes entertained by the King's Commissioners, as to the Union, John Endicott is taken from an active agency among them and called to the realities of another world, in his seventy-seventh year. Though far advanced in life, his knowledge, experience, ability and patriotism, as to the affairs of the Commonwealth, made his loss severely felt at this alarming crisis. Hull, with the record of his decease, says, "He was a man of pious and zealous spirit. He died poor, as most of our rulers do, having more attended the public, than their own private interests." In all his relations, he was a man of unshaken integrity. For my country and my God,—was the motto inscribed on his purposes, motives and deeds. He was among the strong pillars which sustained the civil and religious liberties of New England, while threatened with dissolution in different periods of his colonial career.

17. Sir Robert Boyle addresses the Governor and the rest of the Legislature, on the same account and in similar style of Clarendon.

Clarendon, while expressing himself as above, addresses * Maverick under the same date. "At Boston, where the scene is for the most of your business, and where I doubt you'll find more ill humoured than in any of the Provinces—I find by an address we have lately received from Boston, that the Governor and Council there are not all pleased with your commission, and that they will needs believe all their privileges are to be destroyed; but I suppose they are better informed since, and that the answer they have received from the King to their address will dispose them to a better temper."

20. Being in Rhode Island, † the royal Commissioners nullify the claims of individuals in Massachusetts to Narragansett lands, and call the country there "the King's Province." They also declare, that all grants of territory by Massachusetts at Misquamuck on the Eastern side of Paucatuck river are void, and thus they deny the asserted right of conquest by this Colony, to a portion of the Pequod country. In relation to this matter, they use such language as "the usurped authority of the United Colonies."

When narrating facts afterwards as to their difference with the royal Commissioners, the Legislature speak of their claim to such territory. They give their impression of the Pequods, who owned it and lived there twenty-nine years before. They describe them as a common enemy to all the English, "threatening wholly to root them out of the land and fish their corn with their carcasses, killing sundry of several places, on land and water, and, after their cruel manner, torture them to death, and had proceeded to the utter extirpation of the name of an Englishman, had not his Majesty's subjects" entered on a perilous war at their own expense to overcome

* Brown, MS. Papers.

† MS. Danforth Narrative.

1665.]

"so potent an enemy as these Pequods, then a terror to all the Indians round about them."

21. From Pettiquamscut, the Commissioners make further demonstration of their resolve to exercise a judicial cognizance of cases in different directions. They summon individuals of Rhode Island, Massachusetts and New Hampshire, to appear before them and answer various charges.

April 1. The case in which they gave most offense to our authorities, by their interference, was that of John Porter, Jr., who belonged to Salem. He had been accused and tried for aggravated mal-treatment of his worthy parents. In accordance with a petition of his, at this date, to them, he had been in Boston prison sixteen months. He had been sentenced to stand one hour on the gallows, with a rope around his neck, receive thirty-nine stripes, and be imprisoned until he had paid £200. * A late Court in Boston had allowed him to leave the Colony with sufficient bond for the same sum, that he would never return; but, if refusing to do this, he should stand on the gallows an hour, and be kept a prisoner and at hard work, until he should pay such an amount. On the 8th, the Commissioners, at Warwick, give protection to Porter, and order him to be without restraint and appear before them, the next month, in Boston. Hull remarks, under the 12th, of their conduct: "They granted protection to one Porter, that escaped from our prison, being here sentenced to severe correction for very great injuries and high abuses to his own father and mother." Thus taking on themselves what our fathers thought belonged only to the Colonial authorities, the Commissioners came to Boston a few days prior to the Court of Election.

19. The Elders, having been desired by the Council to advise them how they should act in their difficult position, do advise them to fall in with the wishes of the Commissioners, so far as their Charter will permit.

On this date, Cartwright writes from Boston* to Nichols: "This day here is a secret Council," and all the ministers within twenty miles are called to take part in its proceedings. "If these men will rebel, I can easily tell the King so, as that they are his good subjects, and perchance, shall sooner be believed by some in that, than in this."

May 2. The Deputy Governor, Bellingham, magistrates, and some deputies, assemble to prepare business for the Legislature. The King's Commissioners desire to confer with them. They at first decline, but afterwards consent. Among the papers submitted to these by the former, is one relative to themselves. It says of its authors, that they have been slandered by reports, that they have come over by his Majesty's injunction, to raise £5,000 a year out

* Brown, MS. Papers.

of Massachusetts, to lay 12*d.* an acre on improved land, and take from them their most valuable privileges. It denies these charges, and gives the reasons for their mission.

3. The General Court* admit over seventy persons as freemen, on certificates from ministers and selectmen, of their good moral character. Hull observes concerning such candidates: "Sundry whereof were not members of any particular church, which had been the general rule of admission hitherto." Thus, in compliance with the King's letter, the privilege of freemanship was actually extended from church members to those of good repute. Whoever forfeited such character was liable to be disfranchised.

Among their first orders, is one for a Fast, the 22d of the next month. They say: "The Court taking into their serious consideration the distressed, bleeding, dying condition of the Protestant Christian interest in the world, the darkness of the hour of temptation, referring to ourselves, those manifold rebukes the Lord hath given us in our concerns at home and abroad," they make such an appointment.

4. The Court desire the Commissioners to lay before them all which the King had instructed them so to communicate, that they might have in view the whole, expected of their action. These messengers from the Crown answer, that they would not pursue such a course, but when they had replies to their communications, already made, they would present others.

5. The Legislature, however, thus kept in perplexity as to their ulterior designs, returned answers, "reserving liberty to enlarge afterwards, if there should be cause." They appreciate his Majesty's favor to them, and are disposed to show their gratitude to him. They acknowledge the compliment by the Commissioner, to their readiness for assisting in the reduction of the Dutch. They say that a map of the Colony is in progress; that the royal letters and papers of the Commissioners had been laid before the Court, and copies of them spread about the country; and if a further publication of such documents were requested by the Commissioners, it should be done. They express a willingness to aid in suppressing the slanders against these gentlemen.

The Commissioners reply on such points.† They wish the Court would more fully comply with the King's letter of 1662, "which had so long slept in some hands." They are "persuaded that the printing the results and conclusions which should be made on his Majesty's part, and the part of the Colony, would silence all those false and malicious reports which they expected should be inquired into." They intimate that the Legislature are not sufficiently warm in their expressions of loyalty to the King.

On the same day, the Commissioners lay more of their orders

* MS. Gen. Ct. Rec.

† MS. Danforth Narrative.

1665.]

before the Court, as that they inquire about neighboring Sagamores ; complaints of Narraganset Indians ; “ what progress had been made towards the foundation and maintenance of any college or schools for the education of youth and conversion of infidels ; ” be careful how they hear complaints and decide on them ; “ whether all persons take the oath of allegiance ; ” judicial affairs are conducted in the king’s name ; persons who wish it, can freely “ use the book of common prayer ; ” and men of regular deportment can choose and be chosen to offices of the government.

8. The Commissioners send other papers, concerning their royal instructions, to the Court. They follow :—ascertain whether any traitors are in New England, and who have favored them ; see that the act of navigation be observed ; get a knowledge of the government and resources of the Colony.

9. The Legislature notify the Commissioners that they look on their warrant to John Porter, Jr., as a violation of their Charter rights. They deny the truth of complaints made against them by the Narragansets, and refer the Commissioners to the records of the confederation as proof of their denial.

10. The Commissioners rejoin, and ask for a committee to advise with them on the Porter case. For this purpose, Simon Bradstreet and others are selected. A form of the oath of allegiance is handed to the Court from the Commissioners. It declares against the Papal excommunication, which justifies treason towards the kings of the English throne.

11. The Legislature answer* the 6th of his Majesty’s instructions. They relate that there is a college at Cambridge, whence “ at least one hundred able preachers, physicians, and chirurgeons, and other useful persons, have issued.” They further state that there is a small brick fabrick for Indian youths in that town, erected by the Missionary Corporation of England ; that there are eight of such young men here and at other schools, one of whom is ready to take the degree of bachelor of arts, besides another of the same standing, killed a few months since, with several Englishmen, by Indians at Nantucket, “ some ready to come into the College,” and all of them maintained by the same Society. They add, that there are six Indian towns in their jurisdiction who profess Christianity, who have persons to “ govern and instruct them in civility and religion ; who keep the Sabbath and attend public worship, and have schools to teach their children in reading and writing.” They say to the propositions made by the Commissioners, on the 7th and 8th instructions, to hear and examine complaints against them : “ We consider our Charter giveth full power unto the authority here established, to govern all the people of this place, whether inhabitants or strangers.” Still they are

* MS. Danforth Narrative.

disposed to hear such complaints, and hope to satisfy the Commissioners that they are not founded in truth.

16. Respecting the 9th instruction, the Court represent that they have ordered the oath of allegiance to his Majesty to be taken by freemen, when they become so, and "all other householders," who are not of this class, according to their Charter, and that "for some time past" they have had justice administered in the King's name. Under this head they remark as to the use of the Common Prayer Book: "Our humble addresses to his Majesty have fully declared our main ends in our being voluntary exiles from our dear native country, which we had not chosen at so dear a rate, could we have seen the Word of God warranting us to perform our devotions in that way; and to have the same set up here, we conceive it is apparent that it will disturb our peace in our present enjoyments." "Touching civil liberties," they observe that their law and practice accord with the royal letter of 1662. Concerning ecclesiastical privileges they remark: "We have commended to the ministry and people here the Word of the Lord for their rule therein."

With regard to traitors, in the 10th royal instruction, they know of none who had been here so accused, except Whalley and Goffe, of whom they give facts as they took place.

As to the 11th instruction, the Legislature state that the act of trade had been complied with here for some years, and that they had been misrepresented about it to their Sovereign, particularly as to the case of Thomas Deane and others, about a vessel in Boston harbor, 1661, called the Charles of Oleron.

In reply* to the 12th instruction, as to the Government, etc., of the Colony, the Court write as follows: "For our ecclesiastical constitutions, we have never imposed by civil authority, but attendance on the Lord's day, or days occasionally appointed. The people here, from whom the maintenance of the ministers, and the charge of erecting the places of public worship, must and doth arise, have the liberty of calling and choosing their own ministers, whose administrations are publicly known, and, we hope, generally consonant to the Word of God and primitive practice, and if any deviate from the same, we acknowledge, and have made use of the help of a Synod and the civil authority to regulate in such cases."

18. The Commissioners, being dissatisfied with the remarks of the Legislature on their 7th and 8th instructions, which called in question their power to try any cases between parties in the Colony, assume† a decided tone, and express themselves as follows: "Whereupon we have thought it necessary to reduce all the dis-

* According to Danforth's MS. Narrative, p. 99, this reply is dated May 12.

† MS. Danforth Narrative. Gen. Ct. Rec.

1665.]

course hereof into one question, whereunto we expect your positive answer, which we shall faithfully report to his Majesty, whether you do acknowledge his Majesty's commission, wherein we are nominated Commissioners, to be of full force, to all the intents and purposes therein contained." They proceed to declare their want of agreement in other respects with the answers of the Court, and the King's disapproval of the course pursued by the latter. They fault the form in which the oath of allegiance is given, the conditions of civil liberty, and the allowing no other denomination but of the Congregational order. They consider that the authorities abuse the royal clemency, and bid them beware. Nichols, Carr and Maverick enter the Court and present these views. The first of the Commissioners repeat such ideas to the members. He says: "Tell us plainly and truly whether you will submit to that Commission without any shuffling. Otherwise, it is time for us to be gone out of the country. We are a Court by his Majesty's authority."

William Hathorne, of Salem, apologizes before the Legislature for language which he had used in reference to the Commissioners, though not the same for which they complained of him.

19. The Legislature reply,* that they "see not the grounds" of the Commissioners' demand, and that they only plead his Majesty's Charter, as their rule of action.

20. The Commissioners insist on a direct answer to their proposition.

21. A Committee of the Legislature meet with the Commissioners. The latter insist that the authorities here are bound to answer complaints to them, as a court of appeal. The Committee plead exemption from all such appeal by the privilege of their Charter. When the Commissioners are asked if they should be allowed to try complaints brought before them, whether they would have a jury to decide on them, they answer, No.

22. The Court rejoin: "If you rest not satisfied with our former answer, it is our trouble, but we hope not our fault. It is known to Him that knows all things, that it is our desire, and hath been our endeavor, according to our best understanding, to give his Majesty and yourselves all due satisfaction, saving only our duty to God and the privilege of our Charter, so dearly purchased, so long enjoyed, and so graciously confirmed by his Majesty."

23. The Commissioners say, "That his Majesty will have just cause to manifest his displeasure against the contrivers of such dilatory answers." They proceed to assert, that on the morrow they shall meet at the house of Thomas Bredan, to hear the complaint of Thomas Deane and others *vs.* the Governor and Company and Joshua Scottow, about the ship Charles of Oleron.

* Brown, MS. Papers.

24. The Legislature having drawn up a declaration,* dispatch it to the Commissioners. In this paper they justify their course with them; complain of their protection to John Porter, Jr., and thus wresting him from the hands of Colonial justice, and of their summoning the authorities to answer the charge of Deane and others before them, as a judicial tribunal. In view of these things they declare, "That in observance of duty to God and his Majesty, and to the trust committed to them by his Majesty's good subjects of this Colony, we cannot consent unto or give our approbation of the proceedings of the above gentlemen." On November 20, Carr and Maverick wrote* to Nichols, that on the 24th of May, the time they had summoned the Legislature to answer before them, they received their declaration by 8 o'clock in the morning, an hour before the trial was to begin, and that this document was proclaimed by sound of trumpet, under Col. Cartwright's chamber-window, in Bredan's house, the former of these two being confined with the gout.

To comply with the wish of the Commissioners, that they would have their public papers in more loyal style, the Legislature head the above protest, thus: "A Declaration by the General Court of His Majesty's Colony in the Massachusetts Bay, New England." They ordered this document to be published in three places of Boston, by Oliver Purchase, on horseback, with sound of the trumpet; and that Thomas Bleigh, trumpeter, and Richard Wait, marshal, accompany him; and that "in the close, he say with an audible voice, God save the King."

They raise a Committee to answer the Letter of Secretary Morris, and "consider what is further necessary to be done in reference to what hath passed between the Honorable Commissioners and this Court, as it relates to England."

The Commissioners send a communication to the Court, which acknowledges the receipt of their Protest and says: "We shall not lose more of our labors upon you, but refer it to his Majesty's wisdom, who is of power enough to make himself to be obeyed in all his dominions." They also send proposals in reference to the Colonial laws and other matters.

Among such proposals are the following:* That the King's arms be set up in every Court of justice; that the Colonial vessels and military companies display "the true colours of England;" that Episcopal ministers be not discouraged, and persons joining the national Church, be subject to no fine for such an act; that the 5th of November and the 29th of May be kept as Thanksgiving days,† the former to commemorate deliverance of James I. from

* MS. Danforth Narrative.

† Though the laws for these three holidays ceased with the declaration of our independence of England, yet they continued to be in force there till recently. A letter from London, in the Boston Recorder of Feb. 27, dated Jan. 21, 1859, states that Queen Victoria, had abolished all services for State holidays, except that for the anniversary of her own accession.

1665.]

the gun-powder treason, and the latter, the present King's birth and restoration to the Crown. That the 30th of January be a day of fasting and prayer for "that execrable murder of our late Sovereign, Charles First." That members of Episcopal churches be admitted freemen and to the privileges thereof. That Christmas be allowed. That Quakers may go about their lawful business, "though in other cases they be punished." That the mint house be suppressed. That the confederation of the Colonies is contrary to Charter, and therefore not allowable.

The Court inform the Commissioners, that they are ready to exhibit what claim they have to jurisdiction over the Eastern country.

25. While the Legislature and the Commissioners are thus come to a rupture,* the former take measures to conciliate the King. They order, that as a mark of their gratitude to him, "in the best commodity that may be procured in this, his Colony, mcete for transportacon and accommodacon of his Majesties navy, unto the vallew of 500 lb, the whole charge be forthwith prepared and sent by the first opportunity." A committee are appointed for this purpose.

26. The Commissioners,† having ceased their endeavors to act as a judicial body, depart, except Nichols, for New Hampshire and Maine, where they can more easily carry out their purposes. There they undertake to exercise various acts of government. The Bay authorities inform the people, in those parts, that they have not surrendered jurisdiction over them.

28. The Court invite the Commissioners to attend, on the morrow, an examination of Deane's case, for which he had been summoned before the Legislature. In their reply to this the Commissioners say, that after being interrupted, as they had been, which they consider "a violation of his Majesty's authority," they could not imagine that the Court would have proceeded to try the cause themselves. They accordingly protest against such procedure.

With respect to the construction which the Commissioners put on the Charter, contrary to that of our authorities, Danforth remarks as follows: "Before I take the oath of allegiance to his Majesty, which I am ready to do, I do declare, that I will be so understood, as not to infringe the liberty and privileges, granted in his Majesty's royal charter to this Colony of the Massachusetts." In this sense, he and all the members of the Legislature take such an obligation.

"In remembrance‡ of the good services of the late John Endicott, Governor, and the condition of his relict," the Court order the Treasurer to pay for the "wine, cakes, tomb, and powder expend-

* Gen. Ct. Rec. † Hutchinson, 3 ed. vol. i. p. 228. ‡ Gen. Ct. Rec.

ed" at his funeral, and that she have £160 out of the Colony's funds, in equal parts, for five years; £60 whereof are a consideration for her expense of £70 "in mourning clothes for herself, children and family."

Thomas Gould and Thomas Osborn,* who separated from the Charlestown church, Edward Drinker and John George, who were not church members, but had lived many years in the country, are baptized, and joined by Richard Goodall, from Mr. Kiffen's church of London, William Turner and Robert Lambert, from Mr. Stead's church of Dartmouth, England, Mary Goodall and Mary Newel, all enter into covenant as a Baptist church. Cotton Mather says that Seth Sweetser, who came to Charlestown in 1638, from Tring in Herfordshire, was among these early Baptists. A note in the Roxbury church records states that the brethren of the church so formed prophesied in turn, and some one administered the Lord's supper, and that they held a lecture at Drinker's house once a fortnight. Hull informs us that they were organized privately, baptized by each other, and met every Lord's day,

May. This month several Quakers† are apprehended in Boston. They are Edward Wharton, Elizabeth Hooton, Jane Nicholson, Wenlock Christopherson, Mary Tomkins, and Alice Ambrose. The three last came from Rhode Island with Sir Robert Carr. Also Hannah Wright, of about thirteen years old, from Oyster Bay, Long Island, who said that she was divinely called to visit Boston, and warn the rulers to "shed no more innocent blood." While they were before the magistrates, and when these joined in prayer, the Quaker men kept their hats on, which were taken off and thrown down. Mary Tomkins set her foot on one of the hats, and calling to the Court, said, "See, I have your honor under my feet." They asked her where she lived. She replied, "My habitation is in the Lord." Christopherson and Wharton remarked to them, We do not commune with you in prayer; we know you are very wicked, and therefore your prayers are an abomination to the Lord. These two, Mary Tomkins and Alice Ambrose, are sentenced to be whipped through three towns. Wharton was also imprisoned a month.

During this year, as John Small of Salem‡ refused to pay the fines assessed upon him as a Quaker, his best yoke of oxen was seized. Elizabeth, wife of John Kitchen, riding upon a horse, was arrested and the animal taken from her. The result to her, being in a critical condition, was extreme danger of her life.

Thomas Newhouse, on a lecture day in Boston, when the

* Backus, vol. i. p. 355, 6. Russell's Narrative.

† Bishop, N. E. Judged, p. 459, 60.

‡ Besse, vol. ii. p. 236, 7.

1665.]

preacher had closed, attempted to address the audience. He was imprisoned, and the next day whipped ten stripes in the market-place, and then the same number out of town, and again at each of the places, Roxbury and Dedham, and was conducted out of the colony. For endeavoring to address the people of Medfield in the streets there, he met with similar usage.

A family of Marblehead were friendly to the Quakers. They were Edmund Nicholson and wife Elizabeth, and sons Christopher and Joseph. For their preference to such a denomination, they were much opposed. At this point, a sad event took place in their circle. The father was found dead in the water of the seashore. The survivors of his family were prosecuted on suspicion of being his murderers. No conclusive proof was adduced against them. Besse declares that they were innocent. But the Court laid a heavy fine upon the widow, and ordered the sons to stand under the gallows with ropes round their necks.

June 1. The Massachusetts rulers* assert that in consequence of the Commissioners' conduct towards them, the Indians have become insolent; "travelers have been taunted by them, Whence are you of the Massachusetts? the Massachusetts men are all but a straw, blown away without breath." They declare their integrity of motive and purpose to render to God and to Cæsar the things which relatively belong to each of them.

While the royal Commissioners† were in Boston at this period, they sometimes met with other gentlemen at the Ship Tavern, on a corner opposite to what was called Clark's ship-yard in the north part of the town. For meeting there on Saturday evening, which the law forbid, a constable called and rebuked them. Upon this, Carr beat and forced him to retreat. Mason, another constable, determined to visit them at such a time. Before he came, they retired to the house of Mr. Kellond, a merchant, on the other side. The officer went among them there and observed that he was glad they were not at the tavern, for had they been he should have carried them all away; that he wondered at their beating an officer, and thus abusing authority. Carr owned that he was one who beat the constable, and asked Mason if he would dare interfere with his Majesty's Commissioners. Mason replied, Yes, and with the King himself, whom I would have taken, had he been there. "Maverick cried out, Treason! Mason, thou shalt be hanged within a twelvemonth." Complaint was made to Governor Bellingham, who required Mason to give bonds for his appearance. Maverick, the day before the trial, desired that the matter might be dropped. But the Governor thought best for it to proceed. The Jury's verdict was, that Mason uttered the words with which he was charged. The Court of Assistants referred the case

* MS. Danforth Narrative.

† Hutchinson, vol. i. p. 432-4.

to the next General Court, who decided that though his language was highly offensive, yet, as his accusers cleared him of any treasonable design, they had no sufficient proof of his being a capital offender, but sentenced him to be solemnly admonished by the Governor.

In view of hostilities between England and Holland,* and intelligence that a squadron of the latter are bound to this country, the Legislature require the militia of all seaports to be in readiness, and the batteries of Boston to be repaired. There can be no reasonable doubt that a secret and prominent reason for such vigilance was to guard against forces which might be sent over to compel their submission to the dictates of the Commissioners, whose threat covered force of this kind.

A committee on the alteration of the laws, as proposed by the Commissioners, report that they are so important they cannot be decided at this session.

The Court confirm the act of the Commissioners for the united Colonies, passed September 1, 1664, to continue the Confederation, provided the Legislatures of Plymouth and Connecticut do the same.

Reflecting on their rupture† with the Commissioners, the authorities say that their situation exposes them either to the King's displeasure by neglecting to conform with the proposals of his Commissioners, or to sacrifice their liberties, peace and comfort, to "such ambitiousness as was never yet thought fit for the government of any of his Majesty's subjects, much less for a corporation of them."

2. A letter of Carr and Maverick‡ to Nichols, of November 20, says Messrs. Symonds and Danforth were appointed to go eastward, and there counteract the proceedings of the royal Commissioners.

18. Maverick at Portsmouth,§ Piscataqua, informs Nichols that he and his associates, on their journey eastward, stopped at Salem on the 11th, where they were "nobly treated" by Capt. Curwin and Mr. Brown, and at Ipswich, where they were similarly treated by Major Dennison and Capt. Appleton.

24. John Davenport writes to John Leverett. Having special reference to the perils which exist in consequence of the collision between our authorities and the King's Commissioners, he expresses his sympathies and opinions as one who heartily believed that the policy of these agents, if permitted free course in New England, would subvert its civil and ecclesiastical liberties. Some of his remarks follow. In view of Leverett's being an Assistant and Major General of the Colony, he says: "The good Lord assist

* Gen. Ct. Rec.

† Brown, MS. Papers.

‡ MS. Danforth Narrative.

§ Ibid.

1665.]

and governe you by his spirit of wisdom, of courage, and of the feare of the Lord in both." He acknowledges a letter* from Leverett of May 27, and proceeds: "I perceive that the powers of darkness, which have prevailed in other parts of the world, are at worke here also, to subvert the kingdom of Christ in these ends of the earth." He mentions the need of returning "to the first waies of reformation here begun." He fears that the half-way covenant, recommended by the last Synod, is a sign of declension. Referring to the time of Bishop Laud, he thus expresses himself: "I would hope, that the onely wise God, who disappointed the council of that arch prelate in the raigne of the last King, (whereby our pattent was once and againe demanded by the said King, and as often refused by your General Court, to be returned to England,) would also still appeare, in this juncture, by frustrating the present designe and making it an abortion, or a mere tryall of the country, whether they will stand to their church rights and priviledges, or permit them to be invaded and violated by such attempts, which when they are tried and found unsuccessful, will cease for the future." His words as to the Commissioners, are: "Their claiming power to sit authoritatively as a Court for appeales, and that to be managed in an arbitrary way, was a manifest laying of a ground worke to undermine your whole government established by your Charter. If you had consented thereunto, you had plucked downe with your owne hands that house, which wisdom had built for you and your posterity. For all your Courts would then have signified nothing; the sentences of them being liable to be disannulled, upon complaints to the Commissioners made by delinquents, as appeareth in the case of Mr. Thomas Deane, etc., and the execution of the justest censure might be hindered and the course of justice obstructed, as you have alreadie found in the case of John Porter, Jr." Davenport thinks that the declaration of the General Court, for maintaining their Charter rights, was correct. He advises that all the proceedings of the Commissioners be carefully collated and sent speedily to the King, the Lord Chancellor, etc., and let them know "that the whole country (for the generality of them) are much aggrieved at these doings, and humbly desire to be resettled in their former state, according to their Charter, and that they may be freed from those new encroachments."

July 9. The records of Charlestown church† inform us that, as brethren Gould and Osborn, with other Anabaptists, had "embodied themselves in a pretended church way," deacons Lynd and Stittson are desired to ask their attendance on public worship with them the next Sabbath, and, "at the evening thereof, to stay and give an account to the Church of that report." 16. Gould states to the Church, that he has nothing more to do with them.

* Hutchinson's Coll. p. 392-6.

† MS. Rec.

Osborn says he had given his reasons for withdrawal from them; they were infant baptism, "our allowing none but such as had humane learning to be in the ministry, and our severe dealing with those of contrary judgment from us." Sister Osborn said she could not "conscientiously attend on ordinances with us." They are again requested to meet with the Church next Lord's day, and give account of their course. 23. They decline such compliance and remark, that their Church will partake of the Lord's supper next Sabbath. 30. Gould, Osborn and his wife are excommunicated "for their impenitency in their schismatical withdrawing from the Church and neglecting to hear the Church."

12. As an indication* of the private feelings with which the Commissioners received communications from our authorities, is an endorsement on one, from the latter to the former, as follows: "An insolent Letter from y^e Massachusetts to His Majesties Commissioners upon the settlement of the Province of Maine with a warrant to the constable of Portsmouth to disturb the same."

During this month,† news arrived that a Dutch fleet, under De Ruyter, was in the West Indies, and he intended to sail for our coast; that the Castle was fitted up to resist his force; but that, driven back by contrary winds, he went to Newfoundland and did great spoil there."

August 1. The General Court agree‡ on an address to the King. They apologize for any offense they may have unintentionally given him in their last petition. On this point, they say: "We confess, that what we then presented, was our fears of what we did then rather foresee than feel. But now, to our grief and great sorrow of heart, we find (and we hope your Majesty in due time will see) that the gentlemen sent hither in the capacity of Commissioners, especially three of them, (for Col. Nichols, we must acknowledge, had not his hand in many things, that are grievous to us, and we think, would not, whereas the Commission seems to import, that without him, no valid act can be done,) who have steered a course so different from, if not contrary to your Majesty's gracious expressions and limitations in your royal letters and instructions. Your poor subjects are threatened with ruin; reproached with the names of rebels; your government, established by Charter, and our privileges, violated and undermined; causeless complaints from Indians received and countenanced, insomuch the very deportment of many of the heathen is changed towards us and our injurious and licentious neighbors animated against us; a notorious malefactor protected from justice; some of your faithful subjects dispossessed of their lands and goods without hearing them speak in their case; the unity of the English Colonies (which is the wall and bulwark

* MS. State Papers. Office, London.

† Clap's Memoirs, p. 19.

‡ Gen. Ct. Rec.

1665.]

under God against the heathen) discountenanced, reproached and undermined; our bounds clipt and shortened; several towns in our Northern borders already (so far as in them lies) taken from us, they declining to hear our just pleas therein." The Court observe, that, though the Commissioners may make strong allegations against them, they hope the King will exercise charity towards them. They go on: "To be placed upon the sandy foundation of a blind obedience unto the arbitrary, absolute, and unlimited power, which these gentlemen would impose upon us, is contrary to your Majesty's gracious expressions and the liberties of Englishmen, so we cannot see reason to submit thereto."

John Leverett and others are empowered by the Court, to visit Norfolk County, Piscataqua, and Isle of Shoals and York, to call before them all disturbers of the peace who had been encouraged to side for the Commissioners. William Hudson is allowed £9 for the entertainment of these gentlemen while in Boston.

3. The First Church* of Boston, still cherishing a hope that Dr. Owen would become their minister, send again for him by Captain Peirce.

20. A warrant† is issued by Richard Russell of Charlestown, to the constable of that place, instructing him to find where the Baptists worship, and require them to attend the allowed worship, but if they refuse, to return their names and residence to the next magistrate.

September 4. These brethren‡ are examined before the Court of Assistants. The article of their faith which said, "Those who gladly receive the Word and are baptized, are saints by calling and fit matter for a visible church," is objected to, and they are bound to appear at the General Court.

October 11. The Legislature convene in the town-house. They, with several Elders, keep the day, having been appointed as one of humiliation. On account of plague in London and many other places of England, the Court order all vessels from that country to ride quarantine. For such a calamity, they set apart November 22 as a day of fasting§ and prayer. They also appoint the 8th of the same month for thanksgiving, because they had comfortable food, the Dutch fleet had been diverted from their coast, and their peace and liberty yet preserved.

"Whereas at the last Court of Assistants, Thomas Gould and his company, sundry of them were openly convicted of a schismatical rending from the communion of the churches here and setting up a publick meeting in opposition to the ordinances of Christ, here publickly exercised, and were solemnly charged not to persist in such pernicious practices. Yet, this notwithstanding, (as this Court

* MS. Records.

† Backus, vol. i. p. 371.

‡ Hull's MS. Diary.

§ Gen. Ct. Rec.

is informed,) they do still persist in contemning the authority here established. It is therefore ordered, that the aforesaid Gould and company be summoned before this Court to give an account of such their irregular practices with their celebrating the Lord's supper by an excommunicated person." A warrant being sent for the accused, they appeared. As they professed "their resolution yet further to proceed in such their irregular practices, thereby as well contemning the authority and laws here established for the maintenance of godliness and honesty, as continuing in the profanation of God's holy ordinances:—This Court do judge meet to declare, that the said Gould and company are no orderly church assembly, and that they stand justly convicted of high presumption against the Lord and his holy appointments, as also the peace of this Government, against which this Court do account themselves bound to God, his Truth and his Churches here planted, to bear their testimony; and do therefore sentence the said Gould, Osborn, Drinker, Turner and George, such as are Freemen, to be disfranchised, and all of them upon conviction before any one magistrate or Court, of their further proceeding herein, to be committed to prison until the General Court shall take further order with them."

A fair perception of the objection made to the Baptists, as ex-communicants, requires that it be understood they were so called, because they were cut off from Charlestown church; not for immoral conduct, but for declining to commune with that body.

Zechariah Rhodes, a Baptist of Rhode Island, being in Court when such a decision was delivered, said openly, that they "had not to do in matters of religion." For this he was committed. Being sent for, he regretted that he had so expressed himself, and was dismissed with an admonition from the Governor.

The principle on which the Legislature dealt with these Baptists, as they had with others previously, was, that they obtained and sustained their Commonwealth, as an assylum only for those of their faith and form in ecclesiastical concerns. Of course, the denominations who differed from them denied the correctness of such ground.

The Legislature "having perused the transactions between them and his Majesty's honorable Commissioners, together with the narrative and improvement thereof thereunto annexed, collected and transmitted to England, approve of the same," and thank the Committee who prepared them.

November 16. As a minister expected to preach the Boston Lecture, did not come, John Wilson preaches extempore from a text read in his family the morning of this day, Jere. xxix. 8: "Neither hearken to your dreams, which you cause to be dreamed." "Whence he gave a seasonable warning unto the people against the dreams, wherewith sundry sorts of opinionists had been endeavoring to seduce them." He must have had particular reference to

1666.]

the prevalent political divisions, to the Quakers, Baptists and Episcopalians, whose views of church order met with the determined resistance of Government. The discourse was taken down in short hand by a person present, and published about twelve years afterwards.

This year, as Hutchinson states,* a few persons of Boston form themselves into an Episcopal Society. They very likely received the encouragement of the royal Commissioners, who had a chaplain with them, and who were earnest for the allowance of such churches.

Though before the current year an impression prevailed in the Christian world,† that the outcasts of Israel were to be gathered together, yet now such an event was more particularly expected. Desirous to give his own views of the subject, Increase Mather delivered a monthly lecture on it in Boston, and presented the negative of it, maintaining that the set time would not yet come. The discourses were published in London, 1669, under the title of "The Mystery of Israel's Salvation." "The renowned Mr. Caryl" said of the publication, "That it was a rare thing to find anywhere a conjunction of so much learning and so much piety, as there was in the author."

1666. January 9. John Eliot writes‡ to Sir Robert Carr: "Pumham and his people have suffered much hard and ill dealings by some English, and there hath been both force and fraud used towards them to drive them out of their lands." He desires that the Commissioners may deal kindly with these Indians. Carr replies on the 28th of February, and says that he had heard of Mr. Eliot's complaining of him for hard treatment of Pumham and his people by ordering them away from Warwick. "I require you to make such improvement of this advertisement, that his Majesty and his Commissioners may be no more rendered obnoxious to the reproach and contempt of infidels, and others his said Majesty's subjects by your and others proceeding." Eliot knew much more and better about this matter than Carr.

February 22. The King dates a communication§ to Massachusetts. He accompanies it with his declaration of war against the French and Dutch. He mentions that it is a favorable opportunity to free themselves from "inquiet neighbours" who belong to those nations. He encourages them to use all their "force and skill" for the capture of their settlements, and particularly Canada. They declared it under 11th of September.

23. Robert Boyle,|| as President of the Missionary Society, writes from Cooper's Hall, London, to Commissioners of the United Colonies. He refers, among his remarks, to the fount of

* Hutchinson, 3 ed. vol. i. p. 318, 9.

† Remarkables of I. Mather, p.

‡ Brown's MS. Papers.

§ Gen. Ct. Rec.

|| MS. Papers of Mass. Hist. Soc.

letters, some of which were Greek and Hebrew, sent over by the Society. He speaks of a claim made to them by Mr. Johnson, who selected and brought such types over for them, and which the Commissioners could not account for. Still he expresses a willingness to settle the matters as they please.

April 9. Though Nichols, Governor * of New York, was less disliked by our New England fathers than the other Commissioners from the King, still he did not refrain from expressing himself unfavorably of the Bay authorities. In a communication of his to Lord Arlington, he observed: "His Majesty will read the sophistry of Massachusetts, vntill such time as wee did presse them to a positive obedience, and then they do unmask themselves. I dare not presume† to find out a way to bring down the pride of Massachusetts, because the matter is long since before his Majesty; yet it is evident this place, (N. Y.) with the premises thereunto relating considered, will withdraw in a short time most of their trade hither, where I have begun to set up a school of better religion and obedience to God and the King." The party, thus censured, could give good reason for their course. Though tried and threatened, they held on their way of obligation to the true and the right.

10. William Morrice, Secretary,‡ writes from London to the Commissioners, that, by the King's command, he orders them to come home. He remarks: "We have expressed our dislike of the conduct of Massachusetts towards you, and have sent our commands for the Governor and others to attend us and answer their proceedings."

The King addresses a letter§ to Massachusetts. He states to them that the relation of his Commissioners showed that they were satisfied with the treatment they received in the other Colonies, but not so with what they experienced in the Bay. He observes that from the representation of the Commissioners, and from that of Massachusetts, he infers that the latter believe the commission of the former "is an apparent violation of their Charter, and tending to the dissolution of it, and that in truth they do, upon the matter, believe that his Majesty hath no jurisdiction over them, but that all persons must acquiesce in their judgments and determinations, how unjust soever, and cannot appeal to his Majesty, which would be a matter of such high consequence as every man discerns where it must end." He therefore recalls the Commissioners, that he may hear from them a more particular account of their mission hither. Further, his "express command and charge is, that the Governor and Council of the Massachusetts do forthwith make choice of four or five persons to attend upon his

* MS. in London State paper office.

† Brown's MS. Papers.

‡ Brown's MS. Papers.

§ Hutchinson, vol. i. App. p. 547, 8.

1666.]

Majesty, whereof Richard Bellingham and Major Hathorne are to be two, both which his Majesty commands upon their allegiance to attend, the other two or three to be such as the Council shall make choice of, and his Majesty expects the appearance of the said persons as soon as they can possibly repair hither, after they have notice of this his Majesty's pleasure." The King says that his purpose in such an arrangement is to hear the advocates of Massachusetts as to their controversy with the Commissioners, and, having the relation of these also, in the case, he "may pass his final judgment and determination thereupon." He orders the authorities here to discharge all persons whom they have imprisoned "for petitioning or applying themselves to his Majesty's Commissioners." He requires that the decisions of these officials as to boundaries of territory, remain until he shall make up his own mind about them.

13. Lord Clarendon addresses* the Commissioners. "I know not what to say of the demeanor of the Massachusetts Colony, only that I am very glad that the other Colonies behave themselves so dutifully, for which they will receive thanks from the King; and what sense his Majesty hath of the behaviour of those of Boston, you will find by the inclosed, whereof I suppose Mr. Secretary Morrice hath sent you the original to be sent to those of Boston, one or two more being sent thither by other conveyances, that they may be sure to have notice; and if they do not give obedience to it, we shall give them cause to repent of it; for his Majesty will not sit down by the affronts which he hath received."

Undoubtedly his Lordship was sincere in his declarations, but his impressions of political and religious obligation differed widely from those of our fathers, who were not to be easily driven from the lot they had chosen, by the threats of disappointed power, even though upon the high places of the kingdom.

17. Thomas Gould, Thomas Osborne and John George, of the Baptist persuasion,† being presented by the Grand Jury to the County Court at Cambridge, "for absenting themselves from the public worship of God on the Lord's days, for one whole year now past, alledged respectively as followeth." They plead, that they had attended on what they considered Scriptural worship for that space of time, being connected with a church, founded in accordance with the gospel. The Court recited the endeavors used by the Court of Assistants last September, and by the General Court the next October, for their conviction. The order of the latter body, declaring that the "said Gould and company to be no orderly church assembly, and that they stand convicted of high presumption against the Lord and his holy appointments, was

* Brown's MS. Papers.

† Backus, vol. i. p. 374.

openly read to them." The Court fined each of them £4 for the specified neglect of worship. They add: "Whereas by their own confession, they stand convicted of persisting in their schismatical assembling themselves together, to the great dishonor of God and our profession of his holy name, contrary to the act of the General Court of October last, prohibiting them therein on penalty of imprisonment, this Court doth order their giving bond respectively in £20 each of them, for their appearance to answer their contempt, at the next Court of Assistants." The defendants appealed to this Court, but declining the surety required, they were committed to prison.

22. John Farnum* is excommunicated by the Second Church of Boston, for becoming a member of the Baptist church. In 1683, he confessed that he had acted erroneously and sinfully in this matter, and was, therefore, restored to his membership. On July 17, Henry Shrimpton of Boston, brazier,† bequeathes £10 to the Society of Christians, who now meet at Noddle's Island, of whom are Gould and Osborne.

May 23. To restrain drunkenness‡ among Indians, it is ordered that any of the English who know that they have intoxicating drink contrary to law, may take it from them and deliver it to the constables. If Indians be found drunk, and they refuse to confess who supplied them with liquor, they shall be put in prison or house of correction.

As Thomas Gilbert, of Topsfield, had uttered several expressions in his preaching and praying, which were offensive to the Court, they order that he shall be admonished in their presence by the Governor.

It is probable that his offense consisted in severe censure of the King, relative to his Commissioners' course here, because his tombstone epitaph at Charlestown says,§ that he was "the proto-martyr" of ejection from the ministry in England under Charles II.

As in the case of Endicott about cutting the cross from the English colors, public sympathy was with him, though the authorities of the Colony deemed it necessary to notice the act as offensive to his Majesty, lest his displeasure should be multiplied against them. So it may have been in relation to Gilbert.

June 3. About 300 English, of whom was Lt. Col. Theodore Loveranne, speaker, arrive|| in a ship, Capt. Robert Gourden, at Boston. They came from St. Christopher Island, which had been taken by the French. They expected more of their fellow captives to follow them. The Legislature appoint a committee to provide relief for those of them who are necessitous, until a passage be obtained for them so assisted.

* Robbins's Hist. 2d Boston Ch. p. 295, 6.

† Gen. Ct. Rec.

§ Calamy, vol. ii. p. 467.

† MS. Suffolk Probate Rec.

|| Gen. Ct. Rec.

1666.]

26. Quakers of Salem* are still fined by the County Court, for absence from public worship, as legally construed.

Josiah and Daniel Southwick and John Blevin, among them, refusing to pay a fine of one pound a-piece, are ordered to be whipped. On August 9, Nicholas Upshall, of Boston, says in his will, "I do give for the use of such servants of the Lord, as are commonly termed Quakers, a lodging room, well furnished, during the life of my wife and daughter."

July 6. Governor Nichols, of New York, † writes to the Governor and Council. He states, that he was informed the King had "authorized and required" them "to reduce Canada." He says that news had reached him, that the French from this quarter were marching in considerable force towards Albany. He advises that cavalry from Massachusetts and Connecticut go against them, and believes that they may be mostly destroyed, and their country taken.

In a letter ‡ of Daniel Gookin, one of the Assistants, we have this passage: "Doctor Owen and some choice ones who intended to come with him in Mr. Pierce are diverted, and that not from hopes of better times there, but from fears of worse here, which some new counsels there acting gave them occasion for, so that in all probability, a new cloud is gathering and a storm preparing for us."

August 15. "Our private meeting § kept at our house a day of humiliation, to shew their sympathy with me, to implore the Lord for his poor people here, to direct vs and our Rulers, etc. And for his poor suffering saints in England."

September 11. The General Court meet to consider the King's command for them to send over five persons, who may answer before him for the refusal to comply with the injunctions of his Commissioners. They agree to spend the forenoon of the next day in prayer for divine guidance. They appoint a Committee to answer the papers, dated the 6th, and presented by Samuel Maverick, one of the Commissioners.

12. The Court assemble with several Elders. Of these who lead in devotional service are Messrs. Wilson, Mather, Symmes, Whiting, Cobbett and Mitchel.

13. The Court convene || with the Elders after Lecture. The latter were invited by the former so to do, that they might give "their advice on weighty matters now in hand."

14. Petitions from twenty-six persons of Boston, thirty-five of Salem, seventy-three of Ipswich, and thirty-nine of Newbury, are presented. These documents are alike in ideas and words. They regret that the Government have offended his Majesty, so that he

* MS. Essex Ct. Rec.

† Hutch. 3d ed. vol. i. p. 207.

‡ Hutchinson's Coll. p. 407, 8.

§ Hull's Diary. || Gen. Ct. Rec.

has charged them with maintaining that he has no jurisdiction over the Colony. They contain the following clause: "Your petitioners intreat, that if any occasion hath been given to his Majesty so to resent any former actings, as in his last letter is held forth, that nothing of that nature be further proceeded in, but contrarywise, that application be made to his Majesty by meet persons, immediately to be sent for the end, to clear the transactions of them that govern the Colony from any such construction." They earnestly desire, that such caution may be manifested, so that they may not be under the necessity of making "their particular address to his Majesty and declaration to the world, to clear themselves from the least imputation of so scandalous an evil, as the appearance of disaffection or disloyalty to the person and government of their lawful prince and sovereign would be." They add, "Lest otherwise that which, if duly improved, might have been as a cloud of the latter rain, be turned into that which, in the conclusion, may be found more terrible than the roaring of a lion."

A report of the debate which took place in the Council,* gives the initials of the speakers, who are supposed to be as follow. These will be mentioned, with the chief substance of their opinions. Bellingham proposes, that some regular course be pursued so that the King's offense against him or others, may be brought to a legal issue. Bradstreet thinks, that the King has power to command their appearance before him. Dudley holds, that the royal injunction is applicable in all the English dominions; that the governor can have, if he choose, a trial at law, in England. Willoughby says, that the question should be whether God's displeasure should not be considered as well as the King's; the interest of the Colonists and God's glory, as well as his Majesty's prerogative; if the King can demand their attendance in London at any time, they are miserable indeed. Hathorne maintains, that royal prerogative is not above law. Stoughton observes, that Corporations in England may lose their privileges, but not their government, because the national laws protect them. E—— remarks, that it is hard for two persons, designated by the King, to appear before him, when no definite charges are made against them. Bradstreet states, that merchants are afraid to send their property to England, unless something be done. Dudley suggests, that though the authorities here have a right to execute their laws, the King may accept complaints and require an answer to them.

Mr. Winthrop, of Connecticut, and Sir Thomas Temple, after dinner, propose to the Governor and Magistrates, that there may be a "joint consideration," as to their respective Colonies, of the royal letters to Massachusetts, concerning the invasion of Canada. Temple says, that if Nova Scotia be taken by the French, their vessels

* MS. Gen. Ct. Rec.

1666.]

will infest the Bay. He adds, should "Tracy be settled in Nova Scotia, you will find him the worst neighbour you ever had."

17. A majority of the Court agree on a letter to William Morrice, the King's Secretary.* They acknowledge the royal kindness in giving them information of the war with the French and Dutch, and advising them to prepare for defense. They remark that the declaration of war against the former nation, and sent over to them, "was solemnly published here by sound of trumpet." They state that they had advised with Sir Thomas Temple, governor of Nova Scotia, and with Mr. Winthrop, governor of Connecticut, as to the invasion of Canada, proposed by the King, and concluded their inability to accomplish such an enterprise. They assign the reasons for this result to be the strength of the French there, and the difficulty of marching over "rocky mountains and howling deserts about 400 miles." They observe that they have sent to his Majesty the explanations of their course in non-compliance with the mandates of the Commissioners last year; that they can add nothing to the substance thereof, and that the ablest persons whom they might send to London would be unable to declare their case more fully. This was virtually declining obedience to the royal injunction for persons to be sent from the Colony to England, and there answer the accusations made against them by the Commissioners. The Court close their communication by committing their cause to God, and desiring the King to deal kindly with them.

Bradstreet dissented from the letter, so far as it did not meet the royal order for colonial messengers to appear and answer the charges in London.

With regard to the petitions of Boston, Salem, Ipswich, and Newbury, the Court take the following action: "Finding that the petitioners do therein unjustly charge, threaten and reflect upon this Court, to the dishonour of the members thereof, it is ordered that Captain William Gerrish of Newbury, Captain John Appleton of Ipswich, Mr. Edmund Batter of Salem, and Captain Thomas Savage, Mr. Thomas Brattle, Mr. Habakkuk Glover, and Mr. Thomas Dean, of Boston, all of them principal persons in the said petitions, some of them persons in public trusts, all, save one, freemen of this Colony and members of churches, be by the Secretary warned to attend this Court in October next to answer for the same."

Aware of the difficulty and peril which are involved with their relations to his Majesty, the Court, as a means of diminishing his present and anticipated displeasure, empower the Deputy Governor, Francis Willoughby, to purchase two very large masts, on board Capt. Pierce's ship, for the royal navy. They order an

* Gen. Ct. Rec.

immediate loan of £1,000 to be negotiated for meeting all the charges, among which are those of getting the masts to London. They intend that if "God please that they arrive safe in England, then to be presented to his Majesty as a testimony of loyalty and affection from the country." They choose a committee to carry the resolve into effect, and write to the King that it is made.

18. The Assistants order* that Thomas Gould and Thomas Osborne, Baptists, may be released from prison, if paying their fines and costs, as had been decided. They add that if they meet publicly on the Sabbath to worship, as Baptists, again, for which such sentence was passed on them, they shall give bonds of £20 each to appear and answer for schismatical assembling together on the Lord's day, and shall be banished from the jurisdiction, on penalty of £20 each. They also require that the injunction of the General Court, October, 1665, against the assembling of the Baptists to worship, shall continue in force. The Deputies consent to this result, except the second clause, which includes banishment. But they wish the whole subject may lay over to their next session.

19. Major Daniel Dennison wishes his dissent from the Court's letter to Secretary Morrice to be entered, because he thinks it "not proportionate to the end desired, and he hopes intended, viz., due satisfaction to his Majesty, and the preservation of the peace and liberty of this Colony."

Some of the Elders think† that the two magistrates should obey the royal order for them to appear and answer for the Colony in London. Mr. Mitchel takes an opposite ground, "urging that if two might be sent for, ten might."

October 10. The General Court assemble. They set apart November 8 as Thanksgiving day, for the continuance of their civil and religious privileges; for preservation from invasion by the common enemy, and for sustenance through a drought.

They designate November 20 for a Fast, because of sins, blights, mildew, drought, grasshoppers, caterpillars, and small-pox, wars and pestilence in England; "the low estate of the true professors of Christian religion in all parts;" and to pray that their liberties may be continued, the country kept from invasion, and the fleet lately sailed have a prosperous voyage.

In addition to the two great masts for the King, the Court appoint a Committee to purchase others and send them to London, accompanied with a suitable letter for him.

Sir Henry Ashurst and other friends of the Colony in England, are impowered to hire £1,000 for the charges of such a present.

12. A Committee of the General Court agree on the mode‡ of procedure with the petitioners from Boston, Salem, Ipswich and Newbury.

* MS. Mass. Gen. Ct. Papers. † Cobbett's Letter. Hutch. 3 ed. vol. i. p. 232.

‡ Gen. Ct. Rec.

1666.]

That the Court may be pleased to call them to their answer singly, one by one, and that their answers be taken in writing.*

Questions to be proposed, if they own their hands to this petition:

1. Who is the party you intend, that so irresistibly carry on a design of dangerous consequence?

2. What is that design you intend, that is of so dangerous consequence?

3. When will it be seasonable and ripe for you to declare to the world?

4. What is the reason that you reproach the Court with disloyalty?

5. Do you judge it a thing reasonable, or consistent with our political being, for the Court, or any other persons, from time to time, to pass 3,000 miles, leaving their families and callings, upon the complaint of discontented persons, whose estates may not be able to make satisfaction?

6. Either it is the Court, or some other party, that are carrying on a dangerous design; and if it be another party, why have not you, out of conscience, according to your oath of fidelity, discovered the same? If it be the Court, it shall be considered of.

7. Wherein is it that (in your apprehension) the Court vie with our Prince, or divest him of his sovereignty?

8. Who was the inditer or framer of these petitions, and what arguments were used to draw or fear men to subscribe?

Further, it is proposed that the Court may be pleased to hear all their answers before any answers or sentences be declared; and that some meet person or persons be deputed in behalf of the Court to implead the petitioners; and that, as to so many of them as do ingenuously acknowledge their error, the Court would be pleased to exercise so much moderation as the honor and safety of the Court and country may admit.

The royal Commissioners, having returned from the eastward,† are charged by the General Court with disturbing the public peace, and are desired to hold a conference with them on the subject. “No, not a word need pass,” replied Carr; “but remember, the King’s pardon of the late rebellion is conditional, and the authors of the opposition among you must expect the punishment awarded the rebels in England, and you well know their fate.” Thus occurred another hindrance to intercourse between the King’s Commissioners and the General Court.

24. Nichols writes to Secretary Morrice.‡ “The copy of his Majesty’s signification to Massachusetts was surreptitiously sent over to them by some unknown hand before the original came to Boston.

* Hutch. MS. vol. ii. p. 257.

† Hutch. 3 ed. vol. i. p. 228, 9.

‡ Brown’s MS. Papers.

The Massachusetts Colony persist, or rather fly higher, in contempt of his Majesty's authority. The General Court have resolved to send no man out of the Colony according to his Majesty's summons. Several considerable men, both of the Council and Deputies in the General Court, have entered their protest against the resolution there taken. Most of the considerable merchants and men of estates in the country petitioned the General Court to comply with his Majesty's commands, but they are now to be questioned before another Court as seditious persons. The eyes and observations of all the other Colonies are bent upon this strange deportment of the Massachusetts. His Majesty is wise, and may easily chastise their undutifulness, not by force which might frighten the innocent as well as nocent, but by a temporary embargo upon their trade, till such and such persons are delivered into the hands of justice; the numerous well-affected people in that and other Colonies would soon give up the ringleaders, at his Majesty's disposal."

26. Samuel Nahorth,* in Massachusetts, writes to Secretary Morrice, in London: "The truth is, y^e actings of the late Commissioners, putting spurs too hard to y^e horse's side, before they were got into the saddle," and the oppressive conduct of Lord Willoughby at Barbadoes, "have greatly alarmed the people here, making the name of a Commissioner odious to them."

"It is a great pity that so hopeful a Plantation should be now lost, through the malice of those whose design is to beget a misunderstanding in his Majesty of his people. Their hope is in God, who hath the hearts of Kings in his hand. This I clearly see, that the body of the people have a higher esteem of their liberties, sacred and civil, than of their lives; they well know they are such twins as God and not nature have joined together, and are resolved to bury their estates and liberties in the same grave." If the King frown on Massachusetts, the French will be encouraged. "The French King (as is here reported by some Rochellers) designing to secure these parts of America for himself." The French came from Canada last winter to Fort Albany. It is reported that they are building forts on this side of the great lake, above our plantations. Our frontier settlers are alarmed by such reports.

November 3. Carr, Maverick and Nichols, of the King's Commissioners, send a letter from Fort James at New York, to the General Court of Massachusetts.† They express their thoughts as follow. They supposed that the Court would not fully comply with his Majesty's pleasure. When, however, they understood the petitions from Boston, Salem, Ipswich and Newbury, and the character of the petitioners, they were encouraged to hope that the Court would satisfy the royal commands. But, assured that they

* Brown's MS. Papers, State Paper Office, London. † Hutch. Coll. p. 408-10.

1666.]

had concluded to send neither Governor Bellingham nor Major Hathorne, whom the King commanded to appear before him, nor two or three other individuals, as the royal injunction required; and that they had laid heavy charges against the petitioners, they declare themselves, as Commissioners, bound to protest in the name of his Majesty, against such a course. They state that Massachusetts ought to have received the letter of the King, as authentic, and their failure so to do had blotted their "scutcheon," while the other Colonies had acted differently, to their "joy and satisfaction." They say that his Majesty "will be justly displeased" with their resolution not to comply with his injunction, and that he cannot but approve of the petitioners who, by the laws of England, should not be molested for anything in their petitions. They express their concurrence with these documents, and earnestly solicit the Court to take the whole matter into "most serious consideration," that the King may be honored by the obedience of his subjects and encouraged to favor Massachusetts, to which, as their words are, "we are hearty well-wishers, and will contribute our best endeavors, at all times and in all places, when by your submission to his Majesty, we shall be encouraged to remain."

13. Governor Bellingham* informs Secretary Rawson, that he received, on the 10th, the communication from Carr, Maverick and Nichols. He desires the Secretary to inform Maverick, that the Court had dissolved and sent a letter to Sir William Morrice; and that when the Assistants come together, he will lay the communication of the Commissioners before them.

Danforth relates that there is perilous division among the people. Some assert they will send the Government no money, because they do not obey the royal injunction; and others, that they will also refuse, because the present of masts is sent. A proposal is made to assess a rate for the money. This, it is feared, will raise a tumult among those who are dissatisfied that the Governor and others have not been sent over to his Majesty. Some are anxious lest what the Court have done will hasten the ruin of the Colony, and others, lest if they do more, this will necessarily bring on its destruction. The same writer adds: "Here is man's weakness and extremity. What a favor will it be, if it may be God's opportunity."

About this time, a narrative by the royal Commissioners had been prepared. This paper,† while referring to other parts of New England as well as Massachusetts, shows that the Commissioners cherished strong feelings against the course of this Colony with regard to them. It makes various statements as follow. On the report that his Majesty had sent over to raise £5,000 a year for his own use, "Major Hawthorne made a seditious speech at the

* Hutch. Coll. p. 410.

† MS. Brown Papers. Hutch. Coll. p. 412-25.

head of his company, and the late Governor another at their meeting-house in Boston," without being called to account. The Commissioners were disappointed that the example of submission to the King's instructions by the other Colonies had not "abated the refractoriness of this Colony." The authorities here would allow no appeal to the Commissioners, and declared "by sound of trumpet, that the General Court was the supreme judicatory." They elude his Majesty's desire for the privilege of freemen to be less restricted. They have enacted, that "whoever is 24 years old, a housekeeper, and brings a certificate of his civil life, and another of his being orthodox in matters of faith, and a third of his paying 10/., besides head-money, at a single rate," may apply to the Court, and they may vote whether he shall become a freeman. The Commissioners say that they "examined many townships, and found that scarce three in a hundred pay 10/ at a single rate. He that is a church member, though he be a servant and pay not 2d., may be a freeman. They will not admit any who is not a member of their church to communion, nor their children to baptism. Whoever keeps Christmas day is to pay five pounds." They favored Whalley and Goffe, for whom Daniel Gookin is reported to have brought over their property, and to have managed it for their support. They contend, that so long as they comply with their Charter in paying the Crown one-fifth of all the gold and silver which may be found in their limits, this document secures to them the power to "make laws and execute them, and that they are not obliged to the King, but by civility." "They hope, by writing, to tire the King, Lord Chancellor and Secretaries too. Seven years they can easily spin out by writing, and before that time a change may come, nay, some have dared to say, who knows what the event of this Dutch war will be? This Colony furnished Cromwell with many instruments out of their corporation and their College, and those that have retreated hither since his Majesty's happy return are much respected, and many advanced to be magistrates." They did solicit Cromwell, by one Mr. Winslow, to be declared a "free State, and many times in their laws styling themselves this State, this Commonwealth, and now believe themselves to be so." They say in reference to Boston, "there neither months, days, seasons of the year, churches nor inns are known by their English names." The Commissioners evidently speak of the Indian mission under the influence of strong prejudice. They state that our Rulers convert Indians by hiring them to come and hear sermons, by teaching them not to obey their heathen Sachems, and by appointing rulers among them, over tens, twenties, forties, etc. "At Cambridge, they have a wooden college, and in the yard a Brick Pile of two Bayes* for the Indians, where the

* Bay, space between two beams. Bailey. Brown MS. Papers.

1666.]

Commissioners saw but one; they say they have three or four more at school. It may be feared that this College may afford as many schismatics to the church and the corporation, as many rebels to the King, as formerly they have done, if not timely prevented." These representations of persons adverse to the views and wishes of our fathers, need many grains of allowance in order for them to meet the explanation, which the latter could have rightly given them. They mention the petitioners of Boston, Salem, Ipswich and Newbury with approbation, who say, "It is now with them as it was with the King's party in Cromwell's time, and who are so overawed by the faction, they cannot put it down." They observe of the Colony, "Their way of government is Commonwealth-like; their way of worship is rude and called Congregational; they are zealous in it, for they persecute all other forms."

The supposition previously made, that a chief, though secret purpose for which the King's Commissioners came to New England, was to compass the long-cherished object of bringing this country under subordinate Governors, dependent on royal election, and one general Governor over them, alike dependent for his office, is partly confirmed by the pains which the Commissioners took with Plymouth and Maine, to have them surrender their choice of Governors to his Majesty, as contained in their narrative, whence the preceding extracts are taken.

27. Some of the Quakers in Salem* are still fined for absence from public worship of the allowed congregation. This year, Richard Gardner, of the same town, moved to Nantucket. He married Sarah Shattock, about 1652. She was cut off from the church, 1662, for attaching herself to the Quaker Society, and, as one of them, was often prosecuted. It is supposed that these things induced them to leave Salem.

Here, a cage is ordered to be built from the proceeds of a wreck. In such places of confinement, offenders were exposed to public view on Lecture days.

December 10. The Rev. William Tompson of Braintree, dies, aged sixty-eight. His first wife, Abigail, died while he was on his mission to Virginia. He left another wife, Anna, and children. He was concerned with Richard Mather in writing several books. One of these was published in London, 1644, being a reply to Mr. Charles Herle's arguments against the "Independency of Churches." The *Magnalia* calls him "a very powerful and successful preacher." The darkness which had rested on his mind, for years, was removed prior to his decease. The epitaph on his grave stone, truly says:

"He was a learned, solid, sound divine,
Whose name and fame in both Englands did shine."

* MS. Essex Ct. Rec.

This year, Caleb Cheeschaumuck,* an Indian, who had been educated by the Missionary Society in England, and graduated at Harvard the year before, with the hope that he would preach the gospel to his brethren, is called to finish his probation. Of those from among his Tribes who sought for such an honor, he alone succeeded in its attainment. Thus was his own expectation, and that of many friends to the cause of missions, suddenly cut off. The event seemed to confirm the general impression, which must have been made on the public mind, that, however much encouragement had been long given in the direction of turning heathen from their idolatry to the profession of Christianity, yet, in reference to training up ministers of the gospel from among them, the repeated exertion had failed. So much so was this true, that we hear of no more endeavors for such an object by the Commissioners appointed for the New England mission. The deceased was son to a sub-sachem, Cheschaamog, of Holmes's Hole. He left a sister, Ammapoo, noted for her piety, who married an Indian minister, and died at Sanchechantacket, in Edgartown.

PLYMOUTH.

1664. March 1. George Vaughan,† of Marshfield, is fined for neglect of public worship. Robert Harper, for disturbance of the congregations at Barnstable and Sandwich, and his language to Messrs. Walley and Wiswal, is sentenced to be publicly whipped. William Maaz, of Taunton, and Richard Willis, are sentenced to sit in the stocks on some public occasion, for profanity.

April 23. A letter from the King‡ to the Governor and Council of the Colony, is dated. It mentions that Commissioners are to visit them and other Colonies, to ascertain their condition and compromise difficulties which may exist. It promises the continuance of their political and religious privileges.

28. Governor Prince writes§ to the Secretary of Massachusetts about the proposition for a session of the Commissioners of the Union at New Haven, to resist the claim of Capt. Scott to Long Island, because the Colony of New Haven exercised jurisdiction over the east end of said Island. He observes, "It being a case wherein the whole (Confederation) may be deeply concerned." Scott was taken and imprisoned, but the difficulty between him and New Haven was quashed by the Island's being granted to the Duke of York by the King.

* Magnalia, vol. ii. p. 31. E. Mayhew, Ind. Converts, 78

† Plym. Gen. Ct. Rec.

‡ Morton, 217, 8.

§ Hutch. MS. Papers.

1665.]

June 8. The General Court resolve* to address his Majesty for the confirmation of their Patent; to entertain the Commissioners from England, if coming hither, "in a civil manner, behooful to their condition;" to maintain their right to their present territory; and to inform the Government at Rhode Island of this purpose, and request them to "reclaime such as have thrust in upon us neare to Pochasset or elsewhere."

August 27. New Netherland surrenders† to the royal Commissioners. One of these, Nichols, becoming Governor of the captured territory, has Thomas Willet, sent from Plymouth to attend them in the enterprise, appointed Mayor of the capital, now called New York, in honor of the Duke of York.

November. Morton, in his Memorial, (212 p.) mentions a remarkable comet as making its appearance the 17th, though other authority gives it as the 8th. This luminary continued to be seen here over four months. His words relative to it, follow: "This was looked at by the judicious and conscientious of the land, as a speaking Providence against unthankfulness and licentiousness in drinking and fashions in apparel." It, "with other particulars, occasioned the observation of some days in a way of humiliation before the Lord, somewhat more frequently than ordinary."

1665. February 7. On the request‡ of Richard Bourne, that the Indians instructed by him may be under orderly government, the Court appoint selectmen from among them, who are to advise with Mr. Bourne. He was allowed last year £30 salary out of the mission funds.

18. James Keith is ordained§ over the church at Bridgewater. They had been there about twelve years. The record of his ordination calls him "a student of divinity, having some competent time improved his gifts among them in the work of the ministry, and having also due approbation by testimony of the Rev. Elders of other churches of Christ to whom he was known." He was a native of Scotland, had his education at Aberdeen, arrived at Boston about 1662, and was recommended to his charge by Increase Mather, whom he ever regarded as his good friend and patron. His people allow him twelve acres of land and a house, a right in the township, being one fifty-sixth part of it, and £40 a year, half of it in money and the other in produce. In 1667, they granted him 30 cords of wood annually, "the cutters of the wood to have five groats and the drawers seven groats a cord." In 1681, they added £10 to his salary, payable in corn and provisions. In 1689, they agreed to give him for his wood every year, £10 worth of corn. His wife was Susannah, daughter of Samuel Edson. She died at an advanced age. He married, in 1707, Mary, widow

* Gen. Ct. Rec. Hazard, vol. ii. p. 496.

† Morton's Memorial, p. 216.

‡ Plym. MS. Rec.

§ Mitchell's Hist. of Bridgewater, p. 43.

of Thomas Williams, of Taunton. He died July 23, 1719, aged 76. He had children, James, Joseph, Samuel, Timothy, John and Josiah, and Margaret Hunt and Mary Howard. He faithfully spent a long life in the service of his Redeemer, and fell asleep to awake in his likeness forever.

22. The Royal Commissioners having reached Plymouth on the 16th, propose the following* to the General Court. That all householders take an oath of allegiance, and that justice be administered in his Majesty's name. That all men of competent estates and civil deportment, "though of different judgments," may be admitted freemen, and capable of holding office, civil and military. That all men and women of orthodox opinions, of fit knowledge and lives, may be admitted to the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and have their children baptized. That all laws and expressions in laws "derogatory to his Majesty, if any such have been made in these late troublesome times, may be repealed."

The following, from the Commissioners, probably accompanied the preceding communication. "We desire that when you† send us your assent to the third proposition, you would let it and the other three be fairly written together, so that they may be presented to his Majesty. And that, at the end of them, you would add something to this purpose:—That the Articles of Confederation (when the four Colonies entered into an offensive and defensive league) neither did nor shall oblige you to refuse his Majesty's authority, though any one or all the other three should do so; not that we have the least imagination of your denying your obedience to his Majesty, but that we might stop some foul mouths in America, and that his Majesty may be the more confirmed in his good opinion of your loyalty, who was informed (as we are told) that that union was a combination made by the four Colonies, when they had a design to throw off their dependence on England and for that purpose."

May 2. The General Court give replies to the four propositions of the Commissioners, made by them on the 22d of February.‡ To the first, we have been accustomed to require that every householder take the oath of allegiance, and to administer justice in his Majesty's name. To the second, we have allowed men of competent estate and good character, "though of different judgments" from us, "yet being otherwise orthodox, to be freemen and to choose or be chosen officers, both civil and military." To the third, we count it a high privilege to worship God as our consciences dictate, and should rejoice if all our neighbors, "of orthodox opinions, competent estates, knowledge, civil lives and not scandalous, would adjoin themselves to our societies according to

* Thacher's Hist. of Plymouth, p. 120.

† Mass. Hist. Soc. MS. Papers, and 1 s. vol v. p. 192, 3, of Coll.

‡ Gen. Ct. Rec.

1665.]

the order of the gospel, for the enjoyment of the sacraments to themselves and others ;” but if any of them, so qualified, differ from us in church government, and cannot obtain such a privilege in churches, we would consent to their formation into a society of their own, provided they maintain “an able preaching ministry for carrying on of public Sabbath worship, and withdraw not from paying their due proportion of maintenance to such ministers as are orderly settled in the places where they live, until they have one of their own, and that in such places as are capable of maintaining the worship of God in two distinct congregations.” We are encouraged by the King’s letter, and the interpretation of it by “your honours, that where places, by reason of paucity and poverty, are incapable of two, it is not intended that such congregations as are already in being, should be rooted out, but their liberties preserved, there being other places to accommodate men of different persuasions in societies by themselves.” To the fourth, we agree that if any of our laws or expressions in them, be derogatory to the King, they “shall be repealed, altered and taken off the file.” The Court observe that they have no knowledge that the union of the four Colonies was formed to cast off their dependence on England.

June 7. A proposition* having been made by the Royal Commissioners as to the manner of choosing the Governors of the Colony and an address to the King, and “largely agitated by the free-men of the jurisdiction assembled,” the Court decide that these “particulars be referred to future consideration.” As the Legislature feel themselves unable to send an agent over to England for soliciting his Majesty to confirm the bounds of their Patent, as set by his Commissioners, they conclude that these gentlemen “be solicited to improve their best interest” for such an object.

The General Court,† in reference to the question concerning the continuance of the confederation of the United Colonies, “have ordered that a loving, courteous letter be directed to the Government of Massachusetts Colony, therein declaring, that we see not light to persist on therein ; and that yet notwithstanding that if upon further information and consideration of any return from them or otherwise, we shall see cause to send to another meeting in reference unto a more civil and orderly breaking off, that we so do.”

Careful of the moral as well as religious character of the Colony, the Legislature write to the clerk of iron works at Taunton, that he request the proprietors to have better iron manufactured there, because great complaint was made that it was of an inferior quality, “that so the country be no more wronged on that behalf.”

* Gen. Ct. Rec.

† Hazard, vol. ii. p. 502, 3.

NOTE.—June 7, 1665. Philip, who is to put influences in motion, threatening the ruin of New England, had desired the General Court of Plymouth, that he might buy a horse in their Colony. They present one to him, used by the trumpeter of the troop, “as judging it meeter than to give him liberty to buy one.”

August 3. Plymouth* send a letter to Massachusetts. They say in it: "We find not our reason seated in sufficient light to continue Confederation with three Colonies, as we did with four." This subject came before the Commissioners at their next session.

October 3. As the King's Commissioners requested, the Court grant two hundred acres of land to Lieut. Peregrine White, for being "the first of the English born in these parts." On June 3, 1662, he with other persons, who had their births in an early period of the Colony, had a similar donation.

11. It is ordered by the General Court, that persons who stay without the meeting-house in time of divine service, "misdemeaning themselves by jesting, sleeping or the like," shall be admonished by the constable, and, if this be not effectual, shall be put in the stocks, and in case they are not reclaimed by such punishment, their names shall be returned to the Court. As it was a law that no "liquors" should be sold to Indians, the Legislature authorize any person to seize such drink in the possession of these people and retain them, until the matter is duly examined.

November 19. George Shove, a native of Dorchester, is ordained at Taunton, as successor to Mr. Street, who moved to New Haven, August 12, 1664. He married Hopestill Newman, July 12, of the last year.

Samuel, one of the Christian Indians, is admitted an inhabitant of Rehoboth.

1666. February 6. Mr. Samuel Arnold,† minister of Marshfield, complained of William Thomas, on the 2d of December, for charging him, in teaching the catechism, with horrible doctrine, because he said that Christ as God, was equal to the Father, but as Mediator, the Father was greater than He. The Court disapprove of Mr. Thomas's course, and advise him to walk more soberly and receive the truth in the love thereof. They decide that Mr. Arnold "hath asserted an orthodox truth."

March 5. Thomas Starr and Jonathan Barnes‡ are each fined 40/., and Abraham Hedge 20/. for Mr. Anthony Thacher, because of "their abusive carriage towards him at his house."

April 10. The King writes§ to the Colony through Mr. Morrice, a Secretary of State. He expresses his approbation of their carriage towards his Commissioners. In this connection he mentions "the refractoriness" of Massachusetts. He promises his favor to Plymouth.

13. The people of Rehoboth|| vote, that Mr. Myles lecture for them "once a fortnight on the week day, once on the Sabbath day." They admit Mr. Symmes, who had preached for them several years, to be an inhabitant among them.

* Gen. Ct. Rec. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid. § Hutch. Hist. 3 ed. vol. 1, p. 365, 6.
|| Baylies, vol. ii. p. 212, 6.

1666.]

May 23. The same town agree "that a third man alone for the work of the ministry should be forthwith looked for, and such an one as may preach to the satisfaction of the whole, if it be the will of God for the settling of peace amongst us, according as the former and renewed Council sent us from our honored Governor and Assistants." "Richard Bullock declared his protest against this act, as judging it the sole work of the church."

Mr. Myles is admitted an inhabitant of Rehoboth. The difficulty, signified by the above record, was very probably, in part or altogether, owing to the preference of some for Myles, a Baptist, and of others for Symmes, a Pedobaptist.

June 5. As a majority of the military company* at Scituate, contrary to the protest of "many sober and discreet persons" among them, had elected James Cudworth as their commander, who had been disfranchised as a supporter of the Quakers and a writer against the rulers, these nullify such a choice, and appoint Serjeant John Damman to take charge of the soldiers. At the same time, the Court observe to this body: "We do expect that you do peaceably and readily attend the same until we may otherwise provide for you."

7. The selectmen† of towns are required to notice all persons who come to dwell among them without leave from the Governor and two assistants, and advise them to obtain such permission. If those who are so advised refuse compliance, they are to be prosecuted and tried for their offense.

The Court, perceiving great neglect of public worship, order the selectmen to call individuals thus delinquent to an account, and, if not satisfied, to return their names to them.

July. About the middle of this month,‡ the following persons meet at Mashippaug or Marshpee: Thomas Prince, the Governor, Thomas Southworth, Thomas Cushman, Rev. Messrs. John Eliot, Sen., John Eliot, Jr., Samuel Arnold, John Holmes, William Brimsmead. They come together at the desire of Richard Bourne, minister of Sandwich. He wished for them to examine some of the Indians, whom he had taught under the direction of the Missionary Society in England, with reference to their union in church fellowship. The result of their examination was, that a written account of their discourse with the Indian candidates should be laid before the adjacent churches; and, if these did not object, such candidates may become a church. Morton remarks that he "notices these passages in regard that they are the first fruits of the jurisdiction of New Plymouth, that have come on to so good perfection in this kind."

October 31. As William Nicarson, sen., of Mannamoiett,§ had,

* Gen. Ct. Rec.

† Ibid. Plymouth Laws, p. 150.

‡ Morton's Memorial, 1721 ed. p. 224, 5. Mather's Mag. b. iii. p. 199.

§ Gen. Ct. Rec.

in a letter to Richard Nichols, Governor of New York, "scandalously reproached the Court of New Plymouth, and the freemen of this jurisdiction," the Legislature order Nicarson to give bonds for his appearance to answer for such an offense, and also that his sons-in-law, Robert Eldred, Nathaniel Couell, and Trustrum Hedges, who were privy to his conduct in this concern, and consented to it, should become similarly obligated. This matter was up at several sessions of the Legislature, who felt themselves obligated to notice it, though they were desirous to handle it leniently. At last, on October 30, 1667, for the letter mentioned of April 2, 1666, and another of February 23, 1667, to Nichols from Nicarson, they fine the latter £10, and Eldred and Couell each, £5 as his abettors. The Court remark that they might justly amerce them in a greater sum, but for their apparent regret, and Colonel Nichols's intercession for them, they set the amount very low.

November. Near this time, the narrative by the royal Commissioners gives the following facts relative to Plymouth. These Commissioners proposed to the General Court that they would get them a charter, free of charge, if they would allow the King to choose a governor for them every three or five years, from any three candidates whom the Court may send to him. But the proposition being feared as a lure to the relinquishment of Puritan privileges, was not accepted.

While so intent on destroying the liberties of any colony belonging to the confederation of New England, the Commissioners could no more veraciously assert that they intended no injury, than the besiegers of Troy could that their purpose was harmless, when they introduced, as poetically represented, the wooden horse, full of armed men, into that desolated city.

The narrative further relates: "They are so poor that they are not able to maintain scholars to their ministers, but are necessitated to make use of a gifted brother in some places."

December 10. The inhabitants* of Rehoboth vote, "that Mr. Buckley should continue still amongst us till the first of April upon further trial, in reference to the former vote of August 13, 1666, which is in order to the settlement in the ministry, if he be approved of."

About this and the two preceding years, Plymouth Church obtained James Williams, an able gospel preacher,† and had hopes at his first coming, of his continuance with them; but he soon left them and went to England. Afterwards, William Brimsmead preached several months for them, and settled in Marlborough, Massachusetts. During the vacancy of ministers, Elder Robert Cushman, assisted by some of the brethren, carried on the worship.

* Baylies, vol. ii. p. 213.

† Cotton's Plymouth Church. Mass. Hist. Coll. 1 s. vol. iv. p. 122.

1664.]

MAINE.

1664. March 12. As a means of disturbing the political and ecclesiastical relations of a large portion of Maine,* and bringing them more under the influence of Romanism, James, the Duke of York, a strenuous Papist, receives a Charter from his brother, Charles II., which includes the territory from St. Croix to Pemaquid, a tract granted to William Alexander, Earl of Sterling. One main object of the policy which promoted such a change, was probably to diminish the Puritan influence of Massachusetts and Plymouth in Maine.

June 11. The King writes to the people of Maine,† claimed by the heir of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and orders them as follows: "That you forthwith make restitution of the said Province unto him or his Commissioners, and deliver him or them the peaceable possession thereof." Thus the favorers of the national church here, have high authority to revive its forms amongst themselves and neighbors. To see that this change is effected, John Archdale came with the royal Commissioners, as the agent for the Gorges claim.‡

Joseph Emerson,§ who preached at York, 1648, freeman, 1653, perhaps son of Thomas Emerson, living at Ipswich in 1639 to 1660, is settled at Wells. He continued here to about 1667. He became the first pastor of the church at Mendon, where he remained till the place was broken up by Philip's Indians in 1675. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Rev. Edward Bulkley, in 1665, and left three sons. From Mendon he went to Concord, and died January 3, 1680. His widow married Capt. John Brown, of Reading. He labored for souls in troublesome times. But it was a consolation to him, that the Arbiter of all rewards according to faithfulness, and not outward circumstances.

1665. May 3. The General Court|| of Massachusetts, amid a warm controversy with the royal Commissioners, take thought for Maine, which these agents and friends to the claim of Gorges, wish to be taken from their jurisdiction. With a strong array of authoritative power in England, against their retention of such territory, the Legislature still determine to hold it until further and sufficient order to the contrary. They mention the distracted condition of Yorkshire, declare their jurisdiction over it, and call on its inhabitants to comply with their obligation accordingly. They require

* Mass. Hist. Coll. 1 s. vol. vi. p. 186, 7.

† Dudley's MS. Narrative. Williamson, vol. i. p. 412.

‡ Willis's Portland, vol. i. p. 100.

§ Whitney's County of Worcester, p. 56. Worcester Magazine, vol. ii. p. 373.

|| Mass. Gen. Ct. Rec.

Greenleaf's Sketches, p. 20.

the County Court to proceed, under their authority, as usual, and order that if Edward Rishworth, the Recorder, neglect to serve, Peter Ware, of York, take his place. They intend to inform the people there, of the reason why they had not yet given up the territory claimed by Ferdinando Gorges, and they appoint Ezekiel Knight, of Wells, as a magistrate.

June 11. The Council of the Bay, in reply to a letter from John Archdale and others, in behalf of Ferdinando Gorges, for the surrender of Maine, declare that this Province is within the patent of Massachusetts, and forbid the people there to obey the Commissioners of Gorges.

12. A communication* bears the following endorsement. "An insolent letter from y^e Massachusetts to his Majestie's Commissioners upon settlement of the Province of Maine, with a warrant to the constable of Portsmouth to disturb the same."

23. The royal Commissioners† having passed to Maine about the middle of this month, assemble the people of Kittery and assured them that it was perilous for them to continue under Massachusetts, who were rebels and traitors, whose conduct would be soon laid before the King, and whose doom was easily foreseen. They presented a petition to his Majesty for a new Government. This received signers of various characters and conditions.

At York they appoint‡ Justices of the Peace, and constitute them a Court "to order all the affairs of the Province for the peace and defense thereof, according to the laws of England, till the appointment of another government by the Crown." Their order for this says, "In his Majesty's name we require all the inhabitants of said Province, to yield obedience to the said Justices, and forbid as well the Commissioners of Mr. Gorges, as the Corporation of Massachusetts Bay, to molest any of the inhabitants of this Province, till his Majesty's pleasure be known."

July 2. Carr orders Capt. John Davis and his Company to appear armed, "Tuesday morning next," to prevent the session of a Court, to which two Assistants were coming from Boston. When these persons reached Piscataqua,§ and were informed of such intended resistance, they proceeded no further, but returned home.

At a July term of the Court|| instituted by the King's Commissioners, It is required that every town provide a pair of stocks, and a cage and ducking stool, by the next Court. Of course, these instruments of punishment were for moral delinquents. At the November Court, Kittery, York, Isle of Shoals, Wells, Cape Porpus, Saco, Black Point, Falmouth, Westcustogo and Kennebeck, were fined each 40/. for not providing such instruments. John Jocelyn is presented for neglect of public worship on the Sabbath.

* MS. at London State Paper Office.

† MS. York Rec.

‡ Mass. Gen. Ct. Rec. Williamson, vol. i. p. 416, 7.

§ Williamson, vol. ii. p. 217.

|| Willis's Portland, vol. i. p. 117, 8.

1666.]

August 1. George Cleaves and twenty-one more signed a petition* to the King. They were of Lygonia, and opposed to the Government instituted by the royal Commissioners and Archdale, the agent of Gorges.

In assigning reasons why they preferred to be under Massachusetts, they use the subsequent language: "Against whom we have nothing to say, but have by good experience found that expression of your Majesty verified concerning them, that whereas they have exceeded others in piety and sobriety, so God hath blessed them above others, so we having had piety so countenanced, and justice so well executed, that we have found God's blessing in our lawful callings and endeavors more in one year, than in several before or since our late troubles."

The people of Maine, thus required by three different and conflicting parties to comply with their authority, must have been in a very unsettled and perplexed situation.

After spending more than two months† in Maine, chiefly at York, Scarborough and Falmouth, to bring the Province under their influence, the King's Commissioners depart for Sagadahock, which had been granted to the Duke of York. Though Nichols, of New York, was the Duke's Deputy, yet they order affairs as they please, probably with his consent.

September 5. They open a Court. They have the territory made a County by the name of Cornwall. They summon the inhabitants to appear and submit to his Majesty. Part of them did, and took the oath of allegiance.

October 10. On their way‡ to hold a session of the Yorkshire Court, Messrs. Danforth, Lusher and Leverett, are stopped at Piscataqua, by a severe letter from Carr, who peremptorily commanded them to desist and go back. They concluded that it would not be best to contend, and they therefore returned. The Commissioners soon after went to the Bay, and were called to an account there by the authorities, but they refused to comply.

1666. April 10. The King, in his letter§ to Massachusetts, says "his further command is that there may be no alterations with reference to the government of the province of Maine, till his Majesty hath heard what is alledged on all sides, but that the same continue as his Majesty's Commissioners have left the same, until his Majesty shall further determine."

July 26. A Court at Casco|| make the following orders, to be executed within this town. The selectmen and constable are required to have an oversight of children and servants, and, if disobedient to their parents, master or overseers, to correct them as they shall deem best. George Munjoy is authorized to marry

* Hutchinson's Coll. p. 396, 8.

† Sullivan. Williamson, vol. i. p. 420.

‡ Williamson, vol. i. p. 426.

§ Hutchinson, 3 ed. vol. i. p. 466, 7.

|| Willis's Portland, part i. p. 118, 9.

persons ; to see that all weights and measures agree with the Winchester standard ; and if found false, to have them destroyed.

The Court enact that the laws against swearers, drinkers, and Sabbath-breakers of the Province, including such as fail to attend public worship, shall be enforced, and also the prohibition of selling liquors to the Indians, shall be carried into effect. They decide that the last Thursday of July " shall be set apart by all the inhabitants residing within the Province, to humble and afflict their souls before the Lord."

November. About this time a copy of the narrative* by the King's Commissioners gives several particulars. It relates that Mr. Jordan, as previously stated, had been imprisoned and severely used by the authorities of the Bay for baptizing children in the Episcopal form. The Commissioners took the people from Massachusetts and placed them under the protection of the Crown. " The inhabitants afterwards petitioned his Majesty that they might always continue under his immediate government, and that Sir Robert Carr might continue their governor, which petition was lost at sea."

The part acted by the Commissioners demonstrated that the most which they wanted was power to have entirely nullified the authority of Massachusetts.

Seth Fletcher is employed by Biddeford† for their minister. He is supposed to have continued to preach for them until 1675, when they were forced to flee by incursions of Indians. One who subscribed himself S. Fletcher, wrote to Increase Mather, March 25, 1681, from Elizabethtown, N. J. The subject of this notice preached at Wells, 1656, and was invited by his friends to continue there, 1661, and is supposed to have been son to William Fletcher, of Saco or Biddeford. He married Mary, daughter of Major Bryan Pendleton, and left an only son Pendleton. Where or when he finished his career of vicissitudes, it is all well with him if he continued steadfast in the faith and service of Christ.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

1664. The comparatively few persons of New Hampshire, who wished to be free from the Jurisdiction of Massachusetts, have increasing confidence after the arrival of the King's Commissioners, that they shall be gratified. They want a change not so much from principle as from a desire for novelty.

July 23. Two of these Commissioners,‡ Cartwright and Nichols,

* Hutchinson's Coll. p. 412-25. † See this vol. p. 173, 249, 50. Mather papers. Biddeford Rec. Greenleaf's Sketches, p. 53. ‡ Hutch. 3 ed. vol. i. p. 211.

1665.]

being arrived at Boston, the other two, Carr and Maverick, arrived about the same date at Piscataqua. While here, the speech and action of the last individual, were such as to produce a general fear that he and his associates had come to do their own will, more than to conform with the laws of the land.

1665. June. After their rupture with the authorities of Massachusetts, the royal Commissioners went Eastward. On their way thither they stopped at the sea-ports, and consulted with the inhabitants who sympathized with them. In this Colony,* they took the testimony of John Wheelwright and Henry Jocelyn about its former boundaries.

Maverick, writing from Portsmouth to Col. Nichols, uses the following language:† “We summoned the inhabitants of Dover, Exeter and other towns, to attend us at this place to hear his Majesty’s letter read, and although they were commanded by the Massachusetts not to give any obedience to our summons, and also forbid by such officers as they sent hither, not to appear, at their peril, yet the people came in generally from all parts and showed us great respect.”

Eliakim Wardwell, of Hampton,‡ for adherence to his practice, as a Quaker, is whipped fifteen stripes. His neighbors, John Hussey and wife Rebecca, a young couple, were fined for refusal to attend public worship.

October 10. Carr, one of the royal Commissioners,§ writes from Kittery to John Leverett, and desires that he, as one of the Magistrates appointed to hold Courts here, would cease to oppose the persons of Portsmouth, Dover and Exeter, who had signed petitions to the King, desiring a release from Massachusetts.

The same Commissioner, having had the inhabitants of Portsmouth assembled, declares, in the name of himself and associates, that their subjection to the Bay ceases, whose jurisdiction, as they declare, extends no further than the bound-house.

These messengers from the throne then appoint justices of peace and other officers, with power to rule according to their own and other laws, which harmonize with those of England, until they hear from the King.

John Leverett and others,|| who attended to the judicial affairs of New Hampshire, by the authority of Massachusetts, report the following facts. They were ordered to repair to this quarter on the 5th of October. They were informed that a petition had been shown to the royal Commissioners, from individuals of Portsmouth, Dover, Hampton and Exeter, complaining against the rulers of the Bay. They collected the people of Dover on the 10th, to ascertain

* Farmer’s Ed. of Belknap’s N. H. p. 60.

† Brown’s MS. Papers.

‡ Besse, vol. ii. p. 236.

§ Hutchinson’s Coll. p. 399.

|| Mass. Gen. Ct. Rec. Farmer’s Ed. of Belknap, p. 60, 1.

their feelings on this subject, who immediately protested against the petition, and named Abraham Corbet as its principal circulator. When Leverett and others, at Portsmouth, sent a warrant for the apprehension of Corbet, Carr ordered them to have it countermanded. On the 9th, Dover and Portsmouth freemen addressed memorials to the Legislature of Massachusetts, and disclaimed having part or lot in the Corbet document. On the 10th, Samuel Dudley, minister at Exeter, deposed that he had no knowledge of any, who belonged to this town, who had signed such a paper.

11. The Bay Authorities issue warrants for the marshals of Dover and Portsmouth to arrest Corbet, charged with tumultuous and seditious practices, and bring him to Boston for trial.

Carr, at Kittery, writes Leverett and others, at Portsmouth, from Boston, and desires them not to molest those of the second town, here named, and also of Dover and Exeter, who had petitioned the King for release from the Bay Jurisdiction.

1666. May 23. The rulers of the Bay sentence Abraham Corbet, for sedition and keeping a public house of ill repute, to pay £25, including costs, to be disfranchised at their pleasure, and give bond in £100 for his peaceable behavior. They appoint a Committee to fortify Portsmouth.

November. A copy of the narrative by the King's Commissioners,* gives the following: "Difference of opinion made a division among them, and a few, who were for Congregational Churches, did petition for their assistance." This representation, though it may have been thought true by its authors, did not accord with the real disposition of the people described.

RHODE ISLAND.

1664. March 1. "Whereas the Court† have taken notice of the great blessing of God on the good endeavors of Capt. John Cranston, of Newport, both in physic and chirurgery, to the great comfort of such as have had occasion to improve his skill and practice," they style him Doctor in these two branches, and commission him to practice therein throughout the Colony.

As John Smith, of Warwick, had died by March 1, 1664, Randal Houldon, of the same town, is appointed to succeed him as an assistant.

The General Court meet under their new Charter. As Chalmers, in his Political Annals,‡ informs us, they passed the follow-

* Hutch. Coll. p. 422.

† R. I. Col. Rec.

‡ A work of the first credibility as to its facts, so far as based on the MS. documents of the Plantation Office, in London, whence he derived the knowledge of the above legislative transactions.

1664.]

ing: "That no freeman shall be imprisoned or deprived of his freehold, or condemned, but by the judgment of his peers, or the law of the Colony; that no tax shall be imposed or required of the Colonists, but by the act of the General Assembly; that all men of competent estates, and of civil conversations, *Roman Catholics only excepted*, shall be admitted freemen, or may choose or be chosen colonial officers." Though some writers have zealously endeavored to show that the clause excepting Catholics, could not have been contained in the acts passed by the Court at this session, yet their arguments are far from being conclusive. There is reason to believe that Chalmers is correct. The argument, that such an exception cannot be found on the Colony records shows conclusively that it never could have been there, is not tenable when we look at the following facts, relative to these records. 1649, March. A special General Assembly was holden at Warwick; "there is no record however of their proceeding." 1654, August. Ordered, that Mr. Holliman and Mr. Green, Jr., "are to view the general laws of the Colony, and present to the next Court of Commissioners what they may either find defective, or any way jarring, either marking the margin or writing out such, and are to be satisfied for their pains." 1656, March 17. As there were transactions in Mr. Coddington against him, which "stood in our book of record,"—"this Court not thinking it fit to meddle with it, ordered that it should be cut out of our book, which was (done), and then delivered to Mr. Coddington." 1664. The General Assembly order, that several of their former laws, "inconsistent with and contradictory to the form of the present government, be declared null and void." 1666, October 31. They "order, that Mr. John Clark is deputed and authorized to compose all the laws of the Colony into a good method and form, *leaving out* what may be superfluous, and *adding* what may appear unto him necessary, as well for the regulation of Courts as otherwise." Chalmers and other English authorities charged the Assembly of Rhode Island with irregularly laying aside such of their laws as they did not like. The former made this as one of the reasons why their Charter should be taken from them in 1686. The proof, adduced against the exception, because Roger Williams was opposed to it, is not true. In his letter of 1664, to Endicott, about the trial of Clark at Boston, in 1651, he says: "I am far from glancing the least countenance on the consciences of Papists."

The position that such a restriction on Catholics would have been opposed to the laws of England, is a mistake. These laws, when the Charter of Rhode Island was granted, excluded Popish recusants from civil and religious privileges.

The printed digest of this Colony's laws in 1719, 1731, 1744 and 1767, successively contained the exception, which was formally

repealed at the session of February, 1783. That such an article could never have passed the Legislature of Rhode Island and still have been so particularly re-acknowledged and repeated by them, as a part of their Commonwealth jurisprudence, from the year of its enactment to the peace of their national Independence, would be one of the strangest contradictions in human legislation, and so very strange, that there is no principle of sound reason in denying that the Popish exception was duly enacted and entitled to its periodical acknowledgments by the authorities and people of the State, until constitutionally laid aside.

May 4. Block Island is incorporated,* and its inhabitants allowed the charter privilege of not being called in question for any difference in religious opinion, so long as they do not disturb the civil peace. James Sands and Joseph Kent, of this place, being freemen, petition that others of their townsmen may be alike constituted. They were asked if such persons "were men of peaceable and good behavior, and likely to prove worthy and helpful members in the Colony," and they replied in the affirmative. "Whereupon they were admitted."

June 7. Mr. Clark returned,† after having served the people of the Island for twelve years in England. Honesty, faithfulness and ability characterized all the trusts which he engaged to sustain.

September 7. Benedict Arnold and William Brenton‡ invite the King's Commissioners to this Colony. They remark that his Majesty had named it Rhode Island.

9. The Commissioners of the Union,§ in compliance with the royal letter of June 20, 1663, sent to the different Colonies, again desire Rhode Island to restrain their men, who molest the inhabitants of Narraganset territory, claimed by the latter Colony as well as the former. They say such conduct "is very dishonorable to God, and may give advantage to the heathen and prove dangerous to the peace of the King's subjects here."

October 26. Each town is ordered|| to have a sufficient pair of stocks, or a cage, for the punishment of offenders.

December 12. Warwick, while writing about Mr. Clark, having recompense for obtaining the new Charter, say that he publicly exercised his ministry in London, which, they doubted not, "brought him good means for his maintenance."

1665. February 3. A letter is directed from the Government to Col. Nichols.¶ They speak gratefully of the King's favor towards their people, and of his enabling them to stand against influences, in their "civil and religious concerns," which have troubled them as proceeding from "neighbour colonies, and particularly from Massachusetts."

* Rec. of R. I. † Backus' Hist. vol. i. p. 394.

‡ Brown's MS. Papers.

§ Hazard, vol. ii. p. 499.

|| Records of R. I.

¶ Ibid.

1665.]

March 4. Samuel Gorton, John Wickes, Randall Holden, and John Greene, lay a petition before the King's Commissioners,* in behalf of themselves and others of Warwick. The document contains a relation of grievances, which its authors believed they had received from Massachusetts. It repeats the story which had been often told to ears easily inclined to hear the Bay authorities, charged with persecution and refusal of appeal to the Crown. It finds the Commissioners by no means averse to its appearance, and requests them to deal out justice and equity. The General Court of Massachusetts, at their session the next May, assign reasons to these gentlemen for their treatment of the Gortonists.

11. Mrs. Tacy Hubbard, of Newport,† begins to profess the principles of the Seventh-day Baptists, in conformity with the views of Mr. Stephen Mumford, who came hither from London, at the beginning of this year. Her example was followed by Samuel Hubbard, her husband, Roger Bastar, Nicholas Wild and wife, the next month; by William Hiscox and Rachel Langworthy, the succeeding year; by John Solmon and wife, in 1668. Wild and his wife held their new persuasion but a little while, and so it was with Solmon and his wife. The remaining five continued to cherish it, though still members of Mr. Clark's church, but not communicants, because greatly dissatisfied with the change of the four seceders from their opinion. Some of them sent a letter of Oct. 6, 1665, to Seventh-day Baptists of England, and more forwarded another of July 3, 1669, to Bell-Lane church of London. They carried on other similar correspondence.

13. Several propositions are drawn up by the King's Commissioners, intended for other colonies as well as that of Rhode Island. One of them, as to taking oaths, was of difficult practice with many of the people, because it had been common among them from the beginning, to make engagements only as to official faithfulness. They now agree that this shall be required of all Colonial officers, on "the penalty of perjury."

20. While these Commissioners are in Rhode Island, Thomas Mumford, Samuel Wilbare, John Porter, William Brenton, Benedict Arnold, and Samuel Wilson, are professed Episcopalians.

April 8. The Royal Commissioners at Warwick grant protection to John Porter, Jr., who had fled to them after breaking from imprisonment in Boston, where he was confined on the charge of grossly maltreating his parents. By such developments of the manner in which they intended to carry out their instructions, the Commissioners evidently showed that they felt themselves authorized to summon and try any of the Colonial Courts before them. Thus they soon came in serious collision with Massachusetts, who refused to allow such supremacy over them.

* Mass. Gen. Ct. Rec. Danforth's MS. Narrative.

† MS. of First Baptist Church of Newport.

May 3. The Governor and Company date an address* to his Majesty. They ask his protection, the continuance of their Charter, and that the Narragansett country may be added to their jurisdiction. They speak of being oppressed by the adjacent Colonies, and the need of having their boundaries more definitely established. They close by saying that if they can so have his favor, they shall be able to serve him by "protecting and directing the Indians here living, instructing their children in learning and civil education, as also in putting this Colony in a posture of defense, promoting of trade, husbandry and fishing, and governing ourselves in peace and justice."

They also date an address to the Earl of Clarendon, Lord High Chancellor. Before mentioning their specific desires, they request him to accept a farm of their territory, about one thousand acres, as a token of their gratitude for his past kindness in their behalf. They then state, that they send him reasons for the addition of the Narragansett territory to their soil, and having the line fixed between them and Plymouth Colony. They further express their wishes for help to erect fortifications, and for aid from an estate in England, given to the Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians here, to found a school for the education of such natives in their jurisdiction.

These documents were forwarded by Col. Cartwright, one of the Royal Commissioners, but were taken with him and all other papers in his hands by the Dutch, and were entirely lost. In September of the next year a Committee were chosen to renew and forward them to England.

Horod Long represents, that on the death of her father, she was sent to London by her mother; here she was privately married to John Hicks, under St. Paul's church; soon after came to New England, when between thirteen and fourteen years old, lived two and a half years at Weymouth, then came to Rhode Island and lived about twenty years at Newport, "till I came to Pettecomscott." Soon after this, her husband left her. The authorities ordered the property of her mother to remain with her, but he carried off the most of it to the Dutch. Her mother and brother are dead, and she has no friends, and is poor. She and George Gardner went before Robert Stanton and his wife, and stated to them, that they took each other as man and wife, but were never married in the usual manner. The Assembly fine Gardner and her £20 each. To prevent such loose matches, they confirm the law of 1647, and other similar acts.

On complaint of Margaret Porter, that her husband, John Porter, had left her destitute and dependent on her children, and that he had property enough to maintain himself and her comfortably, the

* Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. 2 s. vol. vii. p. 98, 101-4.

1665.]

Assembly forbid any persons to purchase estate from him until he has made fit provision for her support. He was released on the 27th of June, by the Assembly, because he had obeyed their order.

13. The Commissioners' propositions are laid by the Governor before the General Assembly, who act in relation to them, as follows: They express their thankfulness to the King for such communications of his pleasure. They state that, as their Charter allows persons of "tender consciences" to "engage, under penalty of false swearing," instead of taking an oath, such individuals shall be allowed the same privilege in promising allegiance to the King. They order, that if any refuse to make an engagement of this kind, they shall not "vote for publick officers or deputies, or enjoy any privileges of freemen." They say, as to the third particular, that it had been and was a principle with them "to preserve the same liberty to all persons within this Colony, forever, as to the worship of God therein." They state, as to the fourth, that whatever laws had been passed, offensive to the King, were made void. They then passed an act for putting the Colony in a state of defense.

15. In presence of the Assembly, an answer of the Royal Commissioners, dated March 13, to the paper of William Coddington, dated at Newport on the 9th of the same month, with the five proposals of the said Commissioners, are communicated to Coddington, Nicholas Easton, and "those concerned, called Quakers," for "their consideration to mind and obey accordingly."

26. A letter from George Cartwright in Boston,* to Gorton, shows his strong prejudice against the Massachusetts rulers. "These gentlemen of Boston would make us believe that they verily think, that the King hath given them so much power in their Charter to do unjustly, that he reserved none for himself to call them to an account for doing so. In short, they refuse to let us hear complaints against them; so that, at present, we can do nothing in your behalf. But I hope shortly to go for England, where, (if God bless me thither,) I shall truly represent your sufferings and your loyalty."

This year, as Brinley informs us, the Government enact† that, as the Quakers will not bear arms, they shall be outlawed and their estates seized; but the people at large would not allow this to be done.

Misquamicut is bought of Indians, and a part of the Baptist church in Newport settle there.‡ It was afterwards called Westerly. Callender relates that among these emigrants was John Crandal, a preacher, and that they subsequently became Seventh-day Baptists.

December. In a transcript of their narrative,§ the King's Com-

* Chalmers' Pol. Annals, p. 198, 7.

† Callender's Discourse, p. 93, 119.

‡ Mass. Hist. Coll. 1 s. vol. v. p. 219.

§ Hutch. Coll. p. 413-6.

missioners make the subsequent remarks of this Colony. "They allow liberty of conscience and worship to all who live civilly." They now admit "all religions, even Quakers and Generalists." There is a dislike between them and the other Colonies. "In this Colony is the greatest number of Indians who have not been under missionary instruction. They have not any places set apart for the worship of God; there being so many subdivided sects, they cannot agree to meet together in one place, but according to their several judgments, they sometimes associate in one house, sometimes in another."

One of the Narraganset princes, named Pessicus, desired them to petition King Charles that "no strong liquors might be brought into that country, for he had thirty-two men who died by drinking of it."

28. Cheesechamut, the eldest son of Pumham, agrees* for his father and himself to quit forever Warwick Neck and "the King's Province," immediately on the receipt of £10 more in wampum, from Warwick, in addition to £30 already received from them in like currency. This contract was made at Smith's Trading house. But Pumham still considers himself and subjects hardly dealt with, and therefore delays to sanction his son's contract.

On the 9th of January, 1666, John Eliot* addresses Carr in behalf of Pumham. "It is his Majesty's pleasure to command us to deal well with the poor Indians, and hath sent yourselves, his honorable Commissioners, to promote the same, which I hope your own generous mind and disposition will incline you exemplarily to perform. Pumham and his people have suffered much hard and ill dealings by some English; and there hath been both force and fraud used towards them, to drive them or deceive them out of their lands. They are in no wise willing to part with that little which they still hold." On the 24th of February, Carr commands Pumham and his people to move within a week, at his "utmost peril." On the 28th, Carr replies to Eliot. He states that he and the rest of the Commissioners understand what is due to the Indians. "I require you to make such improvement of this advertisement that his Majesty and his Commissioners may be no more rendered obnoxious to the reproach and contempt of infidels and others by your and others interposing wherein you and they are

* December, 1665. The Sachems of Narraganset or King's Province "did thankfully receive two coats presented to them in his Majesty's name. In acknowledgment of their subjection, they are to pay yearly, upon the 29th of May, two wolf-skins to his Majesty, and did now send two caps of peage, and two clubs inlaid with peage for a present to the King, and a feather mantle and a porcupine bag for a present to the Queen, which were all taken by the Dutch."—*Brown's MSS.*

The Commissioners say that "this Colony has two scattered towns upon Rhode Island, two upon the main land, and four small villages."—*Ibid.*

† Record of R. I.

1666.]

not concerned, as though we were not able to order the King's affairs in these parts, without your advice and direction." On April 9, Carr notifies Lord Arlington of the transactions about Pumham, and that this chief and his subjects had removed from his territory.

1666. March 1. Roger Williams writes a long letter* to Carr, and warns him that a large number of Indians had formed a confederacy to assist Pumham, and that his person was not safe among them. He states that Massachusetts had consented that if Pumham, their ally, and Williams, could agree upon terms for relinquishing the chief's territory, they would ratify them. He remarks: "Although I know another claim laid to this land, yet Pumham, being the ancient possessor of this Lordship, I humbly query whether it be just to dispossess him, not only without consent, which fear may extort, but without some satisfying consideration." He then says, "Your honour will never effect by force, a safe and lasting conclusion, until you first have reduced the Massachusetts to the obedience of his Majesty, and then these appendants (towed at their stern) will easily (and not before) wind about also." "The business as circumstanced will not be effected without bloodshed. There be old grudges betwixt our men of Warwick and them."

27. The General Assembly, † in view of the "long agitation about the engagement, enacted May last, that is thought too hard on the conscience by many, order and declare, that such as are free in their consciences so to do," may take the engagement prescribed the May preceding, or if they prefer, the oath of allegiance, as required in England. "But if any profess there are some words in either, which in conscience they cannot consent to say or use," and will promise, in open Court or before two magistrates, according to a former law, allegiance and submission to the King, and to obey the laws made by virtue of his authority, they shall be allowed the privileges of freemen.

April 10. The King highly approves of the manner in which Rhode Island had treated his Commissioners. Renewing his opportunity to rebuke the State, who, from their requisite position as the constant defenders of Charter liberties, he observes: ‡ "Your carriage seems to be set off with the more lustre by the contrary deportment of the Colony of the Massachusetts, as if by their refractoriness, they had designed to recommend and heighten the merits of your compliance with our directions for the peaceable and good government of our good subjects in those parts." However his Majesty may have thought that he was rendering just applause to Rhode Island, and these may have judged that it was right for them to welcome such favor, still, had not Massachusetts refused the Commissioners the power which they claimed, the civil

* Brown's MSS.

† R. I. State Papers.

‡ Brown's MSS.

and religious privileges of all New England would sooner have fallen into the hands of a general governor than they did, always a favorite purpose with the royal Court.

May 2. The General Assembly order, that if William Blackstone* is further molested by some of Plymouth Colony as to his land, and it fail to be under the jurisdiction of Rhode Island, they will grant him legal justice. This subject was brought up October 29, 1668.

August 4. Mrs. Ruth Burdick, of Baptists at Westerly, writes† to her father, Samuel Hubbard, an eminent member of the same denomination at Newport: "My longing desire is to hear from you, how your hearts are borne up above these troubles, which are come upon us and are coming as we fear, for we have the rumors of war, and that almost every day. Even now we have heard from your island by some Indians, who declared unto us that the French have done some mischief upon the coast, and we have heard that twelve hundred Frenchmen have joined with the Mohawks to clear the land both of English and of Indians. But I trust in the Lord, that he will not suffer such a thing to be. Dear father and mother, the Lord hath been pleased to give us here many sweet and comfortable days of refreshing, which is great cause of thankfulness, and my desire is that we may highly prize it, and you with us give the Lord praise for his benefit."

September 4. The Assembly order,‡ that the Colony become responsible for £140 and interest, to Capt. Richard Dean, of England, which Rev. John Clark hired towards his expenses, while there obtaining the last Charter, and for which his house and land at Newport had been mortgaged, and was liable to be seized and forfeited.

As one indication that Quaker principles increase, the General Court state that there is so much neglect of military affairs, it "is like to be an occasion of ruin of the military exercise throughout the whole Colony, if not timely prevented." They accordingly appoint men in each town to use the needed and pertinent authority.

Governor William Brenton and Deputy Gov. Nicholas Eaton, John Card and John Clark, are appointed by the Assembly to draw up an address for the King. This was done by John Clark. It prayed that his Majesty would grant to them his Province or the Narragansett Country, as essential to their convenience and prosperity. It says, that if he would grant their request, they should be encouraged to proceed in propagating plantations of that which lieth waste, and "by God's help and your Majesty's gracious favour, shall be able to serve your Majesty in protecting and directing the Indians here living, and instructing their children in learning and civil education."

* Rec. of R. I. † Potter's Narragansetts, p. 117, 8.

‡ Rec. of R. I.

1664.]

Another address is prepared, probably by Mr. Clark, for the Earl of Clarendon.* It repeats the offer of a farm containing one thousand acres for him, as an expression of gratitude to him. It observes: "Now it so falls that a present seeming cloud passing over our Colony doth eclipse the splendor of our Charter, and render us in sort uncapable of disposing aught, in the far greater part of his Royal Majesty's grant—and of our absolute clear purchase from the Indians. But believing there is no intent, but that all will be restored to its full and clear extent unto us, in which we humbly implore your Lordship's favour, to be our helper and protector." It petitions him renewedly to advance the application of an estate, bequeathed in England to evangelize the Indians of New England, so that it may be used for such a purpose among these natives, who live within the bounds of Rhode Island and Providence Plantation.

November 14. William Harris writes to Richard Dean, of England, who had lent money to Rev. John Clark, while there in service for the Colony. He speaks very severely of Roger Williams's conduct towards him, and seems to think himself right in the charge.

This year, Thomas Burnyeate, a Quaker from England, visits Providence† and holds a meeting there.

CONNECTICUT.

1664. January 7. The General Court of New Haven assemble.‡ They consider the request of Connecticut for them to suspend prosecution of persons who refused to pay taxes, under the plea of having submitted to the authority of the Colony who propose such suspension. But the Court, believing that Connecticut had extended their jurisdiction over their limits more in the power of a new charter than any real claim of equity, decline to treat with them. They draw up a long and intelligent remonstrance against this interference.

March 10. As the royal instruction§ for the admission of freemen had been thought by some to lessen the requirements of Connecticut for such a purpose, and thereby "trouble is like to ensue," their Legislature "order that only such as have been or shall be orderly admitted," shall exercise the privileges of freemen in the choice of deputies, magistrates, deputy governors and governors. The Court approve of the course adopted by Windsor, "in seeking

* Records of R. I. etc.

‡ Trumbull, vol. i. p. 275.

† Staples' Providence, p. 421.

§ Gen. Ct. Records.

out for a supply in the ministry, Mr. Warham growing ancient, and do order all persons in the said plantation to allow their proportion towards the competent maintenance of such a supply in the ministry."

They issue an order for the apprehension of John Scott, who had claimed authority over the places on Long Island which were under their government. They charge him with sedition and gross profanation of the Sabbath.

April 2. The Governor and Council at Hartford,* "upon the motion of the townsmen of Wickford," appoint men to be commissioners of Court for them and their neighbors, and empower them to elect other officers for their own government. They also desire them, that they "would be careful seasonably to provide an able, orthodox minister, to dispense the Word of God to them, and if God please to incline Mr. Brewster to come amongst them, it is desired he might have all due encouragement." They order that "the officers of the place respectively take due care to suppress sin and profaneness, and encourage piety according to their best skill."

23. A communication† from the King is addressed to Connecticut. It introduces his Commissioners to them. It says: "We need not tell you how careful we are of your liberties and privileges, whether ecclesiastical or civil, which we will not suffer to be violated." It states that the business of these agents, was to settle difficulties among the Colonies, "and especially that the natives, who are willing to live peaceably with our English subjects, may receive justice and civil treatment from them, as may make them more in love with their religion and manners."

28. By a letter‡ from the Governor of Plymouth, the authorities of New Haven wished for the Commissioners of the Union to interpose and assist them to recover the jurisdiction of the east end of Long Island, which had been seized by John Scott. This person was imprisoned by order of New Haven, but the controversy between him and them was soon closed by the Island's being included in the grant to the Duke of York.

Clarendon, in a letter§ to Governor Winthrop, recommends that the royal Commissioners be assisted in examining the various questions which may come before them from the several Colonies.

May 6. The Duke and Duchess of Hamilton petition|| the King for the restoration of territory granted to his father, Marquis Hamilton, eleventh year of Charles I., beginning at the mouth of Connecticut river, and called the County of New Cambridge. This document is referred to the royal Commissioners for New England.

12. The Legislature of Connecticut claim¶ Long Island as

* Gen. Ct. Rec. † Trumbull, vol. i. p. 556, 7. ‡ Hutch. Papers, p. 384, 5.
§ Hinman's Antiquities, p. 51, 2. || Trumbull, vol. i. p. 557. ¶ Gen. Ct. Rec.

1664.]

included in their Charter. They appoint a committee to proceed thither and "settle matters that the people may be civilly, peaceably and religiously governed, so as they may win the heathen to the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ, by their sober and religious conversation."

18. Joseph Eliot, of Guilford, dates a letter to his brother, Benjamin Eliot, of Roxbury, as an answer to the question, "How to live in this world so as to live in heaven." Among his remarks is this: "I have lived to see a need of everything God gives me, and to need nothing that he denies me. As to the state of the times, it is very gloomy and tempestuous."

The writer of this was son of the Apostle to the Indians. He was born December 20, 1638, and graduated at Harvard, 1658. He was called from Northampton* to succeed Mr. Mather, whose health had failed, December 23, 1662, at Guilford. The Society here agreed to grant him a settlement of £80, and pay him a salary of £60, and build him a house.

The Legislature† of Massachusetts earnestly advise New Haven, as the Commissioners of the Union had, to settle their difficulties with Connecticut, and be united with them under one government. This advice was probably given as a means of strengthening the Colonial Confederation, so that it could better stand the expected influences and movements of the royal Commissioners, and retard the King's appointment of a general governor for New England, as they had long feared, especially at particular periods.

25. The General Court of New Haven assemble.‡ They elect the officers of their government, but they have no record made of the usual transactions on such occasions. An omission of this kind may have been to have their acts secret, if they passed any, as a means of not uselessly increasing their troubles from the determined encroachments of Connecticut on their soil and population, or to keep them unpublished till they ascertain whether, as advised by Massachusetts, it would be better for them to unite with Connecticut.

September 13. At a meeting of the Commissioners§ of the Union, those of Connecticut object to the allowance of those from New Haven, as a distinct Colony, but those of Massachusetts and Plymouth see no sufficient ground for such an objection. The Commissioners of Connecticut are empowered to agree with John Maynor "about teaching the Indians in those parts to read, and especially the Pequots."

25. John Winthrop writes to Mr. Boyle.|| He states that he had seen Dr. Sackville at "Gravesant," on the west end of Long

* Dwight's Travels, vol. i. p. 345.

† Mass. Gen. Ct. Rec.

‡ Trumbull, vol. i. 277.

§ Hazard, vol. ii. p. 500.

|| Birch's Life of Boyle, p. 145-7.

Island, recommended to him, for a short time, when he went to witness the surrender of Manhatoes and the fort to his Majesty. On his return, he intended to meet with the Commissioners at Hartford, but was taken sick with a fever at New Haven, and could not proceed. He was informed that Mr. Boyle had asked them to inform him "how a great stock might be employed for the furthering that good work among the Indians." He requests "that your honor would please to cause that paper which I left with the corporation in England to be reviewed. I suppose it doth give an hint of a foundation of an useful employ of a large stock, even to those good ends, the corporation principally aim at."

October 13. At their session* under this date, the Legislature of Connecticut, to propitiate the royal Commissioners, grant them five hundred bushels of corn.

They designate a committee to go and require the inhabitants of New Haven, Milford, Branford, Guilford, and Stamford to come under their jurisdiction, and admit all, in these towns, legally qualified as freemen, who desire the privilege. Such a step was more congenial with the feelings of leading men in Connecticut than with those of such in New Haven, because the former had admitted persons to be freemen without being church members, even before the royal letter, which commanded it, while the latter Colony, like Massachusetts, practiced in the opposite direction. The Court also invest the Governor, Deputy, and Council of New Haven with magistratical power to govern such towns, if they will accept the trust; and if any of them decline, others are to be appointed in their stead. This was a direct advance upon New Haven Colony in its distinct independence of Connecticut, and an increase of the former's dissatisfaction with the disposition and action of the latter in so very important a concern.

The Court informed,† that some of the Colonists "are agrieved that they are not interteined in Church fellowship, haueing duely considered the same, desireing that the rules of Christ may be attended, doe commend it to the ministers and churches in this Colony to consider whether it be not their duty to enterteine all such persons, whoe are of an honest and godly conuersation, haueing a competency of knowledg in the principles of religion, and shall desire to joyne with them in Church fellowship, by an explicitt couenant, and that they haue their children baptized, and that all the children of the church be accepted and accounted reall members of the church, and that the church exercise a due Christian care and watch ouer them; and that when they are growne up, being examined by the officer in presence of the church, it appeares, in the judgment of charity, they are duely qualified to peticipate in that

* Gen. Ct. Rec.

† Trumbull, vol. i. p. 327.

1664.]

great ordinance of the Lord's Supper, by their being able to examine themselves and discern the Lord's body, such persons be admitted to full communion.

"The Court desires y^e the severall officers of y^e respectiue churches, would be pleased to consider whether it be not the duty of the Court to order the churches to practice according to the premises, if they doe not practice without such an order. If any dissent from the contents of this writing, they are desired to help the Court with such light, as is with them, the next session of this Assembly. The Court orders the Secretary to send a copy of this writing to the severall ministers and churches in this Colony."

Thus the Connecticut authorities show their full consent to the decision of the Synod, as to the half-way Covenant, while those of New Haven and their churches are opposed to it, as a dangerous innovation.

The ministers and churches* who did not fall in with the Connecticut Legislature in this respect, were not only called to contend against the decision of the Synod, but, also, to counteract the individuals of their congregations, who favored the half-way covenant. Thus the introduction of this new form among the churches was both difficult and slow in progress. Some of them never suffered it among their ordinances. They feared it would subvert, so far as allowed, the very design for which the Puritan churches were founded in New England. Though the churches of Connecticut so differed as to the judgment of the Synod, still they agreed for a considerable period, in the carefulness of their discipline. They were strict in the conditions of admitting members to full communion. They permitted none to have their children baptized, unless they professed repentance and faith in Christ, and exhibited regular deportment of life. They made it a rule, that when a candidate for the ministry was ordained, he should be closely examined in the three learned languages and the doctrines of grace; in their acquaintance with cases of conscience and ability to defend the Christian religion against infidels and its other opponents, but also, in their heartfelt experience of piety. Every preacher, before set apart to the ministry over any church, satisfied the members of it, that he was a true follower of Christ, and was admitted to their communion and fellowship. Neither churches could be formed, nor have ministers set over them, without leave from the General Court and neighboring ministers and churches.

17. William Pitkin, Michael Humphrey, John Stedman, James Enno, Robert Reeve, John Moses and Jonas Westover, Episcopalians, petition† the General Assembly of Connecticut to pass a law tolerating their form of worship. They also request that they may be free from paying for the support of any minister, who refuses to

* Trumbull, vol. i. p. 327, 8.

† Gen. Ct. Rec.

baptize their children, and take care of them as members of his church.

November 30. The King's Commissioners decide* that the towns of Long Island which had been under the jurisdiction of New Haven and Connecticut, shall be under the government of the Duke of York, though Connecticut laid reasons before them why it should be to the contrary; and that the bounds of this Colony should include the Colony of New Haven. Thus the latter Plantation, whose civil and ecclesiastical polity accorded more with that of the Bay, than of Connecticut, and was less acceptable to the royal Commissioners than that of the last Colony, have the warrant issued for the cessation of their independent existence. Such a change was more the result of political design than of righteous demand. It showed that his Majesty's Commissioners were ready to blot out one Colony of the Confederation, though against the earnest desires and solemn declarations of its chief men, expressed to the authorities of Connecticut.

December 14. New Haven, having their lot so assigned, address† a letter to Connecticut. It states that "the generality of our undivided people" met the day before, and agreed, "if it shall appear to our Committee, that we are, by his Majesty's authority, now put under Connecticut Patent, we shall submit, by a necessity brought upon us, by the means of Connecticut aforesaid; but with a *salvo jure* of our former rights and claims, as a people, who have not yet been heard in point of plea." It says, that they expect equitable treatment, relative to all their interests, under such a new modification of their civil affairs. It adds: "You thus performing to satisfaction and according to profession, by a studious and cordial endeavour with us to advance the interest of Christ in this wilderness, and by the Lord's blessing thereupon, love and union between us may be greatly confirmed."

21. Connecticut reply to New Haven, and express their readiness to act in harmony with them for the best good of the whole.

Lambert, speaking of the College at New Haven, observes:‡ "The convulsions of the times in 1664, and the want of adequate support caused this College to terminate in a public grammar school, which is yet preserved, and is now kept on the corner of Temple and Crown streets."

Massachusetts were not in favor of establishing the Hopkins College, because they supposed that Harvard was sufficient for all New England, and that to encourage the former was to break down both. Hence the subject of such an institution rested till the formation of Yale.

1665. January 5. James Bishop, on a Committee of the New

* Hinman's Antiquities, p. 54, 5. Trumbull, vol. i. p. 558, 9.

† Trumbull, vol. i. p. 559-61.

‡ Lambert's Hist. of N. Haven, p. 63.

1665.]

Haven Legislature, writes * to Connecticut, "having seen the copy of his Majesty's Commissioners' determination, (deciding the bounds betwixt his highness, the Duke of York, and Connecticut charter,) we do declare submission thereunto, according to the true intent of our vote." Thus the union between these two Colonies is virtually formed, though not finally consummated till the General Election in May. In the mean while, the authorities of New Haven continued to administer its laws. It appears from Mr. Bishop's remarks, that the Commonwealth which he represented, however thus consenting, remained dissatisfied with Connecticut, because they would not make a particular contract, as to the principles of their coming together. He says: "We scope not at reflections, but conviction and conscience satisfaction, that so brethren in the fellowship of the Gospel might come to a cordial and regular closure, and so to walk together in love and peace, to advance Christ his interest among them, which is all our design. But how those high and holy ends are like so to be promoted between us, without a treaty for accommodation, we have cause to doubt."

March 19. The half-way covenant† is laid aside in the church of Windsor† till 21st of June, 1668, when it was revived under Mr. Chauncy.

25. As the royal Commissioners requested Connecticut to show cause why the petition of the Duke and Duchess of Hamilton for their territory, granted to the Marquis of Hamilton in 1631, should not be allowed, they comply. They state‡ that such land, conveyed by regal authority to Lord Say and others, of whom they bought it, had been lately confirmed to them by the King; that they had conquered it from savages intent on the destruction of his subjects, and that they have had peaceable possession of it for thirty years, which gives them a title. They desire the Commissioners to use their influence so that his Majesty will silence the Hamilton claim, and will make New London a free port for seven, ten, or twelve years. They ask them to represent to his Majesty, that they readily acknowledge "his abundant grace in re-ratifying their privileges, both civil and ecclesiastical; their compliance with his pleasure and their Christian moderation to men of different persuasions."

April 20. The General Court of Connecticut assemble. The royal Commissioners lay four propositions§ before them, as they had before the other Legislatures of New England, which the latter answer in course.

1. "That all householders inhabiting this Colony take the oath of allegiance, and that the administration of justice be in his Majestie's name."

* Trumbull, vol. i. p. 562, 3.

† Hinman's Antiquities, p. 58-62.

‡ Puritan Recorder, April 4, 1850.

§ Ibid. p. 643. Gen. Ct. Rec.

2. "That all men of competent estates and of civil conversation, though of different judgments, may be admitted to be freemen, and have liberty to choose or to be chosen officers, both military and civil." The Court answer, that they conform with these requisitions.

3. "That all persons of civil lives may freely enjoy the liberty of their consciences, and the worship of God in that way which they think best, provided that this liberty tend not to the disturbance of the public, nor to the hindrance of the maintenance of ministers regularly chosen in each respective parish or township."

The Court reply,* "We know not of any one, that hath been troubled by us for attending his conscience, provided he hath not disturbed the public."

4. If any laws or expressions in them be "derogatory to his Majesty," let them be repealed. Answer, none such are known.

The Legislature "declare, that all former actings, that have past by the former power at New Haven, so far as they have concerned this Colony, (while they stood as a distinct Colony,) though they in their own nature have seemed uncomfortable to us, yet they are hereby buried in perpetual oblivion, never to be called to account."

They approve of the exertion made by the people of Middletown to form a church, and desire them to proceed according to the Gospel, and ask advice from the adjacent elders and churches.

May 11. The freemen of New Haven and Connecticut meet in Hartford,† and unite in giving their votes for one governor, deputy and magistrates. A proportionate number of the last, belonged to the late Colony of New Haven. All the towns of the two territories had deputies present.

Trumbull, though considering the union of the two Colonies better for each, on the whole, observes, "After all, it will be difficult, if not impossible, to reconcile some parts of it, at least, with their pre-engagements, the rules of justice, and brotherly affection."

A Committee are appointed to settle difficulties at the villages of Hastings and Rye, which the Court constitute one Plantation by the name of the latter. Messrs. Sherman and John Allyn are desired to visit New Haven, Branford, Guilford and Milford, and "administer the freeman's oath to all those that were formerly freemen, or to as many of them as will accept of it, and to as many others, as by sufficient evidence they judge qualified according to law, and to take the names of such as are sworn in a list in each town." Greenwich is allowed to be a township, "provided they procure and maintain an orthodox minister," and until they do this, "they are to attend the ministry at Stamford, and contribute proportionably with them to the maintenance of the ministry there."

June 24. John Davenport, in a letter to John Leverett, justifies‡

* Hinman's Antiquities, p. 63, 4. Gen. Ct. Rec.

† Gen. Ct. Rec.

‡ Hutchinson Coll. p. 395. Lambert's New Haven, p. 172, 3.

1666.]

the course pursued by Massachusetts in relation to the King's Commissioners. His language shows that he is still opposed to the union, recently taken place. "You see whither my zeal for preserving Christ's interest in your parts, (though in New Haven Colony it is miserably lost,) hath carried me."

October 12. The Court agree to encourage* the settlers of Paugusuck, afterwards Derby, to be a Plantation, if a sufficient number of them appear before next October, and "engage to maintain an orthodox minister among them, that they may be in a capable way to enjoy the ordinances of God, and civil order amongst themselves." "Southertown is named Mistick in memory of that victory God was pleased to give this people of Connecticut over the Pequod Indians."

Adam Blackman,† minister of Stratford, died 1665, at the age of sixty-seven years. There were persons of his surname, who survived him, living in the same town, and seem to have been his descendants. Cotton Mather remarked of him as follows: "It was his opinion, that as for our bodies, thus for our spirits also, simple food is the best. Accordingly he studied plain preaching, which was entertained by his people with a profitable hearing. Our Hooker, for the sacred and solid simplicity in the discourses of this worthy man, would say, If I might have my choice, I would choose to live and die under Mr. Blackman's ministry."

Israel Chauncy,‡ son of the President, Harvard Coll., 1661, is a preacher of Stratford. Their agreement for his salary was dated December 18, 1666. On October 10, of the next year, the Legislature require the inhabitants to pay this to him proportionably till there be another minister of the town. On October 7, 1669, he is named among their Freemen. On the 14th, the General Court allow them to divide the lands for the ministry so that part may be for Mr. Chauncy and the other for Mr. Walker. He is appointed minister of the army, October 14, 1675, who are to march under Robert Treat, and to be a member of the Council of War. The Council of the Colony dispatch, March 7, 1676, a message for him to meet them at Hartford, and impress men, horses and accommodations, so that he may quickly comply with their order. On the 27th, his wife and child are so dangerously sick, that he has leave to return home. He died March 14, 1703, aged 59, highly esteemed as a patriot and a Christian. He left two sons to follow his example. Cotton Mather pronounced him "a rich blessing to the Colony of Connecticut."

1666. February 22. King Charles orders a letter§ to Connecticut, with his declaration of war against France. "In former letters

* Gen. Ct. Rec. † Magnalia, vol. i. p. 358, 9. Trumbull, vol. i. p. 523.

‡ Magnalia, vol. i. p. 428. Trumbull, vol. i. p. 523.

§ Hinman's Antiquities, p. 56, 7.

we have directed you to put yourselves in the best way of defense you could against the assaults of the French and Dutch in those parts, and for the securing the coming of all ships hither. The time offers itself more favourably now than ever of delivering yourselves from those unquiet neighbors. We have thought fit to write this unto you, to authorize you to apply yourselves with all your force and skill to the reducing to our obedience all Islands and Plantations in those parts belonging to the French or Dutch Nation, and especially that of Canada. That Sir Thomas Temple, our Governor of Nova Scotia, may the better correspond with you and be assistant therein, we have required him thereunto. Herewith sending you our declaration of the war with France, which you are to publish in the manner you shall think fit."

May. This month, a Company of Milford, Branford, New Haven and Guilford, purchase from Indians a tract of land on the Passaic River, in New Jersey, for a settlement, called Newark. A part of its first inhabitants immediately moved thither. Of them were Mr. Pierson and most of his church and congregation from Branford, which remained almost spiritually desolate for over twenty years. On the 30th day of October, they adopt the law of their mother Colony, which prohibited any person from being a freeman, unless a member of a Congregational church. As this implies, they carried with them their dislike to the half-way covenant. Such dislike was cherished by the ministers and churches of New Haven Colony, continuing behind, and was a prominent objection to their union with Connecticut, who had generally adopted this innovation.

June 1. At a town meeting held by the inhabitants of Wethersfield, they vote,* that a letter be sent to Mr. Gershom Bulkley, at New London, desiring him to "come and be helpful to us and settle among us in the work of the ministry, if God shall incline his heart thereto." Mr. Bulkley accepted the invitation and was installed, as Trumbull informs us, in the year they desired him to assume such a relation.

7. Nathaniel Chauncy, son of the President, H. C. 1661, a Fellow here, had been a member of the Ipswich Church several years. Rev. Messrs. Wilson, Richard Mather and Jonathan Mitchell write to Mr. Warham, respecting him. This appears to have been connected with Mr. Chauncy's introduction to the ministry at Windsor. On the 14th October, next year, a majority of votes are cast there for his settlement. On October 8, 1668, he was nominated among candidates there for freeman. Under the like date of month and day, two years afterwards, he was preaching in the same place, amid the adverse influences of zealous contention among his people. He succeeded Hope Atherton, who died min-

* Historical Magazine, vol. i. p. 250. Trumbull, vol. i. p. 519.

1666.]

ister of Hatfield, June, 1679. He paid the same indispensable debt of nature himself, November 3, 1688. He left children, who honored their parentage.

John, son of Rev. John Woodbridge,* who preached at Andover, in England, and at Newbury; Harvard College, 1664; is similarly employed at Killingworth. On May 18, 1668, the Legislature consent to a petition as follows; he may stay as "a lecturer there, and if the church and Mr. Warham shall so far condescend for peace as to give liberty for Mr. Woodbridge to preach once a fortnight on the Sabbath, as well as on the week day, until some further time be obtained to improve some other way as an expedient for the peace of Windsor, it shall be acceptable to this Court." The next year, Mr. Woodbridge was made freeman at Killingworth. Here he was amid such elements of contention, in which two parties of the people partook, as his father was experiencing at Newbury. On a visit to Massachusetts with his wife and family, while tribulations covered New England by the insurrection of Philip and his allies, Mr. Woodbridge has leave from the Council, in 1675, to carry a quantity of grain thither. He was installed at Wethersfield in 1679, and died in 1690. His son John became minister of West Springfield. The father in eternity could rejoice in no brighter crown of the son than that refulgent with seals of the souls he had won for Christ.

October 11. The Assembly order a Synod to meet in Hartford† the third Wednesday of next May, for the purpose of endeavoring to settle difficulties in several churches of their jurisdiction. They invite all the "preaching elders and ministers" of the Colony to attend, and Messrs. "Mitchell, Brown, Sherman and Glover to assist as members." They authorize a committee to "write the elders of the Bay to request them to attend what is here desired." They solemnly recommend that the churches and people suspend discussion of the existing troubles till the Synod shall have decided on them. The questions to be considered by such a body are the same as proposed ten years previously.

The royal Commissioners, in their narrative near this date, about New England, make the following statements as to Connecticut. They "will not hinder any from enjoying the sacraments and using the common prayer book, provided that they hinder not the maintenance of the public minister." They have a scholar "to their minister in every town or village, and, for the most part, they are rigid Presbyterians," who called themselves Congregationalists.

* Trumbull, vol. i. p. 520. Conn. Col. Rec. Farmer's Gen. Reg.

† Gen. Ct. Rec.

CHAPTER VIII.

MASSACHUSETTS. Leverett. — Edward Fletcher. — Burning of London. — Baptist Millennium. — Mitchell's Sermon. — Cape Fear. — John Wilson. — Petition of Ipswich. — Quakers. — Psalm Book. — Governor Willoughby. — Contribution for Barbadoes. — Death of Wilson. — Union weakened. — Synod. — Mission Books. — John Hale. — Call to Davenport. — Thanksgiving. — Fast. — Ipswich Meeting House. — Nipmugs. — John Holyoke. — Public Discussion. — Baptists. — Samuel Shepard. — Henry Flint. — Stoughton's Sermon. — Convention of Elders. — Death of Mitchell. — Protestants. — William Walton. — John Eliot, Jr. — Signification of Church. — Baptists. — Quakers. — Millennium. — Ministers. — Catechism. — Dissenters of First Boston Church. — Newbury Troubles. — Mrs. Bulkley. — Richard Mather. — Thomas Maule. — Thomas a Kempis. — Eleazer Mather. — Maquas defeat Assailants. — Benjamin Bunker. — John Davenport. — Discipline. — Danforth's Sermon. — Excitement. — Confederation renewed. — Letter to Boyle. — Matthew Craddock. — Drinker's Letter. — Natick Church. — Churches and Communicants. — Christian Indians. PLYMOUTH. Regulations of Swansea. — Doctrines. — Disturbances of Worship. — Baptists. — Philip. — Memorial. — Confederation. — John Cotton. — Noah Newman. — Prosecutions. — Divorce. — Walley's Sermon. — School Salaries. MAINE. Catholics. — Letter of Nichols. — Government re-established. — Jocelyn. — Freemen. NEW HAMPSHIRE. Mason's Claim. — Courts. — Reyner's Death. — College. — Pirate. RHODE ISLAND. Indians suspected. — Trouble at Providence. — Letter of Nichols. — Raised Lazarus. — Baptists. — Debate. — Land for Minister. — William Harris. — Westerly. — Gorton's Defense. — French. — John Clark. — Freemen. — Letter of Mason. CONNECTICUT. Covenant. — Synod. — Call of Davenport. — Massachusetts invited to Convention. — Quakers. — Sabbath. — Fast. — Parties at Windsor. — Edward Collins. — Zachariah Walker. — Divisions. — Toleration. — Errorists. — Confederacy. — Afflictions. — Death of Warham. — Election. — Slave. — Ordinations.

MASSACHUSETTS.

1667. January 22. John Leverett, as a magistrate, writes* to Sir Robert Carr, one of the royal Commissioners, in Boston. The occasion of it was the resistance of Carr and his servant, John Deane, to Richard Bennet, a constable, who came to order them away from the house of John Vyal, vintner, on the previous Saturday evening, as the law required. Leverett notified Carr, in a civil manner, to appear before him with Deane, and answer the accusation.

February 13. Edward Fletcher's will is proved.† It mentions

* Hutchinson's Coll. p. 411.

† Calamy, vol. i. p. 533. Farmer and Savage, Gen. Registers.

1667.]

his wife, Mary, as executrix. As a cutler by occupation, he was admitted an inhabitant of Boston, 24th of February, 1640; the next July, a member of the church; in October, a freeman. He was of the Artillery company. He had become a preacher by 1656, when he served as such at Dover. The next year, he went to England. Calamy states, from Jessy's Tract, that Fletcher was minister of Dunsborn, and that the Cavaliers treated him "very inhumanly," and threatened his life. The will of Fletcher, dated 24th February, 1660, says that he was clerk of Badgerden, in the County of Gloucester. Then he had an estate in this town, which he bequeathed to his wife and other relatives. He was ejected in 1662, as a Puritan, and came back to Boston. His widow, Mary, married in 1676, Hugh Drury. A Mr. Fletcher was of Southerntown, or Stonington, in 1664. His suffering denotes that he was a prominent supporter of the Reformation.

28. The church of Salem keep a Fast* in reference to a motion for their brethren on Bass river, to be a church by themselves, and settle John Hale as their minister.

April 2. The same church have similar religious services on account of small pox in Boston and vicinity, and also, of the burning of London. Contributions were taken† in New England for the sufferers by this catastrophe. In Charlestown £105 were given for this object.

28. John Gould, a Baptist, having been admonished, confesses his offense to Reading and Charlestown churches, and, as the records of the latter body say, is, "by the sentence of the Eldership, declared to be restored."

This year a book is printed in London by Samuel Hutchinson, of Boston. It is on the Millennium. Its title is: "Declaration of the Future Glorious Estate of a Church to be here upon Earth, at Christ's Personal Appearance for the Restitution of all Things, a Thousand Years before the Ultimate Day of the General Judgment." The author observes: "I do not hold that Christ will come and reign upon the Earth till the day of Judgment, but this not the ultimate day of Judgment." He sent the work to a friend in England, who wrote to him in 1659, concerning the fifth-monarchy men. He refers to John Davenport, of New Haven, as holding that Christ would come to spiritual judgment, and then to the last judgment.

May 3. A petition from people of Hatfield,‡ on the west side of Connecticut river, worshiping on the other side, gives a graphic description of their frequent trials in the performance of such duty. They have so much to do in their difficulties and perils, they think it a breach of the Sabbath. "Sometimes we come in considerable

* Salem MS. Ch. Rec.

† Hutchinson, 3 ed. vol. i. p. 236.

‡ Holland's Western Massachusetts.

numbers in rainy weather, and are forced to stay till we can empty our canoes, that are half full of water, and before we can get to the meeting-house are wet to the skin. At other times, in winter season, we are forced to cut and work them out of the ice, till our shirts be wet upon our backs. At other times, the winds are high and waters rough, the current strong and the waves ready to swallow us—our vessels tossed up and down, so that our women and children do screech, and are so affrighted that they are made unfit for ordinances, and cannot hear so as to profit by them, by reason of their anguish of spirit; and when they return, some of them are more fit for their beds than for family duties and God's services, which they ought to attend." " Oftentimes some of us have fallen into the river through the ice, and had they not had better help than themselves, they had been drowned. Sometimes we have been obliged to carry others, when they have broken in to the knees as they have carried them out; and that none hitherto hath been lost, their lives are to be attributed to the care and mercy of God."

15. The General Court assemble. The Election Sermon is preached by Jonathan Mitchell, of Cambridge. The title of his discourse is, "Nehemiah on the Wall in Troublous Times." The doctrine is, "It is the duty and the spirit of faithful rulers, even in difficult times, to seek the good of the people, especially when they are the people of God." Discussing this subject, the preacher shows the several duties of the rulers. "They are to seek the maintenance and furtherance of true religion among the people. Religion is the chief and last end of civil policy. In subordination to religion, they are to seek also the external, temporal welfare of the people," as their "safety, honesty, prosperity and tranquillity." Mr. Mitchell ably compares the situation of the people here with the Jews in Jerusalem, when Nehemiah encouraged them to build its walls against the threats of outward and inward opposers. After exhorting the rulers and people separately, he does the same to them as a whole. "Do not wrong and mar an excellent work and profession by mixing and weaving in spurious principles or practices; as those of Separation, Anabaptism, Morellian (Anarchical) confusion, and licentious toleration. It is our errand into the wilderness to study and practice true Scripture-Reformation. To leave the children of non-scandalous orthodox Christians unbaptized, will, I doubt not, be one day found a thing displeasing unto Jesus Christ. But on the other hand, to baptize in such a lax and licentious way, as serves to dress men in the livery, without bearing the yoke of Christ, to have his name upon them with rejection of his government, will not suit either the principles of reformation or the rules of Scripture. So though rigid severity in admissions to the Lord's Table is to be avoided, yet to be lax and slight therein, to admit all sorts to full communion, or upon very slight

1667.]

qualifications, is against the principles and interest of reformation. Again, to put election of church officers into the hands of all, is such a piece of mining confusion, as none of the ways or models of church government, that have been of any repute in the world, would ever admit of. That is an Anabaptistical tenet. 'Take heed of extremes, and of passing from one extreme to another, which man's weakness is very apt to do.'" He urges union on all the inhabitants. "Let not them that unite in the main, be disunited by less differences. Never did God take person or people into covenant and near fellowship with himself, but he put them upon this sooner or later to venture all upon God, and to rely upon his mercy, power and faithfulness, having no other string to their bow than faith in him."

A letter is read before the Court from John Vassal and others who had gone from New England and settled at Cape Fear. It represents them as in great distress, and asks relief. Already had collections been made for them in many of our towns, by recommendation of the Governor and other Magistrates. A vessel had sailed with supplies for them. The Court approve of what has been done, and order further contributions for the same good purpose.

Among requisitions of settlers* at Quaboag, are the following : "They are to take care for the getting and maintaining of a godly minister among them, and that no evil persons, enemies to the law of this Commonweal in judgment or practice, be received as inhabitants."

As Mr. Wilson, of Boston,† is confined at home by a "languishing sickness," the Elders, assembled as usual on the occasion of the election, met at his house. They are desirous to see and hear him, lest it should be their last opportunity. They ask him what are the sins which he thinks bring divine displeasure on the country. He replies that he had long feared that the following were such : "Separation, Anabaptism, and Corahism." He explains the last as referring to people who "rise up like Corah, against their ministers or elders, as if they took too much upon them, when indeed they do but rule for Christ. It is nothing for a brother to stand up and oppose, without Scripture or reason, the doctrine or word of the elder, saying, I am not satisfied. And hence, if he do not like the administration, be it baptism or the like, he will turn his back upon God and his ordinances, and go away." He fears that there is something wrong about the baptism of those called grand-children ; that the authority of Synods is not duly regarded ; that the Magistrates are too slack in the use of their power "for the maintenance of the truth and gospel and ordi-

* Gen. Ct. Rec.

† Norton's Mem., Ed. 1721, p. 228, 9.

nances of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ." At night he makes a farewell prayer and some remarks, and they part in tears.

28. The freemen of Ipswich request* that John Appleton, a signer of the petition from this town, may be allowed to retain his seat with the Deputies. They recommend him "as a gentleman fully orthodox in his judgment as to matters of faith and points of religion professed among us; right, good, honest, pious and prudent in his conversation; true and friendly, faithful as to the interests of the Colony and Government."

It seems, as before stated, from proceedings connected with this, that Deputies of Boston, Salem, Ipswich and Newbury, who petitioned that the General Court would comply with the King's order for men to appear in London and answer charges against the Colony, had been expelled from the Legislature.

June 25. A few of the Quakers† at Salem are fined for absence from allowed public worship.

July 4. The Salem church vote to use‡ the Bay Psalm Book with Ainsworth.

William Willoughby, Governor of Barbadoes, addresses§ the Governor and Assistants of Massachusetts. He sends them back two Indians, who belonged here, had been taken to England, brought to his jurisdiction and sold as slaves. He promises to rectify all such abuses.

13. An order|| is issued by Bellingham and Leverett, as magistrates, which forbids masters of families, their servants and children, to walk in the streets of Boston, on the Sabbath. It is communicated to Messrs. Mayo and Mather, to be read from their pulpit.

August 7. John Wilson, pastor of the first church in Boston, dies in the 79th year of his age. His wife, daughter of Sir John Mansfield, had died in 1658,¶ soon after his eldest son, Edmund, named for his great uncle, Edmund Grindall, archbishop of Canterbury, deceased in England the same year, who was a physician, highly respected for his talents, acquirements and piety. He had lost a daughter, wife to Rev. Ezekiel Rogers, of Rowley. He left another, the wife to Rev. Samuel Danforth, of Roxbury, and a son John, minister of Dorchester, and then of Medfield. While in England, Mr. Wilson published some helps to faith. A lecture of his on dreams has been mentioned. Morton remarks: "In all the changes of times, that passed over him, he was full of faith and prayer, and eminent for sincerity and humility, and for the grace of

* Gen. Ct. MS. Papers. † Essex Qt. Ct. Rec. ‡ Salem 1st Ch. Rec.

§ He says that the English forces were repulsed, June 8, in their attack on the enemy at St. Christopher's, and that they need supplies of men and provisions, which he hopes the people of Massachusetts will be able to furnish.

|| Mather MS. Papers.

¶ Two of his children, Mary and Elizabeth, were admitted to his church, Nov. 19, 1648.

1667.]

love, he had *largeness of heart as the sand of the sea*, to do good to all." Cotton Mather's life of him relates, that "Dr. Ames would say, that if he might have his option of the best conditions that he could propound unto himself on this side Heaven, it would be, that he might be the teacher of a Congregational church, whereof Mr. Wilson should be pastor." The last sermon Mr. Wilson preached was for his son-in-law, Danforth, at Roxbury lecture. "After he had read his text, in the beginnings and conclusions of sundry of the last Psalms, with seraphical voice, he added, If I were sure this were the last sermon that ever I should preach, and these the last words that ever I should speak, yet I would still say, Hallelujah, Hallelujah, Praise ye the Lord! Thus he ended his ministry on earth, thus he began his possession of heaven with hallelujahs."*

21. The Governor and Assistants write to Governor Willoughby, of Barbadoes.† They state that a few days before the reception of his letter, they had another from his father, Lord Willoughby, desiring them to supply his Majesty's fleet at that Island. They add, that exertions had been made accordingly, and a vessel was being loaded with provisions for such an object. They express their thanks for his Lordship's promises to assist their Colony. They remark that they will do what they can in compliance with the Governor's request for provisions, but they are unable to send him any men.

September 5. The Commissioners of the United Colonies meet at Hartford. They remark that the Confederation is so weakened as to require that it be re-established by the Colonies, "who are here willing exiles from the place of our fathers' sepulchres, for the enjoyment of the same spiritual mercies of the same nation, and all of us subjects of the same Prince, knowing well, that the violation thereof will be highly provoking to the most high God, who is the witness and will be the judge of and between the parties concerned; and is also of no less tendency than the breaking down that wall, which under God hath hitherto been and still is the means of our own safety and preservation of his Majesty's dominions here against foreign and domestic enemies." They propose that as one main design of the Confederation is "the preserving and propagating of the truth and liberty of the Gospel, as well as for our outward safety, where any question doth arise in the churches or jurisdiction of common concernment, whether in the matters of faith or order, and any of the Colonies shall apprehend it needful to call in the help of a Council or Synod for the orderly decision thereof,—that the members of such Council or Synod may consist of the messengers of the churches called indifferently out of all the United Colonies

* Cotton's Mather's Lives. Magnalia, vol. i. p. 302. Brook, vol. iii. p. 431-6.

† Hutchinson's Coll. p. 425, 6.

by an orderly agreement of the several General Courts, and the place of meeting be at or near Boston." They recommend to the several jurisdictions, "that some special provision be made for the more comfortable and settled maintenance of an able ministry in every plantation, and where any shall presume to slight or oppose the same by turbulent or schismatical practices, that a condign testimony be borne against them."*

John Cotton, who had assisted Mr. Mayhew in labors among the Indians, is advised by the Commissioners to leave the Vineyard and settle among the English, who have given him several invitations to preach for them. A reason for such conclusion was, that there was not the harmony between him and Mr. Mayhew, which was needful for their success.

13. The Commissioners draw a bill on the Corporation in England for £500, to meet the annual charges of the Indian missions.

Books for distribution among the natives, in their language, were as follow: 200 Bibles with clasps, at 2/. 6*d.* each, 200 Practice of Piety, at 6*d.* apiece, 450 Grammars, at 3/. a hundred, 400 Baxter's Call, at 3/. for the like number, and Bible Primers for the scholars.

Persons employed at the station of Martha's Vineyard, Messrs. Mayhew and Cotton, and nine native teachers. Here widow Mayhew and her son Matthew received aid; Mr. Alcock, as previously, and Mrs. Cotton, were paid for medical attendance. At other stations, there were John Eliot, Sen. and Jr., of Roxbury, who had under them eight native teachers, and also Waban at Natick; Mr. Bourne, of Sandwich, and two native teachers; Mr. Pierson preached to Indians in the Connecticut jurisdiction.

Three Indian youths were at the Cambridge Institution, and two others had died there. Two were at Roxbury.

20. The brethren of Salem church, who lived on Bass river side, afterwards Beverly, having had permission from the other brethren to become a separate church, proceed to the settlement of John Hale as their pastor. Before this was done, those who had called him were organized as follows: He "propounded and read a confession of faith and covenant, which they had often considered amongst themselves, and did then express their consent unto that confession and covenant, and so were owned as a particular and distinct church by themselves, by the messengers of the churches present." He was inducted into office "by the laying on of the hands of the Rev. John Higginson, of Salem, of Mr. Thomas Cobbett, pastor at Ipswich, and of Mr. Antipas Newman, of Wenham."

Mr. Hale had preached three years for his people prior to his

* Com'rs MS. Rec. Hazard, Coll. vol. ii. p. 503, 4, 6.

1667.]

ordination. He was son of Robert and Rebekah Hale, of Charlestown. His parish agreed to pay him £70 annually, and thirty cords of fire-wood. They also contracted to give him the use of a house with two acres of land and meadow, yielding "about four loads of hay," and the "benefit of pasturing." They further bound themselves to grant the house and two acres of land, or an equivalent, to his family, if he die as their minister.*

24. The first church of Boston vote by a majority to call John Davenport and James Allen for their ministers. The former of these two was invited to settle over the second church of the same town, in 1651, but he declined. Cotton Mather remarks of them: they, "for the supply of the vacancy upon the death of their former more synodical ministers, applying themselves unto Mr. John Davenport, the greatest of the anti-synodists, the interests of the Synod came to be laid aside therein on that occasion." They who opposed this call of Davenport, asserted that to settle him over the first church of Boston would be not only to reverse its consequent proceedings, but also to nullify the results of the Synod. The church agree to send a letter by messengers to Davenport and his church in New Haven on this subject. Such a movement, as to the parties, has been considered remarkable by various authors. They looked on Davenport's open opposition to the half-way covenant, which the Boston church, under Wilson and Norton, had approved, and the great unwillingness of the New Haven church to part with him, now far advanced in life, as omens of disquietude in both of these places. But there was one point on his part which made it desirable for him to change the location of his ministry. This was his strong disapprobation of the policy adopted by Connecticut to compel the union of the New Haven Colony with them, and his aversion to live under the Government which had so acted. There was another particular which brought the leading men, such as Leverett, to like him more than they had disliked him for what he wrote against the half-way covenant. This was the decided and strong encouragement which he gave the authorities of Massachusetts to deny the offensive claims of the royal Commissioners, and to hold out in their independent attitude. In addition, he and his Boston friends seem to have so far tolerated each other in their different views of such a covenant, as not to disturb their friendly co-operation in other respects.†

October 9. The Legislature convene. They appoint November 5, as Thanksgiving day, for continuance of liberty, preservation from the common enemy, and a good harvest. They designate the first Wednesday of December for Fast day, on account of troubles in churches of all parts, particularly England; wars and devasta-

* Annals of Salem, p. 230, 1.

† First Ch. Rec. of Boston. Trumbull,

Conn. vol. i. p. 484, 5. Davenport Family, p. 163. Bacon's Discourses, p. 142, 3.

tions by means of terrible tempests at the Carribee Islands, and capture of Massachusetts vessels.

Various towns had liberally subscribed for supplies to his Majesty's fleet at the Carribee Islands. The Court request what is behind to be brought forward.

11. The General Court "informed that the people of Ipswich when they assemble to worship God are in great danger by reason of the decay of part of the meeting-house, and the selectmen having taken much care to make the house safe for people's lives, they cannot prevaile with workmen to attend the worke, whereupon they desired a presse from authority. But the Magistrate doubting of his power therein, the Court declareth and ordereth that either of the magistrates of Ipswich may presse so many carpenters for the speedy effecting of that work as they or either of them shall think meet, the selectmen serving of the workmen well and presently paid." The Deputies non-concur.

31. The Court answer a letter from Connecticut, relative to the proposal of the latter for a Synod, and also to the re-establishment of the Confederation. They say "that we may be no obstruction to your pious motion for a mutual accord in searching out the mind of God in any matters of public concernment to the Church of Christ, we shall and do hereby declare ourselves to be always ready to yield such help as the Lord shall afford us." They then observe that they cannot send back a particular reply, because they have not received the individual questions to be considered. They remark, if these should be sent to them, "We shall endeavor to do what we shall understand to be the mind of the Lord for help and assistance and the maintenance of peace and truth."*

The Nipmug Indians,† of "Quatisicker," had expressed a willingness to receive gospel instruction, pray to God, and come under the protection of Massachusetts.

November 26. The following relates to Quakers‡ of Salem. Josiah Southwick is sentenced to pay 10/. "for contempt of authority by keeping on his hat after he was required to put it off." Others of his denomination are fined. If refusing to pay or give security, they are to be confined a week in the house of correction at Ipswich, on their own cost, and the Marshal is to impress carts and horses for their conveyance thither.

Though Marblehead had been set off from Salem,§ yet the church of the former remained a branch of the church in the latter town. These two are appointed to consult with the members at Marblehead about their wish to call and settle a minister to assist Mr. Walton.

This year, John Holyoke,|| graduate of Harvard College, 1662,

* Conn. Gen. Ct. Rec. † Mass. Gen. Ct. Rec. ‡ Essex Qt. Ct. Rec.

§ First Ch. Rec. of Salem. || Holland's Western Mass. Farmer's N. E. Gen. Reg.

1668.]

preached six months, at Westfield. Residing at Springfield, 1684, he was entitled clerk; was representative from that town, 1691, and died 1712.

December 26. Jonathan Mitchell, of Cambridge, dates a letter* in which he advocates the half-way covenant and consociation.

1668. January 14. As an indication† of what more than usually affected the public mind, the Salem church, of which William Hathorne, who had been ordered to England, was a member, keep a Thanksgiving day, for the preservation of liberty, as well as for news of peace between England and France and Holland, several months before.

March 3. The case of Thomas Gould,‡ Baptist, comes before the Court of Assistants in Boston, on an appeal from the County Court of Middlesex, who had sentenced him to imprisonment because he refused to pay a fine for worshiping, contrary to law, with his own denomination. Such judgment is confirmed, though the jury are disposed to favor him, and he is recommitted to prison.

7. "The Governor and Council, accounting themselves bound by the law of God, and of this Commonwealth, to protect the churches of Christ here planted, from the intrusion thereby made upon their peace in the ways of godliness, yet being willing by all Christian candor to endeavor the reducing of the said persons from the error of their way, and their return to the Lord and the communion of his people from whence they are fallen, do judge meet to grant unto Thomas Gould, John Farnham, Thomas Osborn and company,§ yet further an opportunity of a full and free debate, of the grounds for their practice." For this purpose, such magistrates nominate and invite Rev. Messrs. John Allen, Thomas Cobbett, John Higginson, Samuel Danforth, Jonathan Mitchell and Thomas Shepard, to meet with them on the 14th of next month, "in the meeting-house at Boston, at nine in the morning." They provide, that before them and these invited elders with others, the Baptist brethren may appear and publicly debate the following question: "Whether it be justifiable by the Word of God, for these persons and their company to depart from the communion of these churches, and to set up an assembly here in the way of Anabaptism, and whether such a practice is to be allowed by the Government of this jurisdiction?" Thomas Gould is notified by the Council to inform his brethren of the Baptist church, that he and they are to appear as "above-mentioned."

8. The Governor and Council|| request the ministers of all the towns to go, in imitation of their Congregational brethren in England, and converse from house to house with young and old, within

* Boston Athenæum Tracts, p. 33.

† Backus, vol. i. p. 374, 5.

|| Mass. Council Rec. Annals of Salem.

‡ First Ch. Rec. of Salem.

§ Ibid. p. 375, 6.

the bounds of their parishes. Compliance with this advice was attended with good effects.

April 7. Samuel Shepard, minister of Rowley, dies.* He was son of Rev. Thomas Shepard, of Cambridge; born October, 1641, and graduated at Harvard College, 1658. He joined his father's church, July 19, 1663, and was ordained at Rowley, November 15, 1665. He preached for several years before he saw his way clear to join the church. He married Dorothy, daughter to Rev. Henry Flint, of Braintree, April 30, 1666. He left a son, Samuel, graduate at Harvard College, 1685. After a short period in the ministry of reconciliation, he is called to abound in the wonderful survey of so great a work, which eternity affords.

14. Now and the next day, according to appointment, the public discussion† with the Baptists, takes place. The six ministers named, opposed the arguments of Gould and others. These are assisted by William Hiscox, Joseph Torrey and Samuel Hubbard, members of Mr. Clark's church, of Newport, who reached Boston three days before the discussion. The Life of Mitchell remarks concerning it: "Whereof the effect was, that although the erring brethren, as is usual in such cases, made this their last answer to the arguments which had cast them into much confusion, *say what you will, we will hold our minds*: yet others were happily established in the right ways of the Lord."

27. Henry Flint,‡ minister of Braintree, dies, aged 61. He married Margery, sister to President Hoar. She deceased, March, 1686-7, and was buried on the right of her husband. He was remarkable for his "piety, learning, wisdom, and fidelity in his office." She was a superior helpmeet, "peculiarly accomplished for instructing young gentlewomen; many being sent to her from other towns, especially from Boston." They left several children. Cotton Mather said of him: "He that was a solid *stone* in the foundation of New England, is gone to be a glorious one in the walls of the New Jerusalem."

29. The Election Sermon is preached by William Stoughton, of Dorchester. His subject is "New England's True Interest, not to lie; or the terms on which we stand, and the tenure by which we hold our hitherto-continued precious and pleasant things." Several remarks of the discourse follow: "This we must know, that the Lord's promises and expectations of great things, have singled out New England, and all sorts and ranks of men amongst us, above any nation or people in the world; and this hath been and is a time and season of eminent trial to us. If I should say, that the very world, or common ordinary professors expect great things from us at this day, there is a great deal of weight in it. If I say,

* Among assistants to Mr. Phillips, after Mr. Shepard's death, was Samuel Brackenbury, who thus served two years.

† Backus, vol. i. p. 376, 7. Mass. Gen. Ct. Rec. ‡ Magnalia, b. iii. p. 122.

1668.]

that the faithful precious suffering saints of God in other places, that have heard of the Lord's providences towards us, do expect and promise great things from us, this is far more." In reference to the origin of the primitive settlers, "God sifted a whole nation, that he might send choice grain over into this wilderness. Alas! how is New England in danger this day to be lost even in New England! To be buried in its own ruins! How is the good grain diminished and the chaff increased! New England hath yet its advantages as well as engagements in this great matter of owning the cause of God, and standing their ground for God and Christ and the Gospel. We must decide for whom we are, there will be no other remedy. We indeed of these ends of the earth have long since made our choice. We have given up ourselves to the Lord Jesus as our spiritual King and Law-giver, to be his portion and inheritance. Now that which the Lord expects is, that we stick to this our choice, that we give not back a whit so as to become liars unto that God, who unto us hath not been as waters that fail." Relative to the questions then agitated, between the advocates for the Quakers, Baptists, Episcopalians and Congregationalists, etc., we have the subsequent passage: "That no persuasion nor practice can ever, in the conscience of the contrary-minded, have a right to public liberty and countenance, which, being thoroughly attended to, doth indeed tend to the undermining, and so in the issue to the overthrow of the state of these churches, in that wherein it is of God, and hath been largely and plentifully owned by him. And of this case and the application thereof, those who are in authority may and ought to judge." Among the closing remarks are: "If the Lord preserve unto us a faithful people, a faithful ministry, a faithful magistracy, He will then appoint salvation for walls and bulwarks to us." The author of this discourse was thanked by the General Court for it, and desired to have it printed.

30. The elders in convention present an address* to the General Court, "touching the case of those that set up an assembly here among us in the way of Anabaptism." Several extracts from this document are as follows: "That it belongs to the civil authority to exercise their care and power about matters of this nature, and to restrain and suppress open enormities in religion, that are of momentous and perilous consequence, is abundantly clear from the Scriptures." Texts are adduced. Then reasons are offered against the sect in question. "The way of Anabaptism is a known and irreconcilable enemy to the orthodox and orderly churches of Christ, and so to these here established; 1, by making infant baptism a nullity, and so making us all to be unbaptized persons, and, therefore, to have no regular churches, ministry or ordinances, yea, to be incapable of obtaining them in any ordinary way; 2, by

* Gen. Ct. Rec.

renouncing all our churches, either as no churches, or as so bad and corrupt that they are not fit to be held communion with ; 3, by rejecting the true covenant of God (Gen. 17 c. 7-14 vs.) whereby the church is constituted and continued, and cutting off from the churches half the members that belong to them ; 4, by its known and constant opposition to an orderly, settled, able ministry, and to the power of the magistracy in matters of religion ; 5, by teaching men to disacknowledge or slight a political, ministerial judge, (either ecclesiastical or civil,) and to set up themselves as their own sole judges in their own case, and so introducing a spirit of anarchy and confusion ; 6, by entertaining those that are weary of Christ's truth and government in the churches, or fall under censure therein, so multiplying schisms and confusion, and making our discipline to be of none effect. Hence an assembly in the way of Anabaptism would be among us an anti-temple, an enemy in this habitation of the Lord ; an anti-New England in New England, manifestly tending to the disturbance and destruction of these churches, which their nursing fathers ought not to allow. Second. To set up an assembly in the way of Anabaptism is to set up a free school of seduction, wherein false teachers may have open liberty to seduce the people into ways of error, which may not be suffered. Third. At the same door may all sorts of abominations come in among us, should this be allowed, for a few persons may, without the consent of our ecclesiastical and civil order, set up a society in the name of a church, themselves being their sole judges therein ; then the vilest of men and deceivers may do the like, and we have no fence nor bar to keep them out. Moreover, if this assembly be tolerated, where shall we stop ? Why may we not, by the same reason, tolerate an assembly of Familists, Socinians, Quakers, Papists ; yea, 'tis known that all these have elsewhere crept in under the mask of Anabaptism. Fourth. To allow the setting of an assembly in this way, as hath been lately preached by some among us, is to allow the open profanation of all the ordinances of God. 1, Of church gathering by coming together in a way of schism, disorder and confusion ; 2, of the ministry, by setting up a ministry that is not of God, being without ministerial qualifications, without due sequestration to the work, without orderly public approbation, and therefore a bold usurpation of that holy function, without all warrant from the Lord ; 3, of baptism by re-baptization ; 4, of that and the other sacrament by private, uncalled, yea, excommunicated persons taking upon them to administer the same, and that unto persons under censure. Fifth. We may argue by comparing the matter in question with things mentioned in Scripture as unlawful, which yet were not worse than an assembly with us in the way of Anabaptism. This is as bad as the high places in Judah, viz., those high places that were dedicated to the worship of the true God, being only contrary to the order God then

1668.]

appointed, II. Kings, 18 c. 4-22 vs., and 23 c. 8, 9 vs. ; as bad as that altar in Joshua, 22 c. 18, 19 vs., though it had been for sacrifices ; as bad as the buyers and sellers in the temple and other pollutions thereof, which Christ would not suffer, 11 c. Mark, 15, 16 vs. ; as bad as many of those hinderers of the building of the temple, whom David and Artaxerxes made decrees against, and are commended for it, Ezra, 6 c. 11, 12 vs. ; 7 c. 26, 27 vs. Anabaptism hath been always known to be a notorious hinderance and troubler of the temple building. Sixth. We in this country are but a weak and small people, and therefore necessarily disquieted and endangered by faction and opposition. If this one assembly be allowed, by the same reason may a second, third, etc. ; schools of them will soon be swarming hither. But if once that party become numerous and prevailing, this country is undone, the work of reformation been ruined, and the good ends and enjoyments which this people have adventured and expended so much for, utterly lost. Seventh. The people of this place have a clear right to the way of religion and order that is here established, and to a freedom from all that may be disturbing and destructive thereunto. Having with great cost, hazard and labor obtained, ventured over the ocean, planted themselves in a remote corner of the world on purpose that they might enjoy the ordinances of God according to his Word, for themselves and theirs, here alone in peace : and accordingly they have erected churches and settled religion in the way of Pedobaptism, and secured the same by laws established ; other contrary ways, therefore, cannot be here set up without real injury to the body of this people, who still cleave to the principles and ends of their first coming ; neither should they be constrained to receive or retain among them such a troublesome and dangerous inmate as an Anabaptistical society is ; nor to leave their posterity to be a prey unto such temptations, seduction and confusion as this will expose them to. Eighth. God having given us so many warnings by other places where Anabaptism getting head hath proved an incendiary and vexation to church and state, it would be too great an imprudence not to take warning thereby, Prov. 22 c. 3 v. The question now before us not being what forbearance the churches here have used or may use towards particular persons among them, who only scruple infant baptism, and do not spread their scruples, and are otherwise orderly and peaceable ; but what is to be done as to such who set up an assembly here in the way of Anabaptism ? We speak not to the former but to the latter question."*

* Rowley Ch. Records.

May 2, 1668. In the afternoon, John Davenport and wife, with his son and family, reach Boston, and are welcomed by many of the inhabitants. They are sheltered from a heavy shower by the coach of Mr. Searle, sent out to meet them.

May 2. The Legislature while in session this month attend to various calls.* They take up the important case of the Baptists. "Whereas, Thomas Gould and company have been complained of, and stand convicted in this Court of setting up an unlawful assembly, which they call a church of Christ, whereof they have been admonished, warned and required to desist from their offensive and presumptuous practices, yet have declared their resolution to continue therein: And whereas the Council assembled in March last, did, for their further conviction, appoint a meeting of divers elders, and require the said persons to attend the said meeting, which was holden in Boston with a great concourse of people, the effect whereof hath not been prevalent with them as we could have desired: This Court being sensible of their duty to God and the country, and being desirous that their proceedings in this great cause might be clear and regular, do order that the said Gould and company be required to appear before this Court on the 7th inst., at 8 o'clock in the morning, that the Court may understand from themselves, whether upon the means used or other considerations, they have altered their former declared resolution, and are willing to desist from their former offensive practice, that accordingly a meet effectual remedy may be applied to so dangerous a malady, and the Secretary to issue out warrants accordingly."

7. Thomas Gould, William Turner and John Farnham, Sen., appear,† but still justify their past course. Hull informs us, that when asked whether they would lay down their assemblings, they answered, that they felt themselves "bound to continue in their way, and were ready to seal it with their blood." The Court recount the various means ineffectually employed to turn them from their opinions. They observe that the toleration of their secession from gospel order, would open a "door for all sorts of abominations, to the disturbance not only of our ecclesiastical enjoyments, but also contempt of our civil order and the authorities here established." Considering such consequences, the Legislature "judge it necessary that they be removed to some other part of this country or elsewhere, and accordingly doth order, that the said Gould, Turner and Farnham do, before the 20th of July next, remove themselves out of this Jurisdiction," and that if after this time, either of them be found here without a license from the Court or Council, he shall be imprisoned, and so remain until he shall give sufficient security to depart immediately and not return without such permission. The authorities forbid these Baptists to hold any meetings on the Sabbath with those of their denomination before the specified 20th of July; and order that, if they do, they shall be confined in jail until the 10th of July, when they may be released so as to have ten days for preparation to leave the Colony.

* Gen. Ct. Records.

† Gen. Ct. Rec. Backus, vol. i. p. 377.

1668.]

As Gould is still imprisoned in Middlesex for refusing to pay his fine, the Court conclude that after the lecture to them and the declaration of the sentence against him and his two brethren, he may be set at liberty, so that he may get ready for his withdrawal from their Government.*

27. The inhabitants of Rowley, settled over against Haverhill, are allowed their petition to be a township when they shall have settled "an able and orthodox minister."

Philip Wharton, supposed to be a Quaker, being absent, and his wife, Mary, destitute, the Selectmen of Boston are empowered† to use his property, left in the hands of another man, for her support.

On professions of friendship‡ to them by the Nipmugs and Narragansetts, the Legislature declare themselves to be in amity with them, and grant a trial to the former Indians "in their profession to pray to God and to be in subjection to the Government of Massachusetts."

June 13. Robert Page, of Boston, is prosecuted§ for "setting sail from Nahant, in his boat, being loaden with wood, thereby profaning the Lord's day."

30. Some of the Salem Quakers|| are fined for non-attendance on the authorized worship. Edward Wharton, one of them, though uncalled for, repeatedly entered the Court "in an unreverent manner with his hat on," and declared that the Government had shed innocent blood. He was asked if he did not wickedly, by thus expressing himself. He replied: "God forbid I should own that to be wicked, which God requires of me." He was amerced £50, and ordered to be imprisoned till the sum should be paid.

July 9. Jonathan Mitchell, of Cambridge, dies in his 43d year. He was son of Jonathan, born at Halifax, Yorkshire, 1624; was brought to New England by his father, 1635; and, as a member of his family, in different places, was called to endure severe afflictions. He graduated, as an eminent scholar, from Harvard, 1647. Even before his first public sermon, the fame of his "learning, wisdom, gravity and piety" had so spread, that several prominent churches endeavored to secure his services. The church at Hartford sent a man and horse for him, and he was prevailed on to visit them. He preached his first sermon there, June 24, 1649, but he preferred the people of Shepard, and was ordained over them, August 21, 1650. He married Margaret, daughter of his predecessor in office, and left several children. He preached a monthly lecture, fully attended by persons from adjacent towns, as well as

* Hull's MS. Diary. Backus, vol. i. p. 377-80.

† Francis Willoughby, Deputy Governor, and others, did not coincide in these measures against the Baptists.—Backus, vol. i. p. 382.

‡ Gen. Ct. Rec. § Drake's Boston. || Essex Qt. Ct. Rec. Annals of Salem.

by others of Cambridge. He wrote a letter, containing religious observations, 1649, to his brother; was author of a Preface to "The Perfection of Glorification Hereafter in Heaven;" of an Election Sermon, as already mentioned; drew up Considerations on the subject of Baptism, printed 1675; and preached ten discourses on the glory to which God hath called believers by Jesus Christ; published in London, 1677, and afterwards in Boston, 1721. Bradstreet's Journal remarks of him: "He was a man of eminent parts and great learning."

"He seemed express on Heaven's high errand sent,
As Moses meek, as Aaron eloquent."

August 9. To this date from January 26, thirty-two persons were admitted to the church of Charlestown, and all but three by profession.

20. The Diary of Hull has the record of news, suited to excite the sympathy of our churches, that "Protestants are much oppressed in France; many of their public meeting places are taken from them. Non-conformists in England have no liberty to preach. Many fears of a massacre from the Popish party there, heightened from the coming over of Frenchmen in small companies."

September. About this time, William Walton, of Marblehead, dies. The inventory of his estate was taken the next 23d of November. His wife, Elizabeth, survived him, and died 1682, leaving several children. Though Marblehead was incorporated during his ministry, still the church there, of which he was pastor, was continued as a branch of the Salem church for that period and some time longer. His emigration to enjoy the privileges of reform, and his long and steady labors among his flock, are indications that, though not enrolled on the pages of history, he deserves the estimation of no ordinary worth.

October 11. John, son of John Eliot, missionary among the Indians, dies,† as the first minister of Newton. He was born at Roxbury, August 31, 1636, graduated at H. Coll., 1656, admitted freeman, 1660, and ordained July 20, 1664. His first wife was Sarah, who died and left a daughter Sarah. His second was Elizabeth, daughter of Daniel Gookin, whom he married May 23, 1666. She left a son John. Hull informs us, that Mr. Eliot preached at a Fast in Cambridge, and was taken after it with an eruption of blood, which caused his death in a few weeks. For years he was an efficient assistant to his father in his mission among the natives. Gookin informs us, that besides his labors at Cambridge Village, "he for several years preached the gospel to the Indians, once a fortnight constantly at Pakemit, and sometimes at Natick and other

* *Magnalia*, b. iv. p. 166-85.

† Morton's Memorial, p. 242, makes it 11th, but Hull's Diary has it 13th.

1668.]

places. The most judicious Christian Indians esteemed him as a most excellent preacher in their language." Morton says of him, "He was a person excellently endowed and accomplished with gifts of nature, learning and grace. All the wise and godly, who knew him, loved and honored him in the Lord, and bewailed his death." Apprehensive, like others, that, from appearances, calamities would come upon the country, he said to those around his dying bed, "My dear friends, there is a dark day coming upon New England. In so dark a day, how will you provide for your own security? My council to you is, secure an interest in the Lord Jesus Christ, and that will carry you safely to the world's end."

12. Nicholas Street, in behalf of the New Haven* church, writes to the Boston church. They mentioned that while their first letter about Mr. Davenport had been interpreted as granting him permission to leave them, their second had been explained as withholding such liberty from him. They added, "Yet if this will satisfy, (but not otherwise,) we are content to waive and bury in silence, and leave both yourselves and him to make what improvement you see cause, (without any clog or impediment from us upon that account,) of the liberty before mentioned. As he hath been a faithful laborer in God's vineyard at New Haven for many years, to the bringing home of many souls to God, and building up of many others; so it is and shall be our prayer to God to lengthen his life and tranquillity in Boston, to double his Spirit upon him, assist him in his work, and make him a blessed instrument of much good to yourselves and many others." They then remarked, that as Mr. Davenport, his son and their two wives had requested to be dismissed from their church, we desire "you to receive them in the Lord as becometh saints," and implore "Almighty God for his blessing upon them from his holy ordinances in their communion with you."

14. The General Court assemble. They pass the following:† "Whoever travels a horseback, on foot or in boat, on the Sabbath, to any unlawful assembly or meeting, are profaners of this holy day and shall be prosecuted accordingly."

"Whereas the Christian magistrate is bound by the Word of God to preserve the peace, order or liberty of the churches of Christ, and by all due means to promote religion in doctrine and discipline, according to the Word of God; and whereas by our Law, titled, Ecclesiastical, Sec. 4; It is ordered and declared, that every church hath free liberty of calling, election and ordination of all her officers, from time to time, provided they be able, pious and orthodox. For the better explanation of the said law,

* Bacon's Historical Discourse, p. 144, 5. Wisner's Hist. of the Old South Church, p. 75.

† Mass. Archives. Eccl. i. p. 65.

and as an addition thereunto, this Court doth order and declare, and be it hereby ordered and enacted, that by the *church*, is to be meant such as are in full communion only; and that the teaching officer or officers of such church or churches, we do intend shall be the minister or ministers to all the people in that Town where such church or churches are planted; and that no inhabitant in any Town shall challenge a right unto, or act in the calling or election of such officer or minister, until he be in full communion, upon the penalty of being accounted a disturber of peace and order, to be punished by the Court of that Shire, either by admonition, security for good behaviour, fine or imprisonment, according to the quality and degree of the offense."

The sentence passed against the Baptists in May, is ordered to be printed. An answer to this was written* apparently by Gould's wife, who took steps for its transmission to the Baptists of England.

November 7. The Court take up a petition† from inhabitants of Boston and Charlestown, in favor of Gould, Turner and Farnham. They observe that there are expressions in it reproachful to them, and not true; that they have charity towards many of the subscribers, who have been unduly influenced. They command Edward Hutchinson, James Oliver, Richard Way, Thomas Grubb, William Howard, Randal Nichols, Solomon Phips and James Cary, who were of them, to appear and answer. These persons accordingly obey, 22d, and apologize for unintentionally offending the Court. It appears that Benjamin Sweetser and Joshua Atwater had been the chief promoters of the petition, and gone from house to house for the purpose. The Court admonish both of them, fine Sweetser, £10, and Atwater, £5.

In reply to Farnham's request, the Legislature release him from prison, if he will attend worship twice on the Sabbath when able, in assemblies allowed by law. Provided he do not so comply, his sentence of banishment and imprisonment is to remain.

24. Some of the Salem Quakers‡ are prosecuted. Samuel Shattuck, John Blevin, Josiah Southwick and Joshua Buffum are to be imprisoned one month for not paying their fines. Nathaniel Hadlock is admonished for worshiping with them; fined 40/. for refusing to assist a constable; and is to be whipped severely for declaring that he could receive no profit from Higginson's ministry, and that the Government were guilty of innocent blood. He is required to give bond in £20, that he will keep the peace.

December 9. Messrs. Davenport as pastor, and Allen as teacher, are settled over the First church in Boston. Hull states that the brethren who dissented from this union, desired their dismission before it took place, but without avail, and that their communion

* Backus, vol. i. p. 382.

† Gen. Ct. Rec.

‡ Essex Qt. Ct. Papers.

November 1. John Davenport, Sen. and Jun., and their wives, are admitted members to the First church in Boston.

1669.]

at the table was not without trouble. Mr. Allen,* who had been a Fellow of New College, Oxford, and ejected by the Bartholomew act, came to this country, 1662, was admitted a member of the First Boston church, August 25, 1664, and a freeman, 1665.

This year, as a means of confirming what many supposed were real charges against the Anabaptists, a book known as the "Rise, Springing and Foundation" of this denomination, written in French by Guy de Brez, 1565, was printed in Cambridge and sold by Marmaduke Johnson.

In connection with his story of the Jews' return to the Messiah, Increase Mather writes upon the Millennium,† under the words, "Diatriba de Signo Filii Hominis, et de Secundo Messiae Adventu." It was printed in Holland, 1682. Its preface was composed by John Davenport.

1669. January. The following was written from New to Old England "by a Reverend minister* who had lived there forty years." "There came over from England at several times, chiefly before 1640, ninety-four ministers, of which twenty-seven returned to England again, and there are now dead in the country, thirty-six; and as yet living in the country, thirty-one. The ministers bred up in New England, are one hundred and thirty-two, of which two are dead in the country, forty-one have removed to England, most of them from our College, besides other scholars, that have in England turned to other professions, and eighty-one, that are now living in the country, employed in the ministry in several places."

"It hath pleased the Lord to give such a blessing to the Gospel among the Indians, that in divers places there are not only many civilized, but divers that are truly godly, and shame the English, and are much hated by others of their own countrymen. Though that work has met with many obstructions and remoræ, chiefly by the death of some of the choicest instruments, and many of the best of the Indians; yet it may well be believed, that there is such a seed of the Gospel scattered among them, which will grow unto a further harvest in God's time."

February 12. Edward Rainsford, brother of Lord Chief Justice Rainsford, and Jacob Eliot, are displaced by the First church of Boston§ from being their Deacons. The reason of this is, that these two officers, with other brethren, had desired to be dismissed from the church, because they had chosen Mr. Davenport for their pastor.

March 2. The Court of Assistants grant permission || to Thomas Gould and William Turner, imprisoned for adherence to their pur-

* Calamy, vol. ii. p. 75.

† Remarkables of I. Mather, p. 64, 235. Magnalia, b. iii. ch. 4, p. 301.

‡ John Higginson had been in New England this period. Account of Four Chief Plantations, N. England, etc.

§ First Ch. Rec.

|| Backus, vol. i. p. 396, 7.

pose of continuing worship with others, as a Baptist Society, that they may be liberated for three days, so as to visit their families and "apply themselves to any that are able and orthodox, for their further conviction of their many irregularities in these practices, for which they were sentenced," and that they give security to the prison keepers for their return to confinement.

10. The Governor and Council advise the ministers of all towns "to catechize and instruct all people (especially youth) in the sound principles of the Christian Religion, and that not only in public, but privately from house to house, or at least three, four or more families meeting together, as time and strength may permit; taking to your assistance such godly and grave persons, as to you may seem expedient."* Such advice was sent in a printed letter to every minister of the Colony. Conformity with it was salutary.

25. We have a letter of this date from Robert Mascall, † of Finsbury, near Morefield, in England. He expresses his great regard for New England and her churches, and gratitude for divine aid in visiting her shores. He is anxious, however, because they "persecute" the Baptists, who are freely admitted to the churches of like form in England. He mentions that the Congregationalists of Massachusetts are reported to have "swerved aside towards" Presbyterianism, which he considers an evil, and one that did great injury to Scotland. As to those of this order, he observes, "The generality of them here, even to this day, will not freely consent to our enjoyment of our liberty; though through mercy the best and most reformed of them do otherwise." He argues eloquently, that even though the Baptists are opposed to the baptism of children on behalf of their parents, and to the institution of Ruling Elders, yet they should be borne with, and those of them imprisoned, should be immediately released.

On the same subject, a communication‡ from the Rev. Drs. Goodwin and Owen, Messrs. Nye and Caryl, and nine other distinguished ministers of the dissenting interest in London, is addressed to the Governor of this Colony. These correspondents revert to what the authorities had done to suppress the Baptist denomination. They regret such procedure as calculated to hurt the Congregational cause in England. They state that it had been cast in their teeth, that persons of their persuasion could not "bear with dissenters from them." They advise: "We only make it our hearty request to you that you would trust God with his truths and ways so far as to suspend all rigorous proceedings in corporal restraints and punishments, on persons that dissent from you, and practice the principles of their dissent without danger or disturbance to the civil peace of the place."

* *Annals of Salem*, p. 236. *Neal's New England*, vol. i. p. 370.

† *Backus*, vol. i. p. 390-5.

‡ *Magnalia*, b. vii. p. 27, 8.

1669.]

26. Messrs. Higginson, of Salem, and Thatcher, of Boston, recommend to the public Morton's Memorial, as indicated in the beginning of the book.

29. A question comes before the First church of Boston,* whether they "see light from the word of God to dismiss our dissenting brethren that desire it," and is decided in the negative. On the 31st of March, the brethren so denied, being twenty-eight of Boston and one of Charlestown, send letters to various churches to meet in council, on the 13th of next month, and advise them on taking a dismission and forming a new church. Among their reasons for this course are, that Mr. Davenport opposed the half-way covenant, and was not regularly dismissed from New Haven church. On the 6th of April, some of the elders meet at Charlestown† to consult whether they should inform the First Boston church that they were grieved and offended, because they had refused to dismiss their dissenting members, and more so because they endeavored to censure them. On the 13th of April, a council, composed of elders and delegates from fifteen churches, assemble at Charlestown on similar business. They apply to Mr. Davenport and his colleague, and then to these with their church, in order to compromise the difficulties, but without success. After these steps, they approve of the advice given by a similar body to the dissenting brethren, and counsel them to become a separate church by themselves. On the 16th of April the council hand their decision to the dissenters, who delivered it to their elder, Penn, on the 19th, when he gives it to the First church, who decline to receive any papers from such council as being irregular.

March 30. A committee of Newbury‡ complain to the County Court sitting at Ipswich, of Edward Woodman, because he had spoken of their ministers, Messrs. John Woodbridge and Thomas Parker, in very hard terms. The cause of such a charge was connected with a division in the church of two parties, nearly equal, the one called Mr. Parker's and the other Mr. Woodman's. The latter was strongly opposed to the Presbyterian order exercised by the former. The Court decide that Mr. Woodman "shall be seriously and solemnly admonished and enjoined to make a

* First Ch. Record.

† Ministers named on this council at Charlestown, were as follows: Mather and Stoughton, of Dorchester, Shepard, of Charlestown, Torrey, of Weymouth, Bulkley, of Concord, Whiting, of Lynn, Philips, of Rowley, Cobbet, of Ipswich; Palmer and White are named for Haverhill, though there is no proof that either of them was a preacher; Dane, of Andover, Brown, of Sudbury, Rowlandson, of Lancaster, Sherman, of Watertown, Hale, of Bass River, Higginson, of Salem, and Newman and Fisk, of Wrentham, supposed that one or both were ministers, but, as their Christian names are not given, cannot determine.

‡ Coffin's History.

April 21, 1669. "Mrs. Grace Bulkley, the widow of Mr. Peter Bulkley, some time pastor of the church of Concord, deceased. She was a woman of great piety and wisdom."

public confession at the next public town and church meeting at Newbury," or pay £5 and costs. Samuel Symonds and William Hathorne, of the justices, dissent from the decision. These two give their opinion that in the striving of each party for the control, the Congregational part being equal to the other in numbers, if not greater, not only Mr. Woodman, but other brethren, had uttered hard language, and that they all should seek for peace and confess their miscarriages at a church meeting, and particularly Mr. Woodman. On the 28th of April, Mr. Parker's friends being dissatisfied with this opinion of Symonds and Hathorne, complained to the same Court that said opinion had not been communicated to them, nor did they consider it legal, because they had no trial in reference to it; and then they proceed to traverse its several positions. They particularly notice the manner of voting in the church, as one of the most fruitful sources of complaint. "Near thirty years since, at a Synod at Cambridge, it was proposed, and it was consented unto by them, that if the ministers thought it most convenient to vote by speech and silence, rather than by lifting up the hand, they had nothing against it; seeing the one was a testimony of consent as well as the other; so this kind of voting began and continued in practice, without difference or interruption, for a good season." No beneficial result appears to have followed from the Court's decision. As usual, each party fortified itself in the belief of its own rectitude. On the 5th of November, an *exparte* council, consisting of messengers from nine churches, invited to consider the troubles, give in the result of their deliberations through Thomas Cobbett. They speak of meetings and votes of the Woodman party, claiming to be the church, distinct from the supporters of Mr. Parker, as contrary to gospel order, and no more to be held and passed. They advise the latter party to be kind towards the dissenters, so that the gospel cause be not reproached. This endeavor to settle the contention was ineffectual. Not only did dissension prevail in religious matters of the town, but in all its other public concerns.

April 22. Richard Mather, minister of Dorchester, departs this life. His first wife was Catharine, daughter of Edmund Hoult, whom he married in England. She died in 1655. He was married to Sarah, widow of Rev. John Cotton, August 26, 1656. His children were Samuel, Timothy, Nathaniel and Joseph, born in England, and Eleazer and Increase, born at Dorchester. A few days prior to his decease, he took an active part in favor of the dissenting brethren of Boston, whose case has been just mentioned. He composed a discourse about the Church Covenant, and a reply to thirty-two questions, by request of the Elders of New England, printed 1639. In 1640, he assisted Messrs. Eliot and Welde in making a version of the Psalms. He wrote, as before stated, an answer to Charles Herle's publication against the Independency of Churches,

1669.]

1644, and another to Rutherford in defense of the answer, 1646. His Model of Church Discipline, presented to the Synod of 1648, was principally adopted by them in preference to others, offered by Cotton and Partridge. He wrote a letter of exhortation to his countrymen of Lancashire, 1650; a catechism; a treatise on Justification, 1652; a communication to Mr. Hooker in favor of a minister's administering the sacrament to a congregation not under his own immediate care; an election sermon, 1660; reply to Mr. Davenport's objections to propositions of the Synod, 1662. In addition, he prepared for the press discourses on the Second Epistle of Peter, and a defense of the New England churches. A small likeness of Mather affords the following sketch: A striking countenance, with eyes and nose of more than common size, and a full and long beard. His clothing was a black cap, white bands and black gown, with small white cuffs. His right hand holds a pair of bow spectacles, and his left, an open Bible. His intellectual powers were above the common order, well disciplined by the studies of literature and science. His extensive acquaintance with church history and theology, and above all his eminent piety, fitted him for the sphere in which he moved, to the benefit of many at home and abroad, and to the honor of his Saviour. To him,* among the worthies of our country, New England is much indebted for the salutary influences which have largely contributed to whatever of excellence and prosperity she has experienced and still hopes to enjoy.

May 3. Thomas Maule, of Salem, a Quaker,† is sentenced to be whipped ten stripes for asserting that Mr. Higginson preached lies, and that his instruction was "the doctrine of devils."

12 and 16. At these two dates, the Third Congregational church of Boston is formed at Charlestown, consisting of brethren from Mr. Davenport's church.‡ Part of them signed the Covenant on the former date, and others on the latter. Six of the magistrates were of opinion, that such formation should not be allowed, and eight of them entertained a different judgment. Three of the elders opposed it, and the rest of them were in its favor.

About the last date, seventeen ministers,§ probably the Council who sanctioned the embodiment of the new church, protest against the proceedings of Messrs. Davenport and Allen, and their ruling elder, James Penn. They censure Mr. Davenport's leaving his pastoral charge in New Haven. They interpret the reading of

* Magnalia, b. iii. ch. 20, p. 122-30. Hull's MS. Diary says Mather died 20th of April.

† Essex Qt. Ct. Rec. Annals of Salem, p. 235.

‡ Hull's MS. Diary. Wisner's Hist. Old South Ch. p. 8.

§ John Allin, John Higginson, John Ward, John Wilson, Edmund Browne, Samuel Whiting, sen., Thomas Cobbett, John Sherman, Samuel Phillips, Thomas Shepard, Increase Mather, Samuel Torrey, Zachary Symmes, John Brocke, Edward Bulkley, Samuel Whiting, Jr., and John Hale.

[MASS.

only parts of the letters from his church there to the Boston church, as an attempt to deceive. A reply follows from the three persons thus implicated by the authority of their church. They deny that the letters and passages suppressed, give evidence that the church of New Haven refused to grant Mr. Davenport a dismission, but that they were unwilling to make such dismission their immediate act. On account of this controversy, Hutchinson says: "Two parties were produced, not in the other churches only, but in the State also." The Magnalia observes: "The whole people of God throughout the Colony were too much distinguished into such as favored the old church, and such as favored the new church; whereof the former were against the Synod, and the latter were for it." Randolph subsequently wrote to London:* "There was a great difference between the old church and members of the new church about baptism, and their members joining in full communion with either church. This was so high, that there was imprisoning of parties and great disturbances." Such imprisonment does not appear to have been for illegal worship, because the far larger portion of the Colonists considered that the seceding church were right, but for some other ground of difference. There is no question but the great excitement against the First church arose chiefly from Mr. Davenport's opposition to the Synod's recommendation of the half-way Covenant.

16. A letter from Mr. Davenport and his colleague† is read to the Salem church. It desires that they would not think uncharitably of them. Mr. Higginson observes that, as the dissenting members had become a church, by a Council composed of representatives from five churches, according to the advice of two other Councils, he perceived no need of doing any thing about the communication.

19. The General Court‡ being informed that *De Imitatione Christi*, "written by Thomas a Kempis, a Popish minister, wherein is conteyned some things that are less safe to be infused among the people of this place, doe commend it to the licensers of the press, the more full revisall thereof, and that in the meane time there be no further progresse in that worke."

They release Edward Dunker from prison, where he had been put, for assembling on the Sabbath, March 7, to worship with Baptists at the house of Thomas Gould. They state to him, that if he repeat the offense, he shall be confined for trial.

25. Magistrates object to the deputies' presenting their thanks§ to Mr. Davenport for his late Election Sermon, because it had many passages "ill resented by the Reverend Elders of other churches and many serious persons."

* Randolph's Letter to the Bishop of London. † First Ch. Rec. Annals of Salem, p. 237. ‡ Gen. Ct. Rec. § Mass. Archives. Eccl. vol. i. p. 7.

1669.]

June 20. Samuel,* son of William Brackenbury, of Malden, grad. at Harvard College, 1664, afterwards physician in Boston, where he died of small pox, 1677, receives a call to preach one year at Rowley, which he accepts.

26. William Woodward,† whom Hull calls "a young but powerful preacher," dies at Dedham. He assisted Mr. Allen in pulpit labors, for which his brother Peter claimed £40 after his decease.

29. Some of the Quakers belonging to Salem are fined for non-attendance on the public worship, required by law. John Blevin and Robert Gray, of their number, are imprisoned for not giving security. Tamson, the widow of Robert Buffum,‡ of the same town, had been appointed administratrix of his estate; but, as Gertrude Pope and Elizabeth Kitchen, of the Friends, and witnesses to his will, would only testify and not swear to its correctness, it was not allowed to remain on file."

July 4. On the 29th ult., while the First church of Boston were in session, to satisfy some who remained dissatisfied as to the two letters concerning Mr. Davenport and the New Haven church, "they put forth all the sisters," which is now brought up at the Lord's Supper. To show that he intended no ill, Mr. Allen declared that what he did on the occasion was in the integrity of his heart. Elder Penn assented to the same position.

15. The Rowley church records contain a statement, which signifies that many charged the Elders of the First Boston church with deception; because they construed the letter from Hartford church as granting a dismission of Mr. Davenport from the pastoral oversight of them. It is evident that his opinion, expressed against the half-way covenant, had rendered him unpopular with most professors of religion, who were thereby more easily inclined to indulge suspicions unfavorable to his reputation.

24. Eleazar, son of Richard Mather, and minister of Northampton, dies.§ He was born May 13, 1637, grad. H. Coll. 1656, and ordained June 23, 1661. His age, of course, was over thirty-two years. He married a daughter of the Rev. John Warham, who became the wife of the Rev. Solomon Stoddard. He left an only daughter, who married the Rev. John Williams, and a son, Warham, grad. H. C. 1685, who, in 1688, preached at Northfield. After his decease, an exhortation to the future and present generation, collected from his last sermons, was published 1671. He was eminent for talents, learning and piety; a zealous and successful preacher of the gospel.

August 16. The First church of Boston vote, that "our honoured magistrates do draw up instructions for Capt. Clarke to New Haven,

* Rowley Ch. Rec.

† Lamson's Centennial, p. 26.

‡ Essex Qt.

Ct. Rec. Annals of Salem, p. 237.

§ Magnalia, b. iii. ch. 20, p. 130.

that they might declare their owning of the Letter sent from them to their church to be a true dismissal for Mr. Davenport."

20. They vote, that a Committee answer a communication from Dedham church "inquiring after the proceeding of the church about a letter or letters from the church of New Haven."

25. They meet to hear such a reply,* and "unanimously concur with it as their own mind."

This summer, as a serious interruption to missionary labors, six or seven hundred of the New England Indians, who had been at war with the Maquas, or Mohawks, about seven years, march into the country of the latter. Eliot and Gookin advised them against the expedition. Not more than five of the praying Indians went with them, and only one of these lived to return.

After much delay, the assailants reached the fort of their enemies, who had strengthened and stored it with provisions for a siege. The Maquas made a sally, in which several were killed on both sides. Some days after this, the besiegers, perceiving that their supplies of food and ammunition were nearly exhausted, and some of their forces sick, retreated towards home. When they had come about thirty miles, they were ambushed by the Mohawks, and had fifty or more of their chiefs, besides others, slain in the conflict. The survivors at last got to their several places of abode, much disheartened at their defeat and losses. They were enabled, by influence of the English and Dutch, two years or more after, to make a peace with the dreaded Mohawks.†

26. The new church of Boston apply to the selectmen‡ for leave to build a house of worship. Such authorities vote that "there is need of another meeting house to be erected in this town," which is taken as a permission. The application for this liberty was occasioned by opposition which the seceders met with from Governor Bellingham, a member of the First church, when he understood that they had taken measures to build. He called together his Council for advice, as he observed, "fearing a sudden tumult," if such a purpose was carried into effect. They, however, decided that it was not best for them to interfere, but let the law, with regard to such matters, take its course.

October 9. The First church of Boston§ attend to the following business: "Upon hearing the letters read from New Haven in answer to a letter of two of the elders to them, it was voted unanimously that the church doth stand to the former vote and judgment in the case of the elders, about the extracting the sense of the letters dismissive." They agree to call Mr. Oxenbridge, who had been so addressed by Charlestown church, to assist "the

* First Boston Ch. Rec. † Gookin. Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. vol. i. p. 166, 7.

‡ Hutchinson, 3 ed. vol. i. p. 248, 9. Wisner's Hist. of Old South Church. Hull states that the meeting-house was erected in November of this year.

§ MS. Rec.

1670.]

present teaching officers in preaching the word of God." They grant dismission to Mr. Thacher and his wife to the Charlestown church.

12. The General Court, in their appointment of Thanksgiving for the 17th of the next month, speak as though a famine threatened the Colony the preceding summer by excessive rains.

29. The new church of Boston desire* John Hull, bound to England, to obtain a minister there, as colleague with Mr. Thacher. On the 4th of November, nineteen ministers address a letter by Mr. Hull to ministers and brethren of the Congregational order in that kingdom, for a similar purpose. On the 8th, Mr. Thacher and twenty-seven brethren of his new church sign a letter with a like direction and object.

December 13. The First church of Boston† vote "that the elders should go from house to house to visit the families, and see how they are instructed in the grounds of religion."

This year Michael Wigglesworth, of Malden, published a poem on the sanctification of afflictions.

1670. January 12. The Third church of Boston keep a day of fasting and humiliation when they elected Thomas Thacher for their minister, Edward Rainsford for ruling elder, Jacob Eliot and Peter Brackett for deacons, and designate the 16th of February for their induction into office. This appointment was complied with by ministers of the Bay, but Mr. Phillips, of Rowley,‡ noted that he was unable to attend, because there was so much snow. The First church of Boston, whence the Third church had seceded, were invited to take part in these solemnities, but they declined.

February 2. Benjamin Bunker, minister of Malden, dies. He was son of George and Judith Bunker, of Charlestown, born 1635, graduated at Harvard College, 1658, and ordained December 9, 1663.

Michael Wigglesworth wrote of the deceased :

" He was another Timothy,
That, from his very youth,
With holy writ acquainted was,
And verst in th' word of truth ;
Who, as he grew to riper years,
He also grew in grace ;
And as he drew near his end,
He mended still his pace."

13. A paper of the Woodman party, as a reply to charges made against them lately by Mr. Parker, in a congregation of the town and church of Newbury, is read on the Sabbath in the meeting house, by John Webster, for which he was prosecuted. But all that the verdict of the jury affirmed was, that he did so act.

* Arch. Americana, vol. iii. p. 308-12. † MS. Rec. ‡ Rowley Ch. Rec.

[Mass.]

March 15. John Davenport, pastor of the First church in Boston, dies of an apoplexy, in his seventy-third year. The rest which he had here from his trials in the union of New Haven with Connecticut, was short and much disturbed by the division among his last people, because he left his previous charge. Hubbard remarks of him, that he was "a person beyond exception and compare for all ministerial abilities; and upon that account highly esteemed and accepted in both Englands." His position, that the Regicide Judges, so called, should be protected by the people of New Haven, when pursued, 1661, by royal agents, was a principal means of preserving the former from apprehension and execution. His portrait is in the museum of Yale College. He published many able productions* on subjects of his profession. Mr. Davenport cherished elevated purposes, made large sacrifices, and acted nobly for the benefit of New England, who should ever cherish his memory with sentiments of strong gratitude and high esteem. The Magnalia assigns to him the following epitaph: "Safely in port. In life, the ornament of New England and the church; dead, the object of their common regret."

16. The opponents of Mr. Parker, calling themselves the church, send him a paper, declaring that they have deposed him from the ministry. In the evening, they notified him that they had chosen two ruling elders, and that they intended to invite the neighboring churches to come and help ordain in one week. Mr. Parker sent them an exhortation to cease from such proceedings, as very irregular. Several communications of like tenor passed between him and his opponents.

April. The subsequent transactions† are of rare occurrence in church discipline. The wives‡ of brethren who belonged to Mr. Thacher's church, having partaken of the Lord's Supper with them, request the First church to release them from their covenant engagements. On the 24th, a reply is voted for these sisters, which says: "We cannot have communion with such of ours at the Lord's table, who have and do communicate with them" of the new church, "until they give us satisfaction." On the 1st of August, the last church propose an amicable adjustment of difficulties with the other church. They say in this connection, we entreat you "to dismiss unto us those who, being of our mind, have still held communion with us." On the 15th of May, 1671, the First church had not

* See a list of his publications, etc., in Bacon's Hist. Discourses, p. 389, 90.

† Wisner's Hist. p. 11, 82-4. Old South Ch. MSS.

‡ Their names follow: Mrs. Margaret Thacher, Mrs. Elizabeth Gibbs, now Cowin, (Corwin,) Mrs. Mary Norton, Hannah Fraye, Mary Salter, Mrs. Judith Hull, Mrs. Mary Savage, now Stoddard, Ranis Belcher, Elizabeth Rainsford, Sara Pemberton, Elizabeth Thurston, Sara Walker, Mary Tappan, Elizabeth Alden, Elizabeth Roocke, (Ruck?) Sara Oliver, Mary Eliot, Mary Bracket, Susanna Dawes, Joanna Mason, Alice Harper, Mrs. Rachel Rawson, Sara Bodman, (Bordman.?)

1670.]

complied ; but they then suspended Sarah Pemberton, one of the women for whom the request was made. On the 28th of May, 1674, a Council* assemble to consider the question proposed by the new church, "What is our duty towards those members of the old church, who were and still are secluded from communion with that church in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, only because of their participation with us therein, and who also desire to join in church fellowship with us." The Council, after stating the reasons, decide that "such members may join, and such a church unto whom they desire to join may receive them into their fellowship."

10. John Oxenbridge† is chosen pastor, and John Wiswell ruling elder, of the First church in Boston. The latter was admitted a member of the church on the same day.

19. The Council who met November 5, at Newbury,‡ about the troubles there, assemble again. A document from the Woodman side states that they have spent more than twenty-five years in contention, whereby religion has been injured, and the church "defamed throughout the country as an unquiet people." They desire the Council to cancel any decision they may have signed against them, and act impartially as a mutual Council. They assert that the great cause of difficulty with them is that they will not turn Presbyterians ; that they are called "decliners to Levelism and Morellianism," though true Congregationalists. Having heard both parties, the Council came to the result, 22d, that they should comply with the platform of discipline practiced by the churches of New England and some other relative considerations. Such advice was accepted and complied with for a season, but the truce was broken in the course of the year.

May 11. Samuel Danforth, of Roxbury, preaches the election sermon. His subject was, "A Brief Recognition of New England's Errand into the Wilderness." It has a preface by Thomas Shepard, of Charlestown. The doctrine, "Such as have sometime left their pleasant cities and habitations to enjoy the pure worship of God in a wilderness, are apt in time to abate and cool in their affections thereunto ; but then the Lord calls upon them seriously and throughly to examine themselves." The preacher expresses his regret at the variety and diversity of prevalent opinions. He applies this to his audience, as representatives of the country. He calls on them to reform, commit themselves to the protection of Christ, and follow him, as the best suppression of their own evil propensities, and the most efficient conquest of their "many adversaries."

* Their names are—Samuel Whiting, sen., John Eliot, Peter Hobart, Thomas Cobbett, John Sherman, William Hubbard, John Higginson, John Wilson, Jeremiah Hubbard, Samuel Phillips, Joseph Rowlandson, Seaborn Cotton, John Hale.

† Rec. First Ch. of Boston.

‡ Coffin's Newbury, p. 86, 7.

During the session, several orders are passed. Any person, who brings cards and dice into the Jurisdiction, or knowingly receives or retains them, shall be fined five pounds. In view of prevailing evils, as selfishness, jealousy, backbiting, pride, luxury, oppression, intemperance and other vices, neglect to instruct the young, and support the ministers of some places, disregard for the privileges of Commonwealth and Church, and decay of love to God, a Fast is appointed the 16th of June.*

The Committee who reported on prevailing evils,† mention the invasion of church privileges, usurpation of power over God's heritage and disregard for gospel order, as among them. They were distinctly understood as aiming, in such language, at the Third church of Boston, and the ministers who had a hand in their organization. To make their meaning positive, they close with a "notice of the late transaction of churches and elders in constituting the Third church of Boston, as irregular, illegal and disorderly." The House adopt the report. This increased the public excitement. The next election of the Legislature turned chiefly on the question, Who are for the old church, and who for the new? Most of the members, who had favored the report against the latter church, were not chosen.

With reference to such a report, Rev. Mr. Flint, of Dorchester, wrote as follows in his diary: "A spirit of division, persecuting and oppressing God's ministers and precious saints, is the sin which is unseen and none bears witness against. It is a great sin and threatens a sword of divine wrath. God's seers fear it, and their bowels and compassions are moved at it." The Legislature, next year, recalled the expressions, which censured the respectable ministers who stood for the new church.

The question, whether a man may marry the sister of his deceased wife, is decided by the Court in the negative. Messrs. Bradstreet, Danforth and Leverett, are chosen a Committee, invested with full power to treat with the Commissioners of Connecticut and Plymouth, about the renewal of articles for the government of the Union. Captain Thomas Marshall, of Lynn, is to lose his commission for marrying people, because he had been too credulous and had married Mr. Deacon to Hope Allen's daughter.

June. The First church of Salem concludes that the time for admitting members should be at the close of the sermon in the afternoon. It was customary with them for candidates to stand propounded one month before they were received.

2. Commissioners of the united Colonies,‡ Connecticut, Massachusetts and Plymouth, agree on fifteen articles, as the basis of their subsequent administration, and to be laid before each of their Gen-

* Gen. Ct. Rec.

† Hutchinson, 3 ed. vol. i. p. 248, 9.

‡ Hazard's Coll. vol. ii. p. 511-16.

1670.]

eral Courts for consideration and approval. The commencement runs thus :—"Whereas we all came into these parts of America with one and the same end and aim, viz. : to advance the kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to enjoy the liberties of the Gospel in purity and peace ;" and as we have settlements of other nations nigh us, and Indians have several times conspired against us, and our native country is so far off as not to give help, which may be needed, we count it our duty and safety "to enter into Confederation for mutual help and succor in all our future concerns, that in Nation and Religion, so in other respects, we be and continue one." They do this in accordance with fifteen articles. They agree to be called "The United Colonies of New England," as was done in 1643. They "enter into a firm and perpetual league of friendship and amity, mutual advice and succor upon all just occasions, both for preserving and propagating the truth and liberties of the Gospel, and for their own mutual safety and welfare." Two commissioners from each Colony, "being all in church fellowship," shall be appointed for the government of the Union. One of their duties was to ascertain "how all the Jurisdictions may carry it towards the Indians, that they neither grow insolent nor be injured without due satisfaction," and another to have run-away servants and fugitive criminals restored. Three or more of the Commissioners, at a duly notified meeting of the year, may dispose of "the Indian stock," or transact business of the missions, keep a record of these and report at the annual session of the whole Board.

28. The Essex County Court* lay fines on some of the Quakers, and order attachments of property, belonging to others, so that they may be compelled to appear and answer accusations.

September 30. Under this date, John Eliot writes† to Robert Boyle, President of the Missionary Corporation, in London : "You have added no small encouragement unto me, in that worthy gift, which your honour is pleased to bestow on me, viz., Pool's Synopsis, or *Critica Sacra* upon the whole Bible, which, though it be not yet come, is under the care and faithful hand of my worthy friend, Mr. Ashurst." With regard to the Indians, probably at Natick, Mr. Eliot observes : "I have undertaken a kind of academical reading unto them, in their own language, thereby to teach the teachers and rulers and all that are desirous of learning." "I have some thoughts, if God give life and means, to read medicine, and call for such roots (for they altogether use the root, and not the herb) as they have experience of ; especially had I wherewith to recompense any, that being a desirable experiment." He speaks as though many of the principal Indians came "a great way" to attend on such occasions. He mentions a remarkable event, as to multitudes of fish, which died this summer, in a pond at Watertown ; that as many as could

* MS. Rec.

† Birch's Life of Boyle, p. 430-2.

get to the shore did, and there died; that cattle around refused, for three days, to drink the water. He states that he had written to the Commissioners about his missionary labors, who would send him a similar account.

October 10. For the peace and liberty* which the Colony yet enjoy, and for a favorable harvest, the 24th of November is set apart for a Thanksgiving.

Rebecca, the former wife of Matthew Craddock, and now the wife of Benjamin Whitchcot, D. D., petitions, with the latter, for claims which her first husband had against the Massachusetts Company. Though the Court do not feel that, under existing circumstances, such demands should be liquidated by the Colony, still, in view of Craddock's great disbursements for the promotion of its welfare, they grant the petitioners one thousand acres of land.

The Articles of Confederation,† as agreed on by Commissioners June 2, are presented and accepted, with a few amendments, by the General Court.

November 30. Edward Drinker, belonging to the Baptist church of Boston, writes‡ to John Clarke and his church in Newport, Rhode Island. He relates that William Turner, of their persuasion, is imprisoned in Boston, and that two warrants are issued for the apprehension of Gould, when he comes to town from his residence on Noddle's Island. He assigns as the cause of such severity, that these two brethren did not move away according to the order of 1668, passed by the General Court. He remarks that all the Deputies, "except one or two," voted that Turner and Gould should be cleared from responsibility in the premises, but the magistrates non-concurred. He says: "The town and country is very much troubled at our troubles; and especially the old church in Boston, and their Elders, both Mr. Oxenbridge and Mr. Allen have labored abundantly, I think as if it had been for their best friends in the world. Many more gentlemen and solid Christians are for our brother's deliverance; but it cannot be had; a very great trouble to the town; and they had gotten six magistrates' hands for his deliverance, but could not get the Governor's hand to it. Some say one end is, that they may prevent others coming out of England; therefore, they would discourage them by dealing with us." The writer proceeds to inform his friends, that their society worship on Noddle's Island, and some persons have been added to their church; that John Russell, senior, is another of their Elders; that he lives at Woburn, where there are five brethren who can meet with him, when they are unable to assemble at the Island, and more of that town are reported as agreeing with them in opinion.

John Eliot writes to Mr. Ashurst, treasurer of the Missionary

* Gen. Ct. Rec.

† Ibid.

‡ Backus, vol. i. p. 398-400.

1670.]

Corporation, woolen draper, in Aldersgate street: "Our church at Natick have sent forth divers to sundry places to invite their countrymen to pray unto God. Though it be a stormy and tempestuous seed-time, yet it is better to bring forth the greater harvest of saints and believers. Though their adversaries think of no such matter, but only how they may extirpate them—a poor afflicted people, coming out of great tribulation, will be fit matter for the kingdom of Christ."

This year there were about fifty-five churches* and eight thousand communicants in the Colonies of Massachusetts and Plymouth.

The Indians† at Pawtucket, on the Merrimack River, begin to have the gospel preached among them. In reference to this, Wannalanacet, the chief, said to Eliot and Gookin, May 5, 1674: "Sirs, you have been pleased for four years last past, in your abundant love, to apply yourselves particularly unto me and my people, to exhort, press and persuade us to pray to God."

Tawanquatyck or Tawauquatick‡ was the chief sachem at the east end of Martha's Vineyard, where the English settled, 1642, and the first one of his rank who became a Christian there. Desirous to accommodate them with land, he was opposed by several of his council, called in Indian, Ahtoskouaog. To quiet these opposers, he gave them parts of his sachemship, and then sold a considerable portion of what he reserved for himself, to the English, so that they might settle on what was called Edgartown. He was at the house of Miohgsoo or Myoxos, when Hiacoomes preached there, 1646, and he soon after invited Mr. Mayhew to preach for his tribe, and he himself was one of his constant hearers. Several wise conversations of his were noted by his pastor, and a remarkable escape he had from being killed for his decided support of the gospel. He took a prominent part among the praying Indians in signing a covenant drawn up by Mr. Mayhew, as they requested him, in their own language, That they would serve the true God and him only. At this time he did the same for having a Christian government formed for the Indians, according to the Word of God, which was subsequently done. When this was accomplished, he was constituted a Christian magistrate, and long dutifully discharged its duties, who had ruled as an Indian sachem amid the darkness and corruptions of heathenism. When the time of his departure came, in the year at the head of this notice, he had witnessed a good profession, and was ready to lay down his life.

John Tackanash§ as before stated, was ordained teacher with Hiacoomes. His residence was at Nunpang, on the east end of Martha's Vineyard. His natural and acquired talents were

* Biblical Repository and Quarterly Observer, 1835, p. 210.

† Mass. Hist. Coll. 1 s. vol. i. p. 187.

‡ E. Mayhew, Indian Converts, p. 80-82.

§ Ibid. p. 14-16.

more than common for his countrymen, and his deportment adorned the doctrines of the gospel. These fellow-laborers in the most important work of men, continued harmoniously to redeem their ordination pledges. As members of the church resided several miles apart, at different places, and thus they found it difficult to assemble so fully as they wished, it was concluded well for them to separate. Hiacoomes and Joshua Mamachegin, one of the Ruling Elders, took charge of those who resided at Chappequiddick; Tackanash and John Nohnoso did the like as to those resident on the main island of the Vineyard. This separation continued until age prevented Hiacoomes from preaching steadily, and then the two churches united under Tackanash, with whom the English as well as the Indians were much satisfied, the pastor rendering the teacher assistance as his infirmities allowed. Tackanash perseveringly, closely and successfully applied himself to the appropriate studies of his profession like an Anglo-Saxon, and thus disproved the unexceptionable remark, that none of his American race ever so approved themselves. "For a preacher, no Indian in these parts has been thought to come up to him." After a lingering illness, which seems to have been consumption, he died January 22, 1684, and was buried the next day; a large collection met to mourn his departure, and two addresses, suitable to the occasion, were offered by Japhet, a pious native, and Hiacoomes.

PLYMOUTH.

1667. March. The town allowed at Wannamoiset, is called Swansea. Thomas Willett, one of the principal inhabitants, had proposed several rules,* on which individuals were to be admitted among them. Such regulations were accepted. They follow. "That no erroneous person be admitted into the township either as an inhabitant or sojourner. That no man of any evil behavior as contentious persons, etc., be admitted. That none may be admitted, that may become a charge to the place."

The church gathered here, under John Myles, the Baptist, address Willett and other trustees of the town. They agree to carry on the township, as the conditions prescribed. They explain the first rule to exclude those holding the subsequent denials of "the Trinity or any person thereof; the Deity or sinless humanity of Christ, or the union of both natures in him, or his full satisfaction to the divine justice by his active and passive obedience for all his

* MS. Papers of Mass. Hist. Soc. Baylies' Hist. of Plym. vol. ii. p. 236-9.

1667.]

elect, or his resurrection, ascension to heaven, intercession, or his second personal coming to judgment; or else of the truth or divine authority of any part of canonical Scripture, or the resurrection of the dead, or to maintain any merit of works, consubstantiation, transubstantiation, giving adoration to any creature, or any other anti-christian doctrine, thereby directly opposing the priestly, prophetic, or kingly office of Christ, or any part thereof."

They explain the second rule to exclude such as deny the right of magistrates to govern, punish the evil and protect the good; as deny the first day of the week as the Lord's or Christian Sabbath; the giving of honor to whom it is due, and the allowance of civil manners, as bowing the knee, body, etc.; as deny the office of the ministry, its comfortable maintenance, and reproach the churches of Christ in the country or others like them.

They desire it to be understood, that this contract does not exclude persons who hold opinions not essential to salvation, "such as pedobaptism, anti-pedobaptism, church discipline, or the like; but that the minister or ministers of the said town may take their liberty to baptize infants or grown persons, as the Lord shall persuade their consciences, and so, also, the inhabitants to take their liberty to bring their children to baptism, or forbear." Such articles were agreed to by the church and Willett, with his associates. They carried difficulty* in their appearance, and required much Christian forbearance to be rendered practicable.

March 5. Mr. Samuel Seabury† having, by written and other means, defamed "the ministry of Duxbury," is before the Legislature and warned by them "to desist from such disturbing practices."

William Lumpkin and Peter Worden, for disturbance at the Yarmouth meeting-house, are fined 10/. each. Arthur Howland, Jr., for making an offer of marriage to "Mistress Elizabeth Prince," and "prosecuting the same" contrary to her parents' "mind and wish," is fined £5, and required to give bonds that he will desist from such conduct.

June 5. Robert Pinion is taken up as a vagrant and publicly whipped, and ordered to depart immediately, with a pass from the Government.

The General Court give instructions for the Commissioners of Plymouth, that if the Confederation continue, it be kept better. They express a preference for its continuance.

July 2. Messrs. Myles and Brown, for breach of order in holding a religious meeting† without leave of the Court, are each fined £5, and Mr. Tanner 20/., and the Court add: "We judge that

* Mass. Gen. Ct. MS. Before July 9, 1711, a part of the people in Swanzeey petitioned the Legislature that the town might be divided "because they did not enjoy the true gospel and ordinances." The Baptists, opponents of their petition, of course did not agree with their reasons.

† Plymouth Colony Record.

‡ Ibid.

their continuance at Rehoboth being very prejudicial to the peace of that church and that town, may not be allowed, and do therefore order all persons concerned therein, wholly to desist from the said meeting in that place or township within this month, yet, in case they should remove their meeting unto some other place, where they may not prejudice any other church, and shall give us any reasonable satisfaction respecting their principles, we know not but they may be permitted by this Government so to do."

The General Court, on the 5th of June,* considered a charge against Philip, sachem of Pockanocket, by a Narragansett sachem, that he was "in compliance with the French against the English of New England." They then designated Lt. Hunt and Ensign Smith to visit Warwick, and require Philip to give them a meeting before one of the magistrates there. They also ordered "that Ninnegret have notice thereof, that so he may understand what is charged against him." Philip now appears before the Legislature of Plymouth, to answer the accusation of perfidy by "importing his readiness to comply with French and Dutch against the English, and so not only recover the lands sold to the English, but also enrich himself with their goods." He denies this charge, though there is strong proof that he would do as accused, if opportunity offered. He is charged with £40, as the expense of persons sent to ascertain the reports on this subject. His arms, which had been delivered up and were at Plymouth and Rehoboth, are returned to him.

If any estates are attached for the ministers' rates, they shall be put in the hands of such persons as each town appoint, and they shall dispose of the same at their discretion.

The towns are advised by the Court to make contributions for "printing of the History of God's dispensations towards New England in general; in special towards this Colony." This, as we know, was Morton's Memorial.

September 5. At a session of the Commissioners† for the three Colonies in Hartford, a letter from Plymouth to Massachusetts, dated June 21, 1665, is read. This communication gave reasons why the Confederation could not be continued as it had been under four. The same subject now comes up, and is deferred to the consideration of the several General Courts.

Mr. Bourne, of Sandwich, still preaches to Indians. He has two Indian schoolmasters among them. Ten pounds are handed the Governor of Plymouth, to distribute among the most deserving Indians.

Nicholas Nicarson appears before the General Court to answer for speaking against a sermon of Thomas Thornton, and he engages to confess his fault publicly, and particularly at the Yarmouth meeting-house, and also promises to reform.

* Plym. Col. Rec. and Laws.

† Hazard, vol. ii. p. 502, 3, 8.

1668.]

November 30. John Cotton, who had been invited * to preach at Plymouth, September, 1666, but could not before, moves to this place with his family, and dispenses the gospel to them.

1668. March. We are told by Baylies, that Noah, son of Samuel Newman, is settled among the people of his father at Rehoboth. The next December, he is voted a salary of £40 and firewood. A committee are designated "to see the order accomplished, and to speak to them who were defective in not doing their duty." As in 1671, his salary had not been paid, it was ordered that such dues be discharged by contributions every Sabbath.

March 5. Joseph Turner, † "for publishing a scurrilous and infamous writing" in verse, "is sentenced to be publicly whipped, or pay a fine of five pounds."

Francis, the sachem of Nausett, for his inhuman conduct towards Capt. Allen, when cast away on Cape Cod, is committed to prison and fined £10.

Nathaniel Soule, for speaking disrespectfully of John Holmes, minister of Duxbury, is sentenced to be set in the stocks, make a public confession, and give bonds to keep the peace. The first of these requisitions was not executed, at the desire of Mr. Holmes, but the other two were performed.

June 3. Edward Gray, for reviling John Bryant, the son-in-law to Stephen Bryant, of Plymouth, on the Lord's day, as soon as they came out of the meeting, is fined 10/.

Five persons are fined for excessive drinking. At the earnest request of William Tubbs to be divorced from his wife, Marcy, who had refused to live with him "for a long time," and who resided in Rhode Island; the Court direct a letter to the Government there, desiring them to let her know that, if she does not return to her husband before the "first Tuesday of July next," he shall be divorced from her. At the date here assigned, Tubbs appeared and claimed such separation from his wife, she having left him for upwards of four years, and said, in view of her notification, she would never go back to him "while her eyes were open." The Legislature grant his petition.

The General Court allow the Treasurer to pay £20, besides contributions in the towns, for the paper, towards the publication of Morton's Memorial. They granted, 5th of July, £5 more if needed. The book was printed next year, by Samuel Green and Marmaduke Johnson, at Cambridge, Massachusetts, when the Legislature order a barrel of beef for the former of these two, though not his due, because he complained of a hard bargain.

October 29. For the continuance of civil and religious liberty, ‡ general health and a common harvest, public Thanksgiving is ordered the 25th of November.

* Thacher's Hist. of Plym. p. 273.

† Plym. Col. Rec.

‡ Ibid.

1669. March 2. James Cole, Sen., of Plymouth,* is fined £5 for his wife Mary's selling liquor to an Indian, and also £3 for her committing a like offense during public worship on the Sabbath, with reference to five other persons.

Richard Berry, Sen., Jedediah Lumbert, Benjamin Lumbert and James Maker, are fined 5/. each, for smoking tobacco at the end of the Yarmouth meeting-house, on the Lord's day, "in the time of exercise."

June 1. Namaskett is incorporated by the name of Middleborough, with the proviso "that a competency of land be reserved for a minister."†

Thomas Walley, pastor of the Barnstable church, preaches an Election Sermon before the General Court. His text is 8th c. of Jeremiah, 22d v. His subject is, "Balm in Gilead to heal Sion's Wounds, or a Treatise wherein there is a clear discovery of the most prevailing sicknesses of New England, both in the civil and ecclesiastical state; as also, suitable remedies for the cure of them." In his dedication to Governor Thomas Prince and the Assistants, the preacher observes: "I do account it a great mercy, that we have such Rulers, that we may more safely publish truth than conceal it. If we conceal it, we fall into the hands of God, but if we publish it, we are not in danger of falling into the hands of men. Worthy Senators, I may boldly publish, for the honor of God and your honor, that such hath been your labor of love in the churches, that you seem to take more delight in the unity of the churches, than in being magistrates." As he progresses in his discourse, Mr. Walley mentions the spiritual diseases which prevail. The lethargy of Christians; the burning fever or fire of contention in towns and churches; evil spirits of oppression, cruelty and covetousness, error and delusion, envy and jealousy, pride in heart and manners." He exhorts the magistrates, as healers, to extirpate profaneness, to see that Christ is preached in every waste place of the Colony, to keep the corruptions of the contentious under good laws, and to preserve the faith once committed to the saints. While on this part of his sermon, he remarks: "A well-bounded toleration was very desirable in all Christian commonwealths, that there may be no just occasion for any to complain of cruelty or persecution; but it must be such a toleration, that God may not be publicly blasphemed, nor idolatry practiced. Neither ought any error to be tolerated, that hath a tendency in its own nature to profaneness, or the disturbance of peace and order in Church or State." At the October session, the Court observed "the usefulness and seasonableness" of this discourse, and required that it should be printed. It was so issued at Cambridge, and received the imprimature of Charles Chauncy and Thomas Shepard, as licensers.

* Plym. Col. Rec.

† Ibid.

1669.]

30. John Cotton is ordained* over the First church of Plymouth. The churches represented on this occasion were those of Barnstable, Marshfield, Weymouth and Duxbury. Elder Thomas Cushman gave the charge, and the aged John Howland took part in the imposition of hands. Mr. Walley prayed, and Mr. Torrey gave the right hand of fellowship. As suggested by the late Election Sermon, the ruling elder and the pastor soon made it their special care to visit all the families in town, and converse with them on their spiritual concerns. When Mr. Cotton was first settled, there were forty-seven members of his church in full communion. He remarked, "The work of God seemed in those days to have a considerable revival."

July 5. At the General Court, the following orders† are passed:

None to sell wine, liquor, cyder or beer, by retail, without a license.

"Profane singing, dancing or revelling," in licensed ordinaries, are forbidden on penalty of ten shillings for each.

"None shall vote in town meetings but freemen, or freeholders, of £20 rateable estate, and of good conversation, having taken the oath of fidelity."

"Whereas great inconvenience hath arisen by single persons being for themselves, and not betaking themselves to live in well-governed families," no such person shall live by himself, or in any family not approved by the selectmen.

They who neglect to pay their ministerial taxes, shall be summoned to the next Court, and, if having no good excuse for such delay, shall be amerced double the sum of their assessments.

Constables shall look diligently after those who sleep or play about the meeting-house, in time of worship on the Sabbath. If such offenders do not reform, their names shall be returned to the Court.

They who ride violently, when there is no need, on the Lord's day, shall be alike reported. They who then smoke tobacco within two miles of the meeting-house, going to or coming from public worship, shall pay twelve pence for each default.

William Randall, Sen.,‡ for "villifying the government by opprobrious speeches," is fined £5.

October. Philip Leonard, Arthur Howland, William Norkett and William Hinckman, are complained of for refusing to pay ministerial rates.

This year, the town of Plymouth vote, that the selectmen§ procure a school-master, and settle him as near the centre as may be convenient. Each scholar who learns to write or cypher, or studies Latin, shall pay three pence a week. If he learn to read only, he

* Thacher's Hist. Plym. p. 273. Baylies' Plym. Colony, vol. ii. p. 252, 3.

† Plym. Col. Records—Laws.

‡ Ibid.

§ Thacher's Hist. Plym. p. 303.

shall pay three half-pence a week, and what remains due to the school, to be levied by rate on the inhabitants.

1670. January. The Plymouth church* commence a monthly meeting for religious conference, on the Saturday afternoon before the sacramental communion. Dr. Thacher states that these meetings were continued "many years," and were very useful.

February 7. Extracts from the will† of an Indian, converted to the faith of the gospel, follow. His will of this date was presented 1st of March. His name was Nanquit Numacke, of Penquinhole, alias Wesqueeb. "I commit my soul into the hands of Jesus Christ, my Saviour, whom I do believe loveth me and gave himself for me to redeem me from the sting of death." He requests to be buried in the English manner. "I desire that my children after me, may choose the Lord for their God and to walk in his ways, for which end I desire to leave my children in the hands of the Lord Jesus." What a marked contrast to the language of heathenism, and to that of multitudes born and educated in gospel communities!

March 1. Nathaniel Fitsrandall is fined 42/. for refusing to pay half this sum for the ministry at Barnstable.

26. "Mist'ris Alice, widow of Governor Bradford, changed this life for a better, having attained to fourscore years of age, or thereabouts. She was a godly matron and much loved while she lived, and lamented though aged when she died, and was honourably interred on the 29th day of the month aforesaid, at New Plymouth."

June 7. The General Court assemble.‡ On the subject of ministers' salaries, they express themselves as follows: "Forasmuch as it appeareth to be greatly inconvenient, that the ministers should be troubled to gather in the rates for their maintenance; and may be an occasion to prejudice some persons against them or their ministry, it is enacted by this Court, that, at June Courts yearly, two meet persons in each town be appointed by the said Court, unless the towns have already provided, who shall take care for the gathering in of their ministers' maintenance for that year, by inciting of the people to their duty in that respect, demanding it when due, and, if need be, by procuring distraint upon the estate of any that shall neglect or refuse to pay their rates. In case any minister shall scruple to receive what is so raised, it shall nevertheless be gathered as abovesaid, and be disposed as the Court shall order for the good of the place." They make the subsequent declaration. "Whereas it hath been and is the pious care and true intent of this Court, that all such plantations and townships as are by them granted, should maintain the public Sabbath worship of God and the preaching of the word, and do, to that end, afford them such

* Thacher's Hist. Plym. p, 273.

† Plym. Col. Rec.

‡ Ibid.

1670.]

proportion of lands, as may accommodate such a society as may be able to maintain the same; and yet, through the corruption or sinful neglect of many or most of the inhabitants of some plantations, they content themselves to live without the ministry of the word, to the great dishonor of God and danger of their souls; there being great reason to fear that many may be acted therein by worldly and covetous principles; it is by this Court enacted, that in such townships where no minister is resident, especially if it appears that the generality of the inhabitants are remiss in the obtaining of one, the General Court may and shall henceforth yearly impose a certain sum to be raised by rate upon the inhabitants of such plantations or townships, which shall be kept as a stock for building a meeting-house, or for encouragement of a minister to labor among them, or other such pious uses as the Court may improve it in for their good."

The Court require £15 to be assessed on Dartmouth* for religious purposes. This being neglected, was repeated next year. They pass a law, that the Selectmen of each town, or any one of them, may take a constable or his deputy, "and repair to any house or place where they may suspect that any slothfully do lurk at home, or get together in company to neglect the public worship of God or profane the Lord's day, and finding any such disorder, shall return the names of the persons" so offending, to the next Court for inquiry.

It was generally agreed, that the confederation† of Plymouth with Massachusetts and Connecticut, "shall remain as it did formerly with three."

Thomas Pope, for vilifying the ministry, is fined 10/., and William Randall, Sen., John Palmer and Henry Ewell, of Scituate, are prosecuted for neglecting to pay ministerial rates. Capt. Nathaniel Thomas is ordered to pay £2 for a similar neglect at Marshfield.

July 5. Robert Harper, for censuring Rev. Thomas Walley, is ordered to be whipped at the post.

August 3. James Skiff, late of Sandwich,‡ but now of the Vineyard, is divorced from his wife Elizabeth, daughter to Mr. Neighbor Cooper, of Boston, because she had forsaken him, gone to Roanoke, Virginia, and taken another man for her husband.

17. The church of "praying Indians" at Marshpee,§ who sat under the preaching of Richard Bourne, are gathered.

* Brigham's Plym. Col. Laws, p. 159, 60.

† Vineyard Gen. Ct. Rec.

‡ Plym. Col. Rec.

§ Hull's Diary.

MAINE.

1667. July 31. By the Treaty concluded at Breda,* Nova Scotia is restored to the French, and thus the borderers of Maine are changed in their relations from Protestant to Catholic subjects.

1668. May 27. The authorities of Massachusetts observe† that for about three years their government of Maine had been interrupted by some who asperse them, and profess to serve his Majesty's interests. They resolve to exercise their jurisdiction over the people in the County of York, and command them to obey their laws. They require this resolution to be read in the public town meetings which they order to be held there. They appoint Nathaniel Masterson, Marshal, John Leverett, and others, Commissioners of the County.

In their instructions to these Commissioners, they say: "In case you meet with any pretending to possess other authority, or presuming to swerve from the due obedience they owe to this jurisdiction, under his Majesty's royal charter, to which they have submitted and solemnly pledged allegiance, you will bring them to trial before you, and pass sentence upon the guilty, according to the aggravation of their offenses."

June 12. Being informed of such intentions, cherished by the Bay authorities, Governor Nichols writes‡ to them from New York. His language follows: "I am not a little surprised to find that you are preparing to usurp again the government of Maine, at a time, too, when the rights of ownership, which have been submitted to the King by different claimants, are still awaiting his royal determination. Nor can it be unknown to you, that according to his letter of April 10, 1666, whatsoever his Commissioners might do or direct, was to be conclusive, till further commands were received from him. You possess power enough, it is true, to compel a submission of your weaker neighbors; and you may feel in duty bound to re-establish your Courts of law, in answer to the petition of a few unquiet spirits, and under a plausible pretence of restoring order and peace. But I ought not to be silent, in view of measures so directly contrary to the injunctions of his Majesty's letters. Do you presume so much on his forbearance and clemency as to suppose he will never stretch forth an arm of power to defend his subjects from usurpation?" He adds that, being about to sail for England, he must caution them against

* Martin's Hist. Brit. Col. vol. iii. p. 311.

† Mass. Gen. Ct. Rec.

‡ Hutchinson's Coll. p. 437, 2.

1668.]

breaking up the arrangements of the royal Commissioners in Maine, lest it be followed with "bitter quarrels, and even bloodshed." But the rulers of Massachusetts took very different views of this subject from what Nichols did, and persevered in their proposed course.

July 6. According to their instructions, John Leverett, Edward Tyng, and Richard Waldron, as Commissioners, reach York, "accompanied by a military escort." Richard Pike, and the other member of their body, did not attend. Mr. Joscelyn and others, as Justices of the Peace, meet them at the inn where they put up, and desire an interview with them next morning. This is granted. Leverett and his colleagues accordingly meet Joscelyn and his associates, saying they would hear but not treat with them. These read communications from Col. Nichols to the Commissioners, who reply that Massachusetts had assigned reasons to the King why they retained rule over Yorkshire. Joscelyn states, that they would learn that only five or six persons in a town of the County, were inclined to be under the Bay Authorities. The Commissioners say, We shall soon understand how this is from the returns, and we must comply with our orders to hold a Court. The Justices answer, We must also attend to ours. Leverett and those with him repair to the meeting-house, and enter on their duties. They hear the ballots for associates, who were to serve with them, "from five towns, the other two being hindered (as they said) by the Justices, yet in one of them one half of the electors sent in their votes." Thus they have decided evidence that a majority of the people wish to be under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts.

While they are so occupied, the Justices come to the outside of the door and proclaim "that all should attend to his Majesty's commands." The Commissioners order the Marshal to declare openly, "that if any had any command from his Majesty, they coming and showing it to the Court, this body was open and ready to hear the same." The Justices then enter the house and request the Commissioners to have the papers read to the assembly, which they showed them privately. Leverett and his assistants consent that it shall be done in the afternoon. Having adjourned to dine, they are informed that the Justices are going to the meeting-house, where they intend to hold an Assembly or General Court. The former request the latter to converse with them after dinner. Each party agree to do this, if both stop their proceedings until they have held such consultation. Presently after, the Justices dispatch their Marshal and another to read a paper in every public place. These two being met, so occupied, by the Commissioners, and declining to show their authority, are committed to the Marshal appointed by Massachusetts.

Leverett and those with him go to the meeting-house, find it full

of people, and the Justices in their seats. Room being made for them, they advance to Joscelyn and his supporters and say to them, "You are the authors of an affront we little expected, but your course will avail you nothing; you might have called your meeting elsewhere, and at another time. Depend upon this—we shall not be deterred from executing any part of the delegated trust, to which we are commissioned." A scene of confusion immediately ensued, some of the people beginning to speak. But the Commissioners command silence, and order their Marshal to close the Court, which as done, Joscelyn advises. They converse with the Justices, who are re-seated and repeat their wish to have the royal Mandamus of 1666, their commissions and Nichols's letter read, which Leverett and his associates agree to, except the last communication, and this they disallow because not required by the occasion. The Commissioners assert that they know the intendments of the Bay Authorities, as to the settlement of Maine, which they had begun to carry out, and, God willing, they would accomplish them. They continue: "We have declared to the people, that we were not insensible how that at the time of the interruption of the Government in 1665, by such of the King's Commissioners as were then on the place, their displeasure was manifested by telling the people that the Massachusetts were traitors and rebels and disobedient to his Majesty, the reward whereof within one year, they said, should be retributed. Yet we told them, that through the good hand of God and the King's favor, the Massachusetts were an authority to assert their right of government there, by virtue of the royal Charter, and that we did not doubt but that the Massachusetts Colony's actings for the forwarding of his Majesty's service, would outspoke others' words, where there was nothing but words for themselves or against us." Then the Justices leave the assembly. The Commissioners resume the duties of the Court, impanel the jury and administer oaths to them and the associates present. One of these, Roger Plaisted, from Kittery, inquires publicly, as he had privately, how the Government is to be reassumed, and how his constituents were to submit. He is answered as before, that it is done by virtue of the Charter, and that the towns of York will have the same privileges as those of other Counties in the Bay Jurisdiction. A petition from Scarborough is presented for an increase of immunities, and referred to the Legislature. The Commissioners attend to various calls of the occasion. They are applied to by the Justices for another conference, which is granted. The latter present a paper. Having received it, the former appoint military officers for the different towns of York County. They designate another Court for this section on the 15th of September, dissolve and leave for their homes on the 9th of July. Thus we have a specimen of the more than Spartan firmness, which the Massachu-

1669-70.]

setts authorities exhibited in opposition to the policy of royalists, who continually strove to break down their independence, based on Charter principles.*

John Joscelyn, after his second voyage to New England in 1663, resided † considerably at his brother Henry's house in Scarborough. He described the preceding transactions, in his *Book of Travels*, with prejudice against Massachusetts and in favor of the party who followed the instructions of the royal Commissioners. His brother Henry, a strenuous supporter of the national church, greatly damaged his estate by opposition to the Bay Authorities.

October. Among cases of presentment, ‡ are fourteen for persons who absented themselves "from meeting upon the Lord's day." Two of this class are James Michimore and wife, who "pretend they go to hear Mr. Jordan." These two are admonished and discharged. Three more individuals are presented for traveling on the Sabbath. Of them, John Moshier pleads that he went to look after Mr. Lane, who was in peril of drowning. He is fined 5/. and to pay fees 5/., but if his assertion should prove true, the amount shall be returned to him.

1669. May 8. The people of Kittery agree§ that Sturgeon Creek shall be the boundary between the upper and nether parts of the town for public worship, as well as for trainings.

They vote that one hundred and fifty acres|| of land shall be laid out, for the use of the ministry, in each division of the town.

As evidence that the Episcopal party had a controlling influence in Kittery, York and Falmouth, three deputies of this denomination appear from these towns, at the General Court in Boston.

The plague and fire in London had turned away the public attention there from complaints of Massachusetts, for exercising jurisdiction over Maine, and thus occasioned a diversion in favor of the accused.

1670. May 31. The Massachusetts Legislature recommend, as the best means of increasing freemen in Maine, that each destitute parish obtain an "able, pious and orthodox minister."

The French, having taken possession of Nova Scotia, ¶ including Penobscot, through Governor de Bourg, claimed the Duke of York's Patent, even to the Kennebec river. This last territory was still under the administration of Henry Joscelyn and other Justices, who had been appointed by Carr and other Commissioners of Charles II. Lovelace, the Duke's Governor of New York, was thought to be neglectful of the Kennebec territory, and the Duke himself, as well as his brother the King, were suspected of being

* Report of Commissioners. Gen. Ct. Rec. p. 401-4.

† Joscelyn's Voyages. Mass. Hist. Coll. 3 s. vol. iii. p. 343.

‡ Willis's Portland, vol. i. p. 120, 1.

§ Mass. Gen. Ct. Rec.

|| Kittery Rec. Greenleaf's Sketches, p. 26.

¶ Williamson, vol. i. p. 441.

Romanists at heart. These circumstances led the Bay Authorities to fear, lest they might have Popery brought again nearer to their jurisdiction than would be desirable and beneficial.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

1667. Though the royal Commissioners had made strenuous efforts to draw off the people here from Massachusetts, still the attempt was ineffectual with the greater portion of them.

1668. April 15. As a confirmation * that Mason's claim to this Colony and other territory, is allowed by some who live in Massachusetts, William Trask, of Salem, agrees to pay the alledged proprietor a certain sum for the improvement of his house and land within Masonia. In 1686, Rev. John Higginson, of the same town, agrees to pay a quit-rent for buildings on his land at Haverhill to the same concern.

29. Still retaining their authority † over New Hampshire, as well as Maine, though strenuously resisted by the opponents of their stand in London, the Bay Legislature appoint individuals to keep Courts and otherwise act as magistrates here.

1669. April 20. John Reyner, ‡ minister of Dover, dies. In his will, he mentioned having landed estate at Gildersome, in the parish of Botley, County of York, England. He had had a life estate in "housing and lands" in Edgton and Welburn, of the same County. His first wife was a Boys from England, who left children, Jachim, and Hannah wife of Job Lane; his second wife was Frances Clarke, and children by her, John, Elizabeth, Dorothy, Abigail and Judith. The last of these children married Rev. Jabez Fox, of Woburn, and for her second husband, Col. Jonathan Tyng, and died June 5, 1736, aged ninety-eight.

Morton's MS. History of Plymouth church, says of Mr. Reyner: "He was an able, faithful, laborious preacher of the gospel, and a wise orderer of the affairs of the church. He was singularly endowed with a gift to train up children in a catechetical way in the grounds of the Christian Religion. He was sober, a lover of good men, not greedy of the matters of the world, armed with much faith, patience and meekness, mixed with courage for the cause of God." As before stated, he had been pastor of the Plymouth church. In both places, his walk accorded with the high demands of his sacred office.

May 19. An address from the inhabitants of Portsmouth is com-

* Annals of Salem, p. 232, 83.

† Mass. Gen. Ct. Rec.

‡ N. E. Gen. Reg. vol. ii. p. 238, 9.

1670.]

municated to the General Court of Massachusetts. They remark, By your means we enjoy much peace.* "Though we have articted with yourselves for exemption from public charges, yet we never articted with God and our own consciences for exemption from gratitude, which to demonstrate while we were studying, the loud groans of the sinking College in its present low estate, came to our ears. We have made a collection in our town of £60 per annum, and hope to make it more, for seven years." Belknap informs us, that Dover gave £32 and Exeter £10 for the like object.

1670. May 11. Under this date,† the Massachusetts Legislature make provision for the protection of New Hampshire, as a part of Norfolk County. They forbid that a ship at the Isle of Shoals, suspected to be a pirate, and taken from the French, should be suffered to remain within their jurisdiction.

RHODE ISLAND.

1667. May 10. The Governor and Council at Warwick consider‡ rumors about the unfriendly disposition of the Indians. They order those suspected, and all of them above sixteen years old, to leave the island. They thankfully answer the Commissioners of Plymouth for informing them of their proceedings as to the conspiracy of Philip and his men. They appoint a conference of deputies from the four towns, one for each, with Mossup, Cochanaquant and Ninicraft, about such reports.

July 2. The General Assembly order that a beacon be placed on Wonemytonimo hill and other parts, to give alarms, if there be insurrections of suspected enemies. Notice of trouble at Providence, on 3d of June, in the election of two sets of deputies for the Assembly, is brought forward. At the head of one party is William Harris, who had been previously disposed to pursue a course which others feared as ruinous to the order and welfare of society. The Assembly fine him £50, and discharge him from the office of Assistant. Several of the same body protest against this measure.

24. Col. Nichols writes to Governor Brenton.§ He speaks of the fine imposed on Harris. He remarks, in connection with this subject: "I hope you will reflect seasonably upon these things, which, with trouble and grief, I now write; my only design therein is to contribute my hearty, neighborly and friendly advice to your peace and prosperity, which you cannot expect till you have purged away the leaven of factious interests in your Courts and country."

* Farmer's Belknap, p. 64, 439, 40.

† Potter's Narragansett, p. 70. Rec. R. I.

‡ Mass. Gen. Ct. Rec.

§ Rec. R. I.

November 9. Samuel Gorton and Randal Holden, write to Col. Nichols, and complain of Richard Smith,* of Wickford, as using policy adverse to their rights. They say of him: "This is he, together with his accomplices, who offered indignity to noble personages, by the inhuman abuse of their effigies by word and deed upon Rhode Island."

This year, Roger Williams writes the following production:† "A Raised Lazarus Breathing Meditations, or Esau and Jacob's Mystical Harmony. In the Mystical Dialect of the New Jerusalem, the New Heaven and the New Earth."

1668. April 11. William Hiscox, Joseph Tory and Samuel Hubbard,‡ as a delegation from Mr. Clarke's church, of Newport, reach Boston. Their object is to assist their Baptist brethren, Gould, Farnum and Osborn, in a public debate there on the 14th, concerning their particular opinions, with several elders, as appointed by the Massachusetts authorities. Gould and others had been prosecuted and imprisoned for sustaining the worship of their order.

May 4. Nineteen inhabitants of Wickford,§ claimed by Rhode Island as within their charter bounds, write to the authorities of Connecticut. They state that in accordance with their petition, they were received, in 1664, under the government and protection of the latter Colony, but had been interrupted through the proceedings of the royal Commissioners. Hence they feel themselves obliged to apply for the protection|| of Connecticut once more, "being not able to live, either in our civil or ecclesiastical matters, without government, which both the honor of God and the good of the country now call upon us to seek after."

June 4. The purchasers of Petaquamscutt, of whom is John Hall, of Boston, order¶ that the income and improvement of three hundred acres belonging to it, shall be for "an orthodox person that shall be obtained to preach God's word to the inhabitants." Hull and others, constituting a majority of the proprietors, were Congregationalists, and very probably understood that no preacher would have the benefit of the grant, except of their denomination. But severe controversy and litigation subsequently arose about it, in which Dr. McSparran, an Episcopal clergyman, took a prominent part.

August 31. The town of Providence** send a remonstrance and petition to the Governor and Council. A passage of the document follows: "We pray your continuance and assistance to the General Solicitor to proceed legally with William Carpenter, William and Thomas Harris, for their treacherous speeches, and,

* They say that his father had died lately.

† MS. Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.

‡ Backus, vol. i. p. 376.

§ Wickford was received under jurisdiction of Conn. June 20, 1670.

|| Rec. R. I.

¶ Torrey vs. Gardner Papers.

** Staples' Hist. Prov. p. 147-50.

1669.]

we suspect, actions, against his Majesty's gracious charter, and the liberties, and government, and privileges, which it hath pleased our God and the King, to the envy and astonishment of all our neighborhood, so wonderfully to bestow upon us." It states that William Harris was disfranchised by the inhabitants of Providence about twenty-four years ago, and that they had never orderly received him again; that in 1636 he issued his written communication "against all civil government, professing that it would shortly be that people should cry out, No Lords, No Masters." He turned about, and for ten years has plagued "both town and colony with lawsuits." Harris was kept imprisoned till the Quakers prevailed in the government, and he was released the 29th of next October. No doubt the letter of Col. Nichols had much influence in this discharge.

Oct. 29. John Clark is designated* to correspond with the Plymouth authorities, desiring them to restrain proceedings against land of William Blackstone.

1669. February 23. William Wickendon, on authority of Benedict, now finishes his probation. The same author mentions him as moving to Providence in 1639, but he was there 1636, and signed the first compact, 1637. He was on a committee with Gregory Dexter, both being Baptist preachers, to join similar bodies from Portsmouth, Newport and Warwick, in 1647, for forming the Government of the Colony. He was a member of the Legislature 1648, 1651 to 1655, and 1664. He seems to have been highly respected in his ministerial labors and character.

May 14. The people at Misquamacuck,† or Pawcatuck, in the Narragansett territory, being desirous to become a town, are granted their request by the Assembly, and their location is called Westerly, which is to be distinguished as the fifth town of the Colony. This settlement became the scene of perilous contests, between opposite parties, one contending that they should be under Connecticut, and another, under Rhode Island.

John Clark is requested by the Assembly to interpose between the virulent parties of Providence, and persuade them to compose their differences.

June 30. Samuel Gorton defends himself, in a paper,‡ against statements made by Morton in his Memorial, lately published. He denies that he had used language, signifying that there was no future existence of mankind; that sermons of salvation were tales; that the ordinances of the Lord were vanity; that ministers were necromancers. With respect to his own preaching, he observes: "I would have you know, that I hold my call to preach the Gospel of Christ, not inferior to any minister in this country, though I was not bred up in the schools of human learning, and I bless God

* Rec. R. I.

† Ibid.

‡ Hutchinson, 3 ed. vol. i. p. 467-70.

that I never was ; least I had been drowned in pride and ignorance, through Aristotle's principles, and other heathen philosophers, as millions are and have been, who ground their preaching of the gospel upon human principles, to the falsifying of the word of God in the ruin of men's souls. Yet this I doubt not of, but that there hath been as much true use made of the languages, within this twenty years past, in the place where I live, as hath been in any church in New England." He speaks of his preaching, when last in the mother country, and how it was received by people and ministers. He mentions the intercourse which he had with Mr. Winslow, and how the book of the latter was criticised by John Brown.

July 20. The Governor and Council issue a warrant* to apprehend Ninigret on suspicion of a plot against the English, as indicated by a letter of the 5th inst. from Gov. Lovelace, of New York. The cause of this was, that the chief had entertained six Indians, absconded from Thomas Terry, of Block Island. Besides, notice of the 22d came to them from Plymouth, that they had sent persons to examine the chief, and ask him why he had kept with him seven of Philip's ancient men nine or ten days together, and that they suspected a plot, as Major John Mason does, between the French and almost all the Indians of the country. On the 28th, Ninigret appeared before the Authorities at Newport. He was questioned about the Indians at his residence, and a great dance he was preparing for. He gave specious replies, and said that the latter diversion was meant as a "kind of an invocation, that they might have a plentiful harvest." He was dismissed with admonition to be careful and appear again in about a month.

August 24. Francis Lovelace, of New York, writes to the Assembly,† and thanks them for particulars about the alarm lest the Indians are plotting an insurrection. He remarks that for the continuance of such correspondence, they "are not only obligated by the common ties of Christianity, but common safety and the happiness promised to all brethren living in love and unity together."

October 27. In consequence of difficulty about lands in Providence,‡ the inhabitants could not agree to choose persons sufficient to transact their own business peaceably, and to take part in the affairs of the Colony. The General Assembly depute a committee, John Easton, Joshua and John Coggeshall, William Vaughan and John Sanford, to attend a general meeting of the men there, "and endeavour to persuade them to a loving composure of their differences," and summon a meeting of the freemen to elect town officers and deputies. This committee discharged their assigned duty, but did not succeed. The Legislature appoint another committee,§ the

* Rec. R. I.

† Ibid.

‡ Staples' Hist. of Prov. p. 151, 2.

§ Rec. R. I.

1670.]

next March 22d, to visit Providence for a like purpose. These means appear to have resulted favorably.

1670. May 4. John Clark, being elected Deputy Governor,* declines to stand. Roger Williams is chosen an Assistant by the Assembly.

June 29. John Clark and John Green are appointed by the same body, to visit England and vindicate their right to land in Narragansett, claimed by Connecticut. Green declined. Clark's appointment was confirmed several times, till May, 1672, when it was repealed, because the occasion ceased.

Roger Williams moved in the Assembly, that several of Providence be admitted as freemen. On the 26th of next October, the Legislature conclude "that it shall be in the power of every town to make all persons freemen, that are capable of public service."

August 3. Capt. John Mason writes† to the Connecticut Government, that he sends to them a communication from "Roger Williams and others of his sect, in reference to our difference with Rhode Island." He speaks of the intended litigation in England for the land which has been long in question between the two Colonies. He asks, "If you recover, what will you gain, as the best is already gone; and what remains but rocks, swamps and sand heaps? And in lieu of this, we must erect a government over a people, that will come under no government, neither civil nor ecclesiastical; they being already in dispersed corners, like Swedes, so that there is no likelihood of any tolerable Christian-like society to be settled among them."

November 30. John Clark and his church, of Newport, are written to‡ by Edward Drinker, relative to trials of the Baptist church, worshipping at Noddle's Island, opposite Boston.

CONNECTICUT.

1667. May 9. There being only one prison or house of correction in the Colony, and that in the county of Hartford, the Legislature order§ that there shall be such a building in each county, to secure delinquents for trial. To prevent the violation of the Sabbath within the English limits by Indians, it is ordered that whoever of these shall "labor or play" there on such territory, shall be fined 5/., or set in the stocks one hour. They are to be notified of this regulation. On complaint that "divers persons have thrust themselves into the several plantations, to the unjust disturbance of the same," the Court require that each person who shall so act and still remain after being warned to depart, shall pay

* Rec. R. I.

† Ibid.

‡ Backus, vol. i. p. 398, 9.

§ Rec. Conn.

20/. a week, while continuing, or, in default of payment, sit in the stocks one hour.

As a strong prejudice existed against the term Synod, because under this name the half-way covenant* had been introduced, the Legislature of Connecticut alter it as to the body about to convene, and thus speak of it: "Style them an assembly of the ministers of this Colony, called together by the General Court for the discussion of the questions stated according to former order." The ministers collected at the Election, converse on these questions, but do not debate them. They put them off till Fall, when they expect to re-assemble.

September 5. The United Commissioners at Hartford observe† that "one main end of the Confederation is as well the preserving and propagating of the truth and liberty of the gospel, as for outward welfare." They propose in reference to the assembly of ministers about to meet, that such body's proceedings bear on the common religious interests of their Colonies, and therefore they should be composed of members from "the churches called indifferently out of all the United Colonies by an orderly agreement of the several General Courts, and the place of meeting be at or near Boston."

12. Mr. Pierson still preaches for Indians part of his time. Ten pounds of the missionary funds are paid to the Commissioners of this Colony for deserving Indians. These officers reply to the Commissioners of the two other Colonies, relative to some objections. They say that they hope their Court will rectify what Massachusetts think amiss relative to Southertown; that they could wish the Pequot Indians had been allowed sufficient land sooner, but now they are, they hope it will satisfy their Confederates; that the union with New Haven has been made "with equal patent privileges" to all. They conclude by desiring their Confederates "to implore the throne of grace in our behalf, that the Lord would so unite our hearts according to the order of the gospel, that with one heart and hand we may promote the establishment of peace and righteousness throughout our borders."

24. As a remarkable event in the life of John Davenport, considering his advanced age and the attachment of the New Haven church to him, he is called by the First Boston church to become their pastor. A majority of those who so invite him agreed with him in his opposition to the half-way covenant, which was promoted by many in Boston and the rest of the Colony. He also stood by the Massachusetts authorities in their struggles with the royal Commissioners, and communicated with Leverett, as his near friend, on the subject. Besides, he was strenuous against the policy of Con-

* Trumbull, vol. i. page 482, remarks that he did not know of any church which had adopted the half-way covenant in America.

† Hazard, vol. ii. p. 508-10.

1667.]

necticut in embracing the Colony of New Haven within its charter, and thus nullifying the government of this section by church members. The facts of the last sentence were powerful enough to break him off from that quarter; and the facts of the two sentences immediately preceding, to render him welcome among friends in Boston.

The reply of the New Haven brethren contained the subsequent passage: * "We see no cause nor call of God to resign our reverend pastor to the church of Boston by any immediate act of ours, therefore not by a formal dismission under our hands. It is our great grief and sore affliction that we cannot do for him, whom we so highly esteem in love for his works' sake and profitable labors among us, what is desired, without wrong to our consciences. Anything that we have or are, besides our consciences, we are ready to lay down at his feet. Such is our honorable respect to him, our love to peace, our desire of your supply, that we shall go as far as we safely can, in order to his and your satisfaction in this matter, having before us for our warrant, Acts, 21 c., 14 v.: 'When he would not be persuaded, we ceased, saying, the will of the Lord be done.'" This was construed by those who wished Mr. Davenport to become their minister in Boston, as a proper dismission, while those of an opposite inclination construed it reversely.

October 10. The General Court meet at Hartford. The ministers also assemble,† as appointed, to hold a Synod or Council, and discuss ecclesiastical questions. Rev. Messrs. Warham, Hooker and Whiting offer a written paper to the Court, representing that the Council would like a larger representation of elders from the Bay to assist them. They also state that however themselves and others are inclined to proceed and publicly discuss the questions, yet the major part of the Council were not so disposed. Rev. Messrs. Bulkley and Haynes inform the Court that the greater number of their brethren are desirous to have closed doors when they attend their specific business, as most subservient to the cause of religion; that they have voted to meet again on the third Wednesday of October, and that they are ready to abide by the decision of the Court as to the time of another session. The Court answer that they had not concluded on the date, and request the churches to send their ministers, at their own cost, to sit in Council with such as the churches of Plymouth and Massachusetts may send.

Great trouble had existed about the choice of a colleague with Mr. Warham, of Windsor. Strong parties existed. The General Court order that the people of Windsor and Majsacoe meet the next Monday morning, and give their votes relative to Mr. Chauncy, who was preaching among them. A small majority were

* Conn. Gen. Ct. Rec.

† Ibid.

in his favor. The Court grant the congregation liberty to settle Mr. Chauncy, if they choose. They require the minority to pay proportionately for Mr. Chauncy's salary, until they obtain a minister for themselves. Though the candidate was not settled there, the minority separated and formed a distinct church. The town remained in a divided condition about sixteen years from this date.

11. John Woodbridge and two more date a petition to the Court, that Kenilworth may be embodied into a church state.

16. John Allyn, Secretary, addresses* a letter to the Massachusetts Legislature: "We send you an agreement to concur with yourselves and our other confederates about a General Convention or Synod for clearing up the truth in some matters controversial, that are stirring not only amongst us, but elsewhere in the country, at least some of them; which being of common concernment, we take notice of what is recommended by the Commissioners, at their late session upon that account." He says that the place of session is proposed to be in or near Boston, and that the choice of time and place is left with the Massachusetts authorities. He proceeds: "If you please to take in with our motion and desire herein, and do settle the affair, it would be acceptable that what is with you of such nature, meet to be then debated, etc., may, in some copy thereof, be sent hither also, and ours returned to you, sometime before the session, to ripen thoughts upon preparatorily. And the good Lord direct and incline all our hearts into the knowledge and love of his truth, and grant the unity of the Spirit and the bond of peace unto all the churches in New England."

"This year there was a Synod† called at Hartford, to discuss some points concerning baptism and church discipline; but nothing was concluded, the Congregational party, which was the greatest, violently opposing the Presbyterian. There was this year, and divers years foregoing, great contentions in divers of the churches concerning these things."

31. The Legislature of the Bay reply,‡ that they shall be ready to help forward the Convention, but as the questions to be considered had not been forwarded, they should be glad to receive them.

1668. January 20. The male inhabitants§ of Branford sign a "New Plantation and Church Covenant." This says, that as the settlement of the town was undertaken by men of "Congregational principles as to church order, according to the Platform of Discipline agreed on by the Synod," in which "we have found much peace to our great comfort," and for which we bless God and pray that he would so continue it among us and our successors, we

* Conn. Gen. Ct. Rec.

‡ Conn. Gen. Ct. Rec.

† Bradstreet of New London, Journal.

§ N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg. 1849, p. 153, 4.

1668.]

will settle an orthodox minister and encourage the gathering of a church ; will maintain such church officers, and will not infringe on any of their liberties.

April. At the close of this month,* Mr. Davenport and his family set out for Boston. They reach that place the 2d of next month. He finds a minority of the people who had invited him, opposed to his installation over them. These suppose that some equivocation had been used about his letter of dismission, as it purported to free him from New Haven church, when they believe that it granted him no such explicit liberty, though his flock there expressed the highest esteem for his services and character.

May 18. On petition of some who live in Windsor, the Legislature approve† of Mr. Woodbridge's continuance in the ministry there as a lecturer, and they will allow him to preach once a fortnight on the Sabbath, as well as on week-days, if agreeable to the church of Mr. Warham. On the 8th of October, they permit Mr. Woodbridge to lecture once a fortnight there, on the 4th day of the week, and not on the Sabbath, without leave from Mr. Warham.

Rev. Mr. Warham desires to know of the General Court whether their order of October last, granting leave for the choice of another minister, includes any member of the Windsor church. They reply that the dissenting party, designated by the order, are those who have such liberty allowed them.

20. As to the law about fines for keeping books or manuscripts of "Quakers, Ranters, Adamites, or such like notorious Heretiques;" the Legislature order the constables to seize them, wherever found, and deliver them to the next County Court, who shall take care to have such productions suppressed.

Whoever profanes the Sabbath "by unnecessary travel or playing thereon in time of public worship, before or after, or shall keep out of the meeting-house during the public worship unnecessarily," shall pay 5/. for each offense, or be set in the stocks one hour.

22. Fast Day to be observed‡ on the 29th, "for our manifold sins, whereby we have caused the Lord to go out against us in those yearly judgments of blasting the increase of the field, the spoiling the fruits of trees, the continuance of divisions in several Plantations and Societies amongst us, and to implore mercy from the Lord in behalf of his people of England, and that he would cause his face to shine upon us in this wilderness."

John Allyn and Thomas Stanton are empowered to lay before the Governor of Rhode Island the wrong done by some of that Colony to Connecticut, "in interrupting the quiet possession of divers inhabitants in their lands and estates at Squamacuck, or elsewhere in the Narragansett Country," granted to them by their Charter.

* Hutchinson, vol. i. p. 247-51.

† Conn. Gen. Ct. Rec.

‡ Conn. Gen. Ct. Rec.

October 8. The General Assembly appear to relinquish the idea of being successful in the settlement of their ecclesiastical difficulties by public disputations and councils. They entertain the purpose to try for so desirable an end, in the promotion of some system of church communion and discipline, by which the professors of religion in their Colony might walk harmoniously, though not agreed in minor points. For this object, they appoint Rev. Messrs. James Fitch, Samuel Wakeman, Gershom Bulkley and Joseph Eliot, to meet at Saybrook. Trumbull, who gives this account, remarks, that such a step "appears to have been the first towards a religious constitution," though many years passed before it was accomplished.

The Legislature appoint the same divines, designated to convene at Windsor the fourth of the second week in April, or sooner, if they can, to endeavor for a reconciliation between parties in the church there. They speak of such division relative to the ordination of Mr. Chauncy and the continuance of Mr. Woodbridge.

November 4. Nathaniel, son of Edward Collins, of Cambridge, Mass., is ordained at Middletown. He graduated at H. C. 1660, and was brother of John, who became eminent in England among its Puritan clergymen. He was proposed for freeman, 1667. He died December 28, 1684, in his forty-third year. The *Magnalia** says of him: "All the qualities of most exemplary piety, extraordinary integrity, obliging affability, joined with the accomplishments of an extraordinary preacher, did render him truly excellent."

Zachariah, son of Robert Walker,† of Boston, born 1637, educated but not graduated at H. C., began to preach in 1662, at Jamaica, L. I., for £60 a year, moved this year to Stratford, with part of his people. May 13, 1669, he had leave from the Legislature, to occupy the pulpit once a day till their October session, when they assigned to him a part of the ministerial land with Mr. Chauncy. Trumbull places him over the Second church of Stratford, and informs us that, May 3, 1670, he was settled at Woodbury. Here he deceased, January, 1699, aged sixty-two. His memory was honorably continued by his son, who died Judge of the Supreme Court of Connecticut.

1669. January 6. The church at Farmington‡ vote, that each brother should send to the deacon "a peck of wheat, or the worth of a shilling in current pay, for the defraying of the next sacrament, as also for the clearing off that little which was yet due for the sacrament already past; as also for the future, every brother of the church should for each sacrament allow 6*d.*, except such of the brethren whose wives come not to the Supper, because not members of the church; and to them it was permitted to put in 3*d.*, or sixpence, whichever they please, for each sacrament."

* *Magnalia*, vol. ii. p. 117. Field's Centennial Address.

† Thompson's L. I. vol. ii. p. 101. Trumbull, vol. i. p. 523. Conn. Col. Rec.

‡ N. E. Gen. Reg. vol. xii. p. 328.

1669.]

April 7. John Woodbridge* is ordained at Kenilworth. "Sam'l Wakeman and Joseph Haynes imposed hands." Mr. Woodbridge, on October 26, 1671, married Mrs. Abigail Leet.

May 13. The General Assembly remark† as follows: "Having seriously considered the great divisions that arose amongst us about matters of Church Government," we, "for the honor of God, welfare of the churches and preservation of the public peace so greatly hazarded, do declare, that whereas the Congregational churches in these parts, for the general of their profession and practice, have hitherto been approved, we can do no less than still approve and countenance the same to be without disturbance until better light, in an orderly way, doth appear. But yet forasmuch as sundry persons of worth, for prudence and piety, amongst us, are otherwise persuaded, (whose welfare and peaceable satisfaction we desire to accommodate,) this Court doth declare, that all such persons, being also approved according to law as orthodox and sound in the fundamentals of the Christian Religion, may have allowance of their persuasion and profession in church ways or assemblies without disturbance." Here the toleration of other denominations, who are correct in belief and conduct, besides the Congregationalists, is allowed by law.

On the petition of Stratford, that they may peaceably enjoy the labors of their minister, Mr. Chauncy, whom they have settled, the Court grant the request, though they advise the petitioners to settle their differences, and that, till their session in October, Mr. Walker may preach once a day, as before, "the church allowing him full three hours between the church's two meetings for the same."

Mr. John Blackleach desires of the Assembly, "that he might use his endeavors to make known to the Indians something of the knowledge of God, according as he shall have opportunity." They consent "with their desires, that he may, through the blessing of God, be an advantageous instrument to the end proposed."

The Assembly, in declaring allegiance to Charles II., add the clause, "renouncing the Pope and all other foreign Princes, States and Potentates."

July 28. Abraham Pierson, Jr., who graduated at Harvard the year before, is employed to assist his father in the ministry at Newark, N. J. Lambert states that the son married Abigail, daughter of George Clark, who resided at Milford, prior to his preaching at Newark.

October 14. The subsequent order‡ is passed by the General Assembly. "Whereas our beloved brethren at Saybrook have formerly, by and with the approbation of the Governor and several magistrates and elders of churches, embodied themselves in church

* Farmer's Register.

† Conn. Gen. Ct. Rec.

‡ Ibid.

society, to take off some scruples that may haply lie in the breasts of any, concerning their non-attendance of the law in the punctilios of it; and this Court finding no record of their proceedings in this matter, do now upon their request, see cause hereby to declare, that they do approve of their embodying themselves in church society, and desire the Lord to smile upon them, establish and bless their beginning."

A petition of Mr. Whiting is laid before the General Court, "for their approbation for a distinct walking in Congregational church order, as hath been here settled, according to the council of the elders." The Court recommend to the Hartford church to allow Mr. Whiting "to practice the Congregational way without disturbance," or else grant him and his followers "to walk distinctly." They give permission for him and his supporters to withdraw and so relieve themselves, if the church do not coincide with either of the two propositions. Mr. Whiting and his advocates were for strict conformity with the order observed by the churches in the first years of New England. But Mr. Haynes and a majority of the church were in favor of the half-way covenant recommended by the Synod of 1662.

As the people of Rye, instead of supporting an orthodox minister, hear John Coe and Marmaduke Smith, suspected as being unsound in doctrine, the Court order Commissioners of the county to examine these two teachers, and, if found to be erroneous in faith, to prevent their further labors to "sow seeds of error among the people there;" and also to inform Rye, that the Court "will themselves procure and settle a preaching minister amongst them, and take sufficient order that he be maintained by them."

In case that the friends of Mr. Chauncy at Stratford, will not hear Mr. Walker part of each Sabbath, the Court observe that they shall not be offended, if "Mr. Walker and his company do meet distinctly elsewhere, provided each of them proceed well for the comfortable supply of their minister."

The Assembly permit that, as the troubles in Windsor church are not yet healed, "the dissenters meet distinctly for the present, and orderly and regularly embody themselves in church state, according to law, when they shall seek it."

They appoint Commissioners to meet with similar officers from Massachusetts and Plymouth, at Boston, in May next, and transact business of the Confederacy, and consider what alteration may be required in any of its articles.

They appoint a Fast on the fourth of December, "to humble our souls before the Lord, that he may return a harvest to us, healing our sicknesses, blessing our fruits and labors, reconciling our differences, and breathing out a spirit of conversion abundantly amongst us."

1670.]

27. Gershom Bulkley* was ordained at Wethersfield, by Mr. Joseph Rowland and Mr. Samuel Willard.

"This year the Lord frowned much upon the country, by sickness in divers places, especially in this Colony of Connecticut. Divisions in several churches. Blasting of all sorts of grain. Greater scarcity having not been known for very many years."

1670. February 12. Mr. Whiting and his adherents, having separated from Mr. Haynes and his party, formed the Second church† of Hartford. They made a declaration of their Congregational order and entered into covenant. The first point of the former document was, "That visible saints are the only fit matter, and confederation the only form of a visible church." This shows that they did not allow the half-way covenant.

Israel, son of Charles Chauncy, President of Harvard College, having begun to preach at Stratford about 1663, where Mr. Blackman had become infirm in such employment, and been settled by a majority, continued to be counteracted by the remainder. To comply with the wish of the latter, Zechariah Walker began to preach for them, 1668. Both Chauncy and Walker officiated in the same house, but at different times, on the Sabbath; the former at the customary hours, and the latter two hours in the middle thereof. But after a period, Walker took three hours, which rendered it necessary for Chauncy's friends to occupy a private house for their afternoon services. The next day, they referred their case to Major Gould, a magistrate of Fairfield, who advised them to allow the other part of the inhabitants three, instead of two hours. As previously stated, the General Assembly, in October of 1669, advised as the Major did. They also proposed that both parties refer their troubles to a Council. This was done, but without avail. The supporters of Chauncy excluded their opponents from the meeting-house, who betook themselves to a private dwelling.

March 18. "Benjamin Woodbridge was ordained minister of the Presbyterian party, as they are accounted, of Windsor."‡

April 1. The Rev. John Warham§ expires. He had been minister at Dorchester, Massachusetts, six years, and thirty-four in Windsor, Connecticut. He was eminent for his piety, though he occasionally doubted his being a follower of Christ. This was so, at times, when he administered the sacrament, and to such a degree that he declined to partake of the elements. Cotton Mather supposes that Warham was the first minister in New England who used notes in preaching, "yet he was applauded by his hearers, as one of the most animated and energetic preachers." Connecticut considered him as a principal pillar and father of the Colony.

* N. E. Gen. Reg. Bradstreet's Journal, vol. ix. p. 45.

† Bradstreet's Journal. ‡ N. E. Gen. Reg. Bradstreet's Jour. vol. ix. p. 45.

§ Trumbull's Conn. vol. i. p. 519. Magnalia, vol. i. p. 441.

To his precepts and example our country is greatly indebted for whatsoever it possesses of good report and lasting benefit.

May 12. The General Assembly meet * at Hartford. At this session they alter the requisition for all the freemen to convene for the election of "the Governor, Magistrates and civil officers," designated by the charter, so that such voters may appear on this occasion, the second Thursday every May, and choose these members of Government, either in person or by proxy. The reasons for a change of this sort were the large number of the convention on election days, the expense and inconvenience.

As Charles Hill had a Spanish slave, the Legislature order "the Court at New London" to examine the case, and if they found that Hill had legally purchased him, they were to free and send him home, if Hill had a reasonable sum for his time allowed him out of the public treasury. As Hannah Huitt, of Stonington, had not heard of her husband, Thomas Huitt, for eight years, having been lost at sea with the company of the vessel in which he sailed, the Court allow her to marry again if she see cause.

As the difficulties between Connecticut and Rhode Island still prevailed, about lines of territory, the Court of the former appoint a committee to meet a similar body from the latter, the following June, in New London, to see if they cannot compose the differences, and, if they are unable to effect this, they are empowered to exact obedience from the inhabitants of Squamacuck and Narraganset. The Commissioners of the two Colonies held their proposed session, but did not come to a harmonious conclusion. Those of Connecticut subsequently visited the Narraganset country, read their charter to the people of Wickford and settlements east of Pawcatuck river, demanded their submission, and designated officers for their government.

Simon Bradstreet, having preached four years for the people of New London,† who called him June 1, is ordained as their pastor. His salary at first was £90 a year, current pay, with fire-wood supplied and parsonage kept in repair. It was soon increased.

October 13. The General Assembly recommend that the County Court of Fairfield "take an effectual course to settle an able and orthodox minister in the town of Rye, and order due and competent maintenance for such minister in a proportional way among all the inhabitants." They approve and confirm the articles of union between this Colony and Massachusetts and Plymouth, if these two do the same. Thus an old league, which had been of much use to New England, is continued, with alterations which changes had made necessary.

John, son of Rev. Peter Pruden,‡ born at Milford, November

* Conn. Col. Rec.

† Caulkins's New London, p. 143.

‡ Thompson's Hist. of L. I. vol. ii. p. 102.

1670.]

9, 1645 ; graduated at Harvard College, 1668 ; settles as minister at Jamaica, L. I. He continued here till 1692, when he accepted an urgent call from Newark, N. J., where he succeeded Mr. Pierson. He resigned his charge here, June 9, 1699, and died December 11, 1725, aged 80. He was highly esteemed for his talents, piety and usefulness.

CHAPTER IX.

MASSACHUSETTS. Hope Atherton. — Zechariah Symmes. — Church Dissension. — Fear in London that Massachusetts would become independent. — Oxenbridge's Election Sermon. — Body of Liberties. — Ministers freed from Taxes. — Annuity renewed. — Third Church of Boston. — Change in the Legislature. — General Courts at Nantucket and the Vineyard. — College. — John Allen. — Eliot's Communication. — Indian Church. — Court Presentments. — Braintree Church. — Eliot's Resolve. — Publications. — President Chauncy. — Test-Act. — Discipline of Covenant Children. — Edward Johnson. — Charles Nicholet. — Samuel Parris. — Election Sermon. — Confederation. — Report on Newbury Divisions. — Laws revised and published. — Chancery Court. — Advice of Ministers. — Ducking Stool. — Power of Congregational Churches. — Laws passed at the Vineyard. — Setting the Psalm. — Object of settling New England. — Concerns of the Mission. — Fast. — Antipas Newman. — Richard Bellingham. — Quakers. — Churches gathered. — Michael Powell. — Taxation of Colonies. — Liberties. — Toleration. — Baptists. — Accusations against Massachusetts. — Indian Churches. — Dutch Fleet. — Thomas Gilbert. — Thomas Gould. — Woe to Drunkards. — Episcopals. — Baptists. — Divisions at Salem. — Letters of Collins and Knowles. — Thomas Gould. — Election Sermon. — Licensers of the Press. — Blasphemy. — Robert Boyle. — Settlements of Converted Indians. — Depression of the College. — Governments of Nantucket and Vineyard. — Samuel Danforth. — John Oxenbridge. — Office of Ruling Elder. — Conversion. PLYMOUTH. Philip's Treaty. — Prosecutions. — Council of War. — Laws. — Purpose of settling the Colony. — Heresy. — Freemen. — Powowing. — Indian Affairs. — College. — Confederation. — Samuel Treat. — Thomas Prince. — Free School. — Election Sermon. — Freemen. — Thomas Willet. — Praying Indians. MAINE. Papists. — Punishments. — Shubal Dummer. — Indians. — Letter of Lovelace. — Collins's Letter. NEW HAMPSHIRE. Portsmouth Church. — Edward Hilton. — John Reyner. — Conditions of Town Grant. — Matthew Cradock's Widow. — College. — Quakers. — Collins's Letter. RHODE ISLAND. Letter of Roger Williams. — Philip. — Seventh-day Baptists excommunicated. — Quakers. — William Harris in Custody. — Taxation resisted. — George Fox. — Discussion. — Coddington's Letters. — Divorce. — Intemperance. — Executions. — Discipline. — Jury. — Missionary Labor. — Publication. CONNECTICUT. Missionaries. — Mrs. Mason. — Charity. — John Mason. — Emigrants. — Col. Goffe. — Laws. — John Youngs. — Contract of Uncas. — Confederation. — Fasts. — Rogereens. — Nicholas Street. — Election Sermon. — Robert Fordham. — Visit to Christian Indians. — Edmund Andros. — Ecclesiastical.

MASSACHUSETTS.

1671. January 21. Hope Atherton unites with the people of Hatfield in a Fast for "setting up ordinances." On May 17, two years before, he, having preached for them, was voted £50 salary.

1671.]

November 25, 1670, being about to be ordained there, they grant him the ministerial lot of meadow, home lot of eight acres, engage to have a sufficient house built for him, and pay him £60 a year, two-thirds in merchantable wheat, and one third in pork, with the condition, "If our crops fall so short that we cannot pay in kind, then we are to pay him in the next best pay we have."* He was son of Humphrey Atherton, of Dorchester, baptized August, 1646, and graduated at Harvard College, 1665.

February 4. Zechariah Symmes, of Charlestown, dies, within two months of being seventy-two years old. He was the son of William Symmes; born at Canterbury, England, April 5, 1599. He came to Massachusetts, August or September, 1634, in the ship *Ann*, with John Lathrop and Ann Hutchinson. He was settled as teacher and colleague with Mr. James, December 22, 1634. He preached the Election Sermon of 1648. His wife was Sarah, who was remarkable for her energy and virtues, and with whom he lived nearly fifty years. He had thirteen children, six of whom were born in Dunstable, where he was rector before coming to our shores, from 1626 to 1633, inclusive; of whom was Zechariah, who became a highly esteemed minister, first of Boxford and then of Bradford. One of his chief trials was with members of his church, who were among the principal founders of the First Baptist church in Boston. Cotton Mather says of him, "He knew his Bible well, and he was a preacher of what he knew, and sufferer for what he preached." Thus wisely taught, usefully occupied and profitably disciplined, he was a fit guide of others, and followed Christ in the way heavenward.

12. Robert Chalkley,† of the Charlestown church, is censured publicly for "reviling authority." He was absolved the first day of the succeeding September.

16. The Congregational party of the church at Newbury‡ invite the Rowley church to unite with the Salisbury church, and visit them by their messengers, the last of the month, for advising about their protracted dissensions.

20. The Rowley church decline to comply, because they who request them so to attend had not desired the pastor, Mr. Parker, and his Presbyterian friends, to unite with them in calling a Council.

The messengers from Salisbury meet and advise the Woodman party, "That the choice of officers, either teaching or ruling elders, such as the church should most unanimously agree upon, would most conduce to" their "peace and quiet."

March 17. Such a party inform the Rowley church, that because

* Farmer. N. E. Gen. Reg. Holland, vol. i. p. 69.

† First Ch. Rec. Charlestown.

‡ Rowley Ch. Rec. Coffin's Newbury,

p. 90, 99, 100.

Mr. Parker would not allow this advice, they had laid him "under blame, suspending him from all official acts until he gave the church satisfaction, only to preach as a gifted brother, if he please; and having so done, they elected two ruling elders, Mr. Richard Dummer and Mr. Edward Woodman, and have appointed Thursday next for their ordination." They invite Rowley church to attend by their messengers; and their minister, Mr. Phillips, to preach a sermon on the occasion.

20. The Rowley church decline, because they do not approve of the censure on Mr. Parker, nor of the intended ordination of the ruling elders.

April. A complaint is lodged with the County Court at Ipswich, by the Presbyterians of Newbury against the Congregationalists, for their proceedings towards Mr. Parker, chiefly admonishing their pastor, Mr. Parker, and suspending him from his office.

18. A communication is made to the Court by the accused. Several other similar documents are presented.

May 1. In view of the controversy which prevailed with regard to the formation of the Third church in Boston, and their favor for the half-way covenant, and the opposition of the First church there and others to it, Increase Mather dates his preface to the following work: "The First Principles* of New England, concerning the subject of Baptism and Communion of Churches, collected partly out of the printed books, but chiefly out of the original manuscripts of the first and chief Fathers in the New England Churches, with the judgment of sundry learned divines of the Congregational way in England, concerning the said questions." The author says, that his design is to "commend a few things to the serious and Christian consideration of the Anti-synodalian Brethren;" and that he was formerly of their persuasion. He observes that some who dissented from the late Synod, decided for the enlargement of baptism; the minority of that body thought the rest of it had apostatized; his father, Richard Mather, gave his dying counsel to him, that he should endeavor to have children brought under the government of the church, and when grown up, to have baptism for their children.

26. As a member of the Board of Commissioners† of Trade and Plantations established in London, Evelyn remarks of Massachusetts, then often called abused New England, as follows: "What we most insisted on, was to know the condition of New England, which appearing to be very independent as to their regard to England or his Majesty, rich and strong as they now were, there were great debates in what style to write to them, for the condition of that Colony was such, that they were able to contest with all

* Printed 1675.
Annals, vol. i. p. 358.

† Memoirs of Evelyn, vol. i. p. 438. Holmes's Amer.

1671.]

other Plantations about them, and there was fear of their breaking from all dependence on this Nation."

29. The Essex Court* decide that those who had acted against Mr. Parker, were not a majority of the church, as they contended, though a majority "of such as met together;" had acted disorderly in electing two ruling elders and appointing the day for their ordination; and wrongfully in suspending Mr. Parker from his ministry; and that thirty-nine of them be fined and pay the charges and fees, and be committed until they pay such amercements. Two more were not fined. The favorers of Mr. Parker were also forty-one. The Congregationalists did not feel willing to abide by such a decision.

31. The General Court assemble. The Election Sermon is preached by John Oxenbridge, of Boston. His subject, "New England Freemen warned and warmed, to be free indeed, having an eye to God in their Elections." His text, Hosea viii. 4. "They have set up kings, but not by me; they have made princes, and I knew it not." He observes to his audience: "Your choice of magistrates and others in authority, when it is in your power, will shew whether ye are resolved to serve God in your generation or not.—If our magistrates set up for our protection, be not owned by the Lord, they will be no protection.—As for you in New England to backslide and to fashion yourselves to the flaunting mode of England in worship or walking, you undertake a vain thing, for you can but limp after them, and you will forget your errand of planting this wilderness, and if you have a mind to turn your churches into parishes, and your ministers into priests and prelates, I cannot think the Lord will ever endure it.—Mind faithfully and diligently your liberties, that ye may be free to act for and according to God, in the constitution and manage of your magistracy. Quit once your liberties, and ye must have such a magistracy and manage of it, as will please not God nor yourselves, but other men will be your masters; for servants, yea, slaves must you be to some body when ye have let go your liberties.—We should have cause to complain of any, that is chosen, if he should use this trust against our liberties, as the eagle, in the Greek epigram, lamented that it was slain with an arrow winged with its own feathers. Ye are also trusted for men, for many, all inhabitants have their liberties, women, children, servants, yea, and strangers too: let me beseech this honorable assembly, in the name of all the freemen, (who am also a freeman,) not to part with any of your liberties by force or fraud. These are our crowns and jewels, which we commit to your care and charge.—If ye shall break down the hedge of your churches and commonwealth, you will lay the field open to such as watch to make spoil of you.—Your civil and religious liberties are so coupled

* Essex Co. Ct. Rec.

here, that if one be lost, the other cannot be kept.—Objection. ‘Doth any say that the Patent or Charter right is questioned by some.’ Answer. Such men do not appear so good friends either to the Crown or country, for the question cutteth off the true and proper ligament between them. Obj. ‘If it be said, there may be just reason to quit some of the liberties.’ Ans. I grant so much on condition ye will also grant that some such deliberation should be used in the quitting any of them, as there was in constituting of them. The liberties were probationers for three years, and in all the General Courts for that time, they were passed by all the freemen, and it seems equal that all the freemen should have a sufficient time to consider of the change and abrogation of them. Nothing can undo this country but unwariness and unfaithfulness, but the mis-making or mis-acting of freemen. Choice of men to power and trust gives the true picture or character of them that choose.—Ye know, my brethren, what new neighbors we have; their busy locusts will know and improve all your strife and other snares, for you are boasted of, therefore now is your season for self-denial.”—These neighbors were the French, being Roman Catholics, who had lately resumed possession of Nova Scotia, including part of Maine. The preacher does not think, that the questions about the church (Old South) seceded from the First church of Boston, and the adult children of the churches in general, should be occasions of division in the Colony.

On the 26th page of his discourse, Mr. Oxenbridge refers to the Body of Liberties, adopted by Massachusetts, 1641, as follows: “If you be dull and sleepy, and keep not your hold when others are active and pull hard, you must needs let go; unless I mistake, the 60th liberty, and the 74th, are infringed by inadvertency. I would hope it were no worse. By your 75th liberty, you have power to enter your dissent and protestation, which will save your own souls from guilt, and ye have encouragement to help yourselves and the whole, because as yet the promise is made good to you. Jer. xxx. 21. Your nobles are of yourselves, and your Governor proceeds from the midst of you.”

Regularly ordained ministers are freed from country, county and church rates, and also from those of the town, except they make a contrary agreement.

The churches of Dedham, Roxbury, Charlestown, and First of Boston, are required to send elders and messengers to the church of Newbury, for the purpose of investigating their troubles, and giving suitable advice.

The Secretary is to inform Mr. Parker of this order, and also the Congregational and Presbyterian parties. William Stoughton is joined with the Secretary to write. This he did on the 23d of next month, as follows. He observes that their dissension has grieved the hearts of all Christians, who wish well to the churches

1671.]

of New England. He mentions the appointment of the four churches to send elders and messengers among them. He beseeches them to prepare their hearts for the proper reception of such delegates, that their advice may be effectual for terminating the difficulties.

As the period for allowing £30 a year to the widow of Governor Endicott had expired, it is renewed to her.

Fifteen ministers,* who counseled the Third church of Boston to become organized, present an address to the Court, desiring that, as their committee the last year reported them as disorganizers for giving such advice, they may be heard before the Legislature or a Convention of churches. Among their complaints, one is, that the document offensive to them, "scandalizeth the professed and declared doctrine of Baptism, insinuating that no children ought to be baptized but such whose parents have given such evidence of the grace of faith to the church, as whereupon they are admitted to full communion in instituted churches!" Another is, "The whole charge savoreth of a spirit under an extraordinary transportation from a pleasant, personal and passionate concern in the interest of a party, as appears by the instance of the business of the Third church, and so a design to scandalize that precious church of Christ, at least to hinder the consummation and confirmation of that work of God, by the peaceable settlement of that church in actual and full communion with other churches." The Court, being mostly new members and elected because favorable to the new church, hear the document and apologize to the ministers for improper terms applied to them by their committee. They say that it is "their duty to declare that several expressions in the votes referred to in the petition appeared exceptionable," and order, "that the said papers referring to the case should be accounted useless, and not be improved against the reverend elders as having been the causes of God's displeasure against the country, or to be made public. And whereas many have taken liberty to publish secrets of the Court in that case, they are to be accountable." "The Court doth further declare, that they knew no just cause of those scandalous reflections, contained in said papers, indefinitely against magistrates, elders and churches, either in reference to the new church in Boston or otherwise; and, therefore, until they were further informed, they must judge them innocent and unduly calumniated and misrepresented." Thus the new church and its friends, who favored the half-way Covenant, were relieved from the censure which had been cast upon them.

June 8. While the Court thus showed a wish to relieve the

* John Ward, Samuel Whiting, John Allin, Edmund Brown, John Higginson, John Sherman, Thomas Cobbet, Thomas Thatcher, Sen., Thomas Shepard, Samuel Phillips, William Hubbard, Seaborn Cotton, Antipas Newman, Samuel Torrey, Samuel Whiting, Jr.

favorers of the half-way Covenant from what they considered unjust imputations, they also gave proof that they were not prejudiced against those who had or did oppose this ecclesiastical document. The instance to this effect was, that, as the Rev. John Davenport had subscribed to the Company's common stock, and been instrumental in advancing their Colony, the Court grant his son John five hundred acres of land.

14. Arthur Mason having been disfranchised last year for his passionate words and behavior before the First church of Boston, by the General Court, confesses his sin and prays the Court to release him from such a punishment. They grant his petition.

28. In answer to proposals* from Nantucket, Gov. Francis Lovelace and Council, at Fort James, New York, grant that the people of that Island have a Court one year, and those of the Vineyard another Court next year; and each of them, consisting of a chief magistrate and assistants, to make such laws as they need, and administer them in all cases, except capital ones, which shall be tried at New York. On July 7, we have the subsequent order. As Thomas Mayhew, of "Martin's or Martha's Vineyard," had, "by God's blessing, been an instrument of doing a great deal of good, both in settling several plantations there, as also in reclaiming and civilizing the Indians," he is appointed by the Governor and Council of New York, Governor for life, of the said Vineyard, and chief magistrate of a General Court, with the privilege of a double vote, which body shall consist of himself and three assistants, the latter elected annually by the inhabitants of his jurisdiction. With a commission dated July 8, to Mayhew, Lovelace sends him a letter. He remarks: "He, with his dear deceased son, having been instruments of doing much good by their instruction in bringing divers of them (Indians) to the knowledge of the Christian Religion, which is worthy of great commendation."

Tristram Coffin was appointed on June 28, 1671, by the Governor and Council of New York, chief magistrate of a General Court for Nantucket and Tuckanuckett, which body is to consist of said Coffin and his successors, chosen annually, and of two assistants, then chosen by the people of the two Islands.

July 2. The First church of Boston appoint John Leverett, John Oxenbridge, James Allen, James Penn, John Wiswell and Thomas Clarke, as messengers to the Newbury church, to hear and adjust the differences existing between its Congregational and Presbyterian members.

August 21. The magistrates and ministers write to dissenting ministers in and about London, for encouragement and aid to the College at Cambridge.

26. Rev. John Allin, of Dedham, dies, aged seventy-five, after

* Nantucket Papers, p. 35, 41.

1671.]

“an easy sickness of ten days.” His “beloved wife Katharine,” as he expressed himself when writing about her, survived him only three days. They were both buried in one grave. She was the relict of Governor Thomas Dudley, and married to Mr. Allin, November 8, 1653. When married to the Governor, she was widow of Samuel Hackburne. She was the mother of Governor Joseph Dudley. By Mr. Allin she had three sons, Benjamin, Daniel and Eleazer. Mr. Allin was among the chief founders of New England, in its principles of Church and State, and in its elements of character. He was able and faithful as a pastor, indefatigable and patriotic as a member of the Commonwealth, beloved and beneficent in all his relations in life. In 1638, he took part in replying to the Nine Points, which came from England the year before. Such a reply was answered by John Ball, a copy of which was sent to the New England ministers, but did not arrive. It was printed 1643, and the year after was brought to our shores. It was answered by Mr. Allin and Thomas Shepard, of Cambridge, 1645, in a pamphlet known as a “Defense of the Nine Questions, or Positions.” At an adjourned session of the Synod in 1648, Mr. Allin preached before this body to great acceptance. In the Synod of 1662, he was a prominent supporter of the half-way covenant then introduced. The change so made was argued against by President Chauncy in his Anti-synodalia, and also by the Rev. John Davenport. While Richard Mather, of Dorchester, answered the latter, Mr. Allin replied to the former. Among the chief supporters of the Third church in Boston, who seceded from the First, under Davenport, and principal remonstrants against the censure, passed on them by the Legislature, 1670, was Mr. Allin. Soon after his parish were called to part with him, they adopted measures to publish the two last sermons which he preached. They paid the charges of his funeral. They passed a vote, that a “convenient tomb, or monument, of stone and lime-mortar, and covered with meet timber, be erected over his grave, and an inscription cut thereon, with the date of his death.” Thus they, who remained to be his living epistles, to show forth the nature of his pastoral care over them, testified their heart-felt regard for him, who was no more to return to them, but they must go and stand with him in the Judgment. The character given him by Johnson’s Wonder-working Providence, is evidently true; the “humble and heavenly minded Mr. John Allin, a man of a very courteous behavior, full of sweet Christian love towards all, and with much meekness of spirit contending earnestly for the faith and peace of Christ’s churches.” His people, in their preface to his printed sermons, thus speak of him: “A constant, faithful, diligent steward in the house of God, a man of peace and truth, a burning and a shining light.”

A few weeks before his decease, he wrote a suggestion to Increase Mather to publish his “First Principles of New England.”

Having done this, Mather notes in a postscript: "Since the composition of this Collection of Testimonies, it hath pleased the Lord to take unto himself another of our ancient studs, viz., worthy and Reverend Mr. Allin."

September 4. A communication from John Eliot to the Commissioners of the Union, contains the subsequent passages: "The church of Natick having in it sundry young men, who were, when I first began, children and youths, whom I did catechise and so train up ever since; there are now sundry of them of good parts, able to teach. For their farther and better fitting for that work, we have set up an exercise of prophesying according to 1 Cor. 14 c., wherein four of them exercise in one day, and I moderate and order them. Their profiting hereby is evident to all. It putteth life unto them, also. I read unto them a lecture in the liberal arts, especially in Logick. For their encouragement, I provide them some small entertainment of food at such times, especially such as come from other places.

"Furthermore, God put it into the heart of the church to send some of their brethren to sundry parts of the country, to call in their countrymen to pray unto God. I foresaw this would be chargeable. Some of yourselves did last year tell me before your sitting, that you doubted I must abate of my salary and others also with me, in a proportion, because you were so short in means. After your rising, you told me you had made shift to extend matters to answer every one. This gave me to understand, that there was to be no help to be expected there. By some intimation I had from worthy Mr. Ashurst, I took boldness to charge a bill, for the which Mr. Usher alloweth me £50. With this supply, I fell to work, sent out messengers to many parts, gave entertainment to such as attended the Lecture. A particular account thereof is here inclosed, taken out of Mr. Usher's book, who hath paid all, and I have meddled with none of it. Now I humbly request your approbation of this very act and account, and the same account I shall give to the right honourable Corporation.

"Moreover, the church of Natick is about to dismiss sundry of their members to gather into a church estate at Nipmuck river, forty miles from the Bay, in which work and in order thereunto I shall be put to sundry great charges, and I request that you would please to allow me something towards the same; and the rather I am bold to propose it because in all other public meetings, motions, journeys, translations, attendances on the press, and other occasions, that I have attended in this work, I have never had (to my knowledge and remembrance) the least acknowledgment from yourselves, or one penny supply, save my bare salary." Mr. Eliot desires that the Commissioners would pay £100 debt for him, because it hindered his usefulness in the mission. "Further, I do present you with our Indian a, b, c, and our Indian dialogues, with

1671.]

a request that you would pay the printer's bill. An ingenious young scholar (J. Foster) did cut in wood the scheme, for which work I request you would pay him. I think him worthy of 3, or 4, or £5; but I leave it to your wisdom. With reference to our Lecture, my noble Lady Armine, and our right honorable Governor, Esq. Boyle, have sent me the sum of £12, a sum which I proposed in my letters last year. This I shall extend so far as I can. But besides, this work of sending for the church messengers is still incumbent upon us, yea, increased much by these stormy times. The number of our fixed teachers are ten, and the number of fixed rulers are ten; but in the several towns, who are in the birth to pray unto God, there is a great addition both of teachers and rulers. But, in that respect, I commit the matter to God and wait on him for supply."

23. An Indian church is gathered * at Hassanamessit, or Hassan-amisco, afterwards Grafton. Gookin says that the original name signified a place of small stones.

October 4. Thomas Foster is arraigned before the Middlesex Court,† for absence from worship on the Sabbath. He pleads necessity, and is therefore discharged.

November 4. Samuel Hubbard, of Newport,‡ Rhode Island, writes to the Baptist church, who worship on Noddle's Island, near Boston. He gives them a gospel benediction, speaks of his own religious course, of their support under trials, and their growth in numbers.

23. A County Court, held in Boston, thus express themselves: "Having taken into consideration the many means that have been used with the church at Braintree, and hitherto nothing done to effect, as the obtaining the ordinances of Christ among them, this Court therefore orders and desires Mr. Moses Fisk to improve his labors in preaching the word at Braintree, until the church there agree and obtain supply for the work of the ministry, or this Court take further order." Mr. Fisk obeyed this judicial requisition, and, by advice of adjacent elders, began to preach at Braintree the 3d of December. Thus was authority exercised where popular disagreement threatened a famine of the bread of life.

December 1. A letter from Mr. Eliot to Mr. Ashurst, treasurer of the Missionary Corporation, states his indebtedness, as he had to the Commissioners here. It adds that they had not answered him on the subject, and therefore he had drawn a bill for £80 on the treasurer in London, for his debt to Mr. Usher. It has the remark of Eliot, that let this matter turn as it may, "I am resolved, through the grace of Christ, I will never give over the work so long as I have legs to go."

Benjamin Sweetser, of the Baptist church, worshiping at Nod-

* Hull's MS. Diary. † Middlesex MS. Rec. ‡ Backus, vol. i. p. 404-5.

dle's Island, addresses a letter to Samuel Hubbard, of the Baptist church in Newport, Rhode Island. He imparts Christian consolation to Mr. Hubbard and wife, afflicted with the loss of their only son and child. He observes: "Brother Turner has been near to death, but through mercy is revived, and so has our pastor Gould. The persecuting spirit begins to stir again. Elder Russell and his son, and Brother Foster, are presented to the Court, that is to be this month."

19. John Johnson, of Woburn, is presented* for absence from worship on the Sabbath. He stated that he formerly went to the "Anabaptistical Assembly," but that he had, for some time, worshipped with the congregation where he lived, and was determined so to do. He is excused by paying costs. Hopeskill Foster and John Peirce, of the same town, and Matthew Johnson, for "turning their backs on the holy ordinance of baptism," being their first offense of this kind, are admonished and ordered to pay costs. John Russell, of Woburn, for renouncing communion with the church there—being absent frequently of late, from public worship, turning his back on the ordinance of baptism, having joined "the schismatical assembly of the Anabaptists," and "resisted all endeavors" for his reformation—is required to give bond for £10 to appear at the next Court of Assistants in Boston.

As John Wright, Isaac Cole, Francis Wiman, John Wiman, Francis Kendall, Robert Peirce, Matthew Smith and Joseph Wright, members in full communion with the church of Woburn, were presented by the Grand Jury of Middlesex last October,† for refusing to commune with said church and conform with advice from the neighboring churches and other means to rectify their disorder, and not giving sufficient reasons to the County Court for their course, this body order, that the churches of Charlestown, Cambridge, Watertown, Reading and Billerica be requested to send their elders and messengers to the church of Woburn, the last fifth day of March next, "where the brethren presented are required to give a meeting with the church there, and shall have liberty humbly and inoffensively to declare their grievances, and the church also to declare the whole case for the clearing of their proceedings. And after the case is fully heard by the Council," they are to endeavor to heal the difficulties, and make return to the next Court at Cambridge.

Eleazer Mather, of Northampton, publishes this year an "Exhortation to the present and succeeding generation in New England, to endeavor that the Lord's gracious presence may be continued with posterity, being the substance of his last sermons preached." It has an address by Increase Mather, to the church and inhabitants of the same town. Both productions were worthy

* Middlesex Ct. Rec.

† Ibid.

1672.]

of their subject, and of conformity from the population, for whose benefit they were sincerely intended.

1672. January 16. Samuel Phillips, pastor of Rowley church, writes* to the Rev. John Woodbridge, of Newbury. The latter sent to the former a defense of the Newbury brethren's continuance of coming to the Lord's table, though the last Council on their difficulties advised them to cease from so sacred a service until they were better disposed towards each other. Mr. Phillips again dissents from Mr. Woodbridge's judgment, and assigns good reasons.

February 5. A letter is addressed by Philip Nye, John Owen, William Hook, John Collins, and nine other dissenting ministers, in and about London,† to the magistrates and ministers of Massachusetts. It acknowledges the receipt of theirs, dated the preceding August 21st, and refers to the topics of its contents. Before it proceeds to notice these particularly, it uses the subsequent language: "It hath pleased the infinitely wise God to make of us in our stations, and also of the conditions which he hath measured out to his people, amongst whom he hath placed us, from whom, as well as ourselves, you cannot expect (as things stand with us) to receive that fruit that either your need calls for or our love would produce, were we not ourselves, together with the churches of Christ in these nations, intangled in many straits." With regard to Harvard College, for which help was asked through their influence, the letter states that its authors are thankful for the benefit of the institution, and they with their friends would gladly make large contributions to it, if in their power; but they purpose to do something for the support of the fellows and tutors who may instruct youths "in good literature and fear of the Lord, for future employment in church and Commonwealth." They recommend Dr. Hoar, on the point of sailing for New England, as a suitable person for the Presidency of the College. Their advice had been asked on this matter. They promise, as desired, to use their influence for having students sent over to receive an education at this seminary.

19. Charles Chauncy, President of Harvard College, dies, in his eighty-second year. He left six sons, graduates from this institution, all preachers of the gospel, and, like him, "had an eminent skill in physick." He left a daughter, Sarah, who married Gershom Bulkley. His worthy wife, Catharine, daughter of Robert Eyre, Esq., died a short time before he did. He possessed great talents, was very studious, learned and scientific, excelled as a preacher, was an example of piety, remarkably active till near the close of his days, and filled a long life with distinguished usefulness.

* Coffin's Newbury, p. 105.

† Hutchinson's Coll. p. 429.

When over eighty years old, as he was going to preach on a winter's day, some of his friends advised him not to attempt it,* for if he did he would die in the pulpit, he urged his way more energetically through the snow-drift, saying: "How glad should I be if this should prove true." On the Commencement before his decease, he delivered a farewell oration. After this, he sent for his children, and gave them a father's blessing. He waited for the time of his departure as one who had a strong hope that his death would be followed with eternal life. His publications were a sermon from Amos, 2 c., 11 v., 1655; an election sermon, 1656, as previously noticed; a volume of sermons on Justification, 1659; *Antisynodalia Americana*, 1662, as before mentioned. He left valuable manuscripts, which fell to the hands of his son Nathaniel's widow, of Hatfield, whose husband used them up in his business. On the tombstone of President Chauncy, as the *Magnalia** states, he is called "a man of unsullied integrity, an accomplished debater, gifted with equal merit in piety and scholarship."

March. John Amanhut† was son of Wannamanhut, sent by his father, a sachem of Massachusetts, to take care of some claims at Martha's Vineyard. Being a serious professor of Christianity, well versed in its principles, and a sufficient reader, he was employed by the Indians to preach for them. His labors among them received the divine blessing. At the date aforementioned, he was called to give account of his ministry.

March 10. The records of the First church in Boston have the subsequent entry. "This day a public contribution was made in the congregation, for the use of the College at Cambridge, at the motion of the Council; and beside the public, there was a private subscription wherein did many show their desire to have it at Boston, by subscribing for Boston ten-fold, five-fold, three-fold and the like. This contribution went over all the country." It amounted to £1,895 2s. 6d., of which Boston gave £800, and of this, £100 were presented by the generous Sir Thomas Temple.‡

15. As a concern for which New England had much sympathy, a royal declaration is made,§ that the ejected ministers of the mother country who are approved for the purpose, may preach "to those of their denomination, by a license from the King in Council." One result of this change was the establishment of a weekly lecture at Pinner's Hall, in London, by Presbyterians and Independents, to sustain the doctrines of the Reformation against "errors of Popery, Socinianism and Infidelity." But the royal indulgence to dissenters was soon prevented by the Test Act, on March 29, 1673, promoted by those of the Protestant class for the purpose of its operating against the Papists.

* *Magnalia*, vol. i. p. 475, 6.

† E. Mayhew, *Ind. Converts*, p. 72, 3.

‡ Holmes, vol. i. p. 362. § Neal, vol. ii. p. 562-5. Salmon, vol. i. p. 190, 201,

1672.]

22. The town of Salem * allow the "Farmers" at the Salem village to have a minister to preach for them. In the church of Salem, two persons who were covenant members by being baptized when children, are publicly censured and admonished for ill-conduct.

April 2. The Middlesex Court † requires that the master of the House of Correction shall bring the persons under his custody, to public worship on the Sabbath, and that constables shall help him if necessary. Andrew Stevenson, the master, said he should resign his office in June, sooner than perform such service. He accordingly left his place.

15. Officers were chosen ‡ by the First Boston church. "This day was a church meeting in the town-house, where, after prayer of the elders and some other brethren, the conference about choice of a deacon (succeeded), and our brother Henry Phillips was chosen. At the same time, the necessity of a ruling elder being taken into consideration, and after some debate, our brother Lieut. Thomas Clark was put to the vote and chosen to the office of ruling elder." Other sessions were held on account of some objection to this vote. Four churches were designated the next year for the Council to ordain Mr. Clark; but at another meeting of the church, the matter was put off indefinitely.

23. Of the warm-hearted Puritans who regarded the spiritual prosperity of New England more than all its other interests, was Edward Johnson, who now departed from this life, in his seventy-first year. He came from Herne-Hill, a parish in Kent, to this Colony, in 1630. He resided some time at Charlestown. When the village of this town was set off and incorporated by the name of Woburn, he was one of its principal men. He was their representative in the Legislature from 1643 to 1671, excepting 1648, and was Speaker for a short time in 1655. Till his decease, he was one of the Committee who had care of the Colonial Charter for safe keeping. He was a leading member of the church where he resided. He was devoted to the great object of religious reformation, for which our fathers emigrated to this country. His "History of New England," or "Wonder Working Providence," from 1628 to 1652, verifies such a position. He left a wife, Susan, and children, Edward, George, William, Matthew, John and two daughters. Though the style of his writings falls short of that now mostly popular, they exhibit a spirit fitted more for communion with serious obligation than common practice.

May 1. Two individuals, one, if not both of them, living in Ipswich, are required by the County Court § to make a public and audible "acknowledgment next lecture day," for asserting "that

* Salem First Ch. Rec.

† Rec. of First Ch. in Boston.

‡ Middlesex Rec.

§ Essex Ct. Rec.

Mr. Parker, of Newbury, had sent a letter to the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, for help and relief about their troubles at Newbury," and that they "saw a copy of the letter."

6. The town of Salem, by consent of Mr. Higginson and his church, request * Charles Nicholet, who came to Boston with his wife and a child, the 2d of April, from Virginia, to preach for them one year. They also desire him to deliver a lecture once a week. It appears that soon after this, he preached for the Dedham people, who invited him to settle with them. But the congregation of Salem were very earnest that he should continue there. And, as the fragment of an ancient record quoted by the Rev. Dr. Lamson, says: "Both people and minister, men and women, so set upon him and his wife, with great and incessant importunity, that they first overcame Mrs. Nicholet to be willing to live at Salem, rather than at Dedham. He was so far staggered in his resolution that he would put the case to a council of elders." This was done, and the result was that he should remain at Salem.

8. The selectmen of Salem forbid twelve men † to spend their time and money at two ordinaries of the town, in drinking.

10. The Rev. John Collins, of London, writes to Gov. Leverett, by Leonard Hoar, M. D. He recommends the last person who graduated at Harvard, 1650, as fit to be employed in the concerns of this institution. He mentions that a certain Lord was going to travel, and would probably visit the Governor, and if pleased, would be very serviceable to our country.‡

12. Samuel Parris, afterwards involved in the troubles of witchcraft at Salem village, unites with the First church of Boston.

15. Thomas Shepard, of Charlestown, preaches the Election Sermon. His text was from Jeremiah ii. 31. The title was, "Eye-Salve, or a Watchword from our Lord Jesus Christ unto his Churches, especially those within the Colony of the Massachusetts, to take heed of Apostasy." It bears the imprimatur of John Sherman and Urian Oakes, as licensers of the press. The author of it refers to perils from the Familists, who even threatened resistance with the sword, and from the Gortonists, whom he compares to hornets. He expresses his judgment of the good effects produced by the Synod, "in the time of opinions." Alluding to the interposition of civil power in these and other cases, he observes: "It is hoped that this coercive power of a godly magistracy, which we have experienced the benefit of so many ways, being duly managed, shall not be abandoned, nor therefore, a repealing of any wholesome law about religion for the defense and maintaining the gospel among us, or that liberty shall be proclaimed to men of any religion to come and set up shop or schools of seductions among us. To tolerate all things, and to tolerate nothing, (it's an old and true maxim,) both are intolerable."

* Annals of Salem.

† Ibid.

‡ Hutchinson's Coll. p. 435.

1672.]

Referring to Morton's Memorial of Plymouth, he remarks: "I wish the second Colony might be awakened further to take their turn also, and O! that it might be said concerning this and that of the mercies, judgments and great acts of the Lord, never to be forgotten by us, 'As it is written in the Book of the Chronicles of the Governors of the Massachusetts.'"

He mentions, that when he was a boy, ministers' associations met in Cambridge, Boston, Charlestown, Roxbury, etc., with good effect; that the lack of sufficient care for the common schools caused the College to languish by deficiency of students, and that it would be well for such schools to have "foundations," or funds, to educate poor scholars. He speaks of prayer, catechising and repeating sermons in families, as too much neglected. He inquires whether towns of small means should not be assisted by some public fund, to pay their ministers. He addresses the rulers before him: "Stand to your liberties, and let us not be gulled, befooled, deluded, baffled or beaten out of them."

The Court attend to the following subjects. As "a day of sore trouble and hazard to the people of God in general through the present portending commotions and combinations amongst the nations of Europe, threatening no less than war and blood, with all those innumerable evils which do attend the same; but also in that our own dear nation stands so particularly involved, whose sufferings we are bound to reckon as our own, and further cannot but expect, that as we are of the same nation, and many ways dependent thereon, so also we must be sufferers with them,"—a public Fast is appointed for the 13th of June, to seek the Lord for deliverance, and especially for that "of his church and people from an anti-christian yoke." Another Fast is ordered to be observed by members of the Legislature, on the 22d instant. Urian Oakes, John Eliot, Thomas Cobbet, John Oxenbridge, Samuel Whiting, Sen., and Increase Mather, are invited to "carry on the work of that day by prayer and preaching, and any Elders to be present, if they desire it."

Seeing that workmen refuse employment,* unless they can have wine or liquors over their wages, which "tends much to the rooting young persons in an evil practice and by degrees to train them up to a habit of excess," any person who complies with their demand, except in cases of necessity, shall be fined 20/.

The Commissioners for the United Colonies are empowered to sign the articles of Confederation, as again renewed by this Colony, Plymouth and Connecticut. Such a contract was completed the 5th of next September.

A committee, of William Hathorne and Eleazer Lusher, are appointed to make a record of Divine providences, and particularly

* Records of Mass. Gen. Ct.

of "what hath been collected by John Winthrop, Sen., Thomas Dudley, John Wilson, Sen., and Edmund Johnson, or any other, that so matter being prepared, some meet person may be appointed by this Court, to put the same into form, that so, after perusal, it may be sent to the press."

The Messengers requested by the last Legislature to visit Newbury about their ecclesiastical difficulties, make a report. This states that, however the Congregational part had a small majority, they were not regular in withdrawing from the rest and worshiping separately as the church; in admonishing and suspending Mr. Parker, their pastor, from his ministry, and choosing ruling elders and appointing the time for their ordination. It also disapproves of Mr. Parker and his friends' suspending their opponents, though the former were offended, as out of order and not calculated to promote peace. It advises Mr. Woodman, leader of the separatists, to attend public worship, so far as his infirmities allow; Mr. Woodbridge to discontinue his labors with the church, so that these may choose the minister they wish for; that, "hereafter, ecclesiastical offenses be not too suddenly brought to civil courts, without consulting with churches, being contrary to Colossians ii. 5—7; that, owing to the "great age and weakness of Mr. Parker and thereby his unfitness to manage church discipline," a ruling elder or two, approved by both parties, may be chosen. It then counsels the parties to use proper means for a mutual reconciliation. The Court sanction the report and desire that its proposals be obeyed. They also have a letter prepared for Newbury church, in which they express a similar wish. They say in the close of it, "Should there be a failure, we shall be necessitated to advise what further course is to be taken, according to God, that contentions may be removed and peace restored among you."

At their session, the Legislature order "the General Laws and Liberties of the Massachusetts Colony to be revised and reprinted." This was accordingly done. John Usher issued the Laws from the press, and had the copyright of them for seven years. This is the first privilege of the kind of which we have any information, as granted in New England. Under the ecclesiastical head, we have the following. Churches may be gathered in a Christian way, with the approbation of magistrates and elders. No person who joins a church not so approved, can "be admitted to the freedom of the Commonwealth." Every church has liberty to keep days of Fasting and Prayer and of Thanksgiving. Ministers and

NOTE.—The declaration of war by England against Holland, is ordered to "be published by the Marshal General, on May 28, in the three usual places in Boston, by sound of trumpet."

For what Mrs. Ann Harvey had laid out for the encouragement of Massachusetts Government, William Brown is granted three hundred acres of land by Massachusetts.

1672.]

other brethren are allowed to meet monthly, quarterly or otherwise, to consult about Christian and church questions. Private meetings for edification in religion, may be held in an orderly manner. No man shall become the constant preacher of a people, if any "two organic churches, Council of State, or General Court, shall declare dissatisfaction thereat." This was done to secure well-qualified dispensers of the gospel.

Open opposers of the Christian religion and its ministers shall, for the first offense, "be convented and reprov'd openly by the magistrate at some lecture, and bound to their good behaviour." Whoever is chargeable with a second offense of this kind, shall pay five pounds, or "stand two hours openly upon a block or stool, four feet high, on a lecture-day, with a paper fixed on his breast, written in capital letters, *An open and obstinate contemner of God's holy ordinances.*"

Whoever makes disturbance, according to the order of 1646, "upon pretense that the churches were not planted by any new apostle, or that ordinances are for carnal Christians or babes in Christ, and not for spiritual or illuminated persons, shall pay 40/. for every month, so long as he shall continue in his obstinacy."

Every town is required to provide a dwelling-house for their minister. Each County Court is to take measures that all deficiencies of salary for ministers in their jurisdiction are supplied.

That the term *church* might be understood, the Court say, "Be it hereby enacted that by the church is to be meant such as are in full communion only; and that the teaching officer or officers of such church or churches we do intend shall be the minister or ministers to all the people in that town where such church or churches are planted; and that no inhabitant in any town shall act in the calling or election of such officer or minister, until he be in full communion, upon penalty of being accounted a disturber of peace and order, and to be punished by the Court of that shire."

The subsequent passage shows the relation which the Legislature held to the church: "The civil authority here established hath power and liberty to see the peace, ordinances and rules of Christ be observed in every church according to his word, as also to deal with any church-member in a way of civil justice, notwithstanding any church relation, office or interest." On the other hand, every church has "liberty to deal with any magistrate, deputy of Court, or other officer whatsoever, that is a member of theirs, in a church way, in case of apparent or just offense given in their places, so it be done with due observance and respect."

Under the caption of Heresy; the revised laws speak as follows: "If any Christian within this jurisdiction shall go about to destroy the Christian religion, by broaching and maintaining any damnable heresies: as denying the immortality of the soul, or resurrection of the body, or any sin to be repented of in the regenerate, or any

evil done by the outward man to be accounted sin, or denying that Christ gave himself a ransom for our sins, or shall affirm that we are not justified by his death and righteousness, but by the perfection of our own works, or shall deny the morality of the fourth commandment, or shall openly condemn or oppose the baptizing of infants, or shall purposely depart the congregation at the administration of that ordinance, or shall deny the ordinance of magistracy, or their lawful authority to make war or to punish the outward breaches of the first table, or shall endeavor to seduce others to any of the errors or heresies above-mentioned;—every such person continuing obstinate therein, after due means of conviction, shall be sentenced to banishment.”

Whoever denies any of the books of the Old and New Testaments to be the word of God shall, after legal conviction, pay not above £50, or be whipped not more than forty lashes. If he publicly recant before his conviction, he shall be fined not exceeding £10, or be whipped. For a second offense of this sort, he shall be banished or put to death, as the Court may decide.

All persons who have in their hands the books of John Reeves and Lodowick Muggleton, who pretend to be the last two witnesses of Jesus Christ, and do not bring them to the magistrate next to their residence, shall pay £10 for every such book found in their possession, and the books shall be burnt in the market-place in Boston the succeeding lecture-day, by the public executioner.

The laws for banishing Quakers on pain of death, and also for putting to death children who curse or smite their parents, and a rebellious son, and those convicted of idolatry, witchcraft and blasphemy, are still continued.

As the Legislature, on the 15th of May, invited the elders of the Colony to “consult and advise concerning the present difficult emergencies before them,” the latter body accordingly lay before the former their unanimous opinion.

1. That the civil constitution or liberties of the Commonwealth, are founded on the Charter.

2. That this document is to be inviolably observed in “the right constitution of Courts and regular distribution of differing interests of power and privilege between the magistrates and the freemen, and the distinct exercise of legislative and executive power by those who are by patent vested therewith.”

3. That in cases of diversity as to opinion in public concerns, a just accommodation, consistent with the patent and the general satisfaction and safety, is advisable.

4. That however they approve of former advice given by their brethren in the ministry, and suited to circumstances of their time,

NOTE.—A Committee, consisting of Governor Leverett and others, are instructed to report at the next session, “some order for a Chancery Court.”

1672.]

that the negative votes should be "in the major part of both Houses, yet, for a present accommodation, we humbly conceive that our honored magistrates' bill referring to the issuing of all debates in matters of judicature, in case of the non-concurrence of both Houses voting apart, unto the vote of the whole Court met together, or the major part of them, whereof the Governor, Deputy Governor and four magistrates, or otherwise five magistrates at least, shall always be a part to the making any valid act. We say we humbly conceive that a mutual concession hereunto and a joint concurrence herein, may be a fit medium of such an accommodation as that which falls within a true latitude of interpretation." The elders proceed to give reasons why the magistrates should have a voice in questions before the General Court, as well as the deputies thereof. They remark, that "to leave the final determination of judicature in any case altogether to the freemen, doth tend to evacuate our great liberty and privilege of election."

5. That as the General Court have less trouble in civil and criminal cases, more power be granted to inferior courts of judicature.

6. That when the deputies in General Court are called to act as judges of a case before them, they shall be sworn so far as the magistrates are.

7. That cases already before the Legislature be settled "in the wonted way of procedure."

In conclusion, the elders observe: "Being under the awful sense of the great necessity of the amicable agreement of both Houses in such a time as this, we do most humbly and unfeignedly beseech Him, who is the Wonderful, Counsellor, and Prince of Peace, that He would guide you by his counsel and fill you with the spirit of wisdom, that you may be able to discern and conclude upon such a way of agreement in this matter, as may be for the glory of his name, welfare of his people here, and your account with joy in the great day of the Lord."

Signed by Samuel Whiting, Sen., John Oxenbridge, for substance, Thomas Cobbet, John Sherman, John Higginson, Thomas Thacher, Sen., William Hubbard, John Wilson, James Allen, for substance, Samuel Phillips, Samuel Torrey, Antipas Newman, John Hale, for substance, and Josiah Flint.

All persons convicted of "railing and scolding,* shall be gagged or set in a ducking stool, and dipt over head and ears three times, as the Court or magistrate shall judge meet."

They who keep houses of ill fame, shall be severely whipped through the streets at the cart's tail with thirty stripes, and committed to houses of correction on hard fare and hard labor. When refusing to work, they shall be whipped ten stripes every night and once a week at least. The leader, followed by companions in

* Hutchinson's Coll. p. 436. Mass. Gen. Ct. Rec.

guilt, shall wear with them, "hair frocks and blue caps." They shall be fastened to a hand-cart and draw filth through the streets to the sea-side, going to the gallows of each county, as ordered by the Court, and thence to the house of correction.

18. A letter is written* by Peter Tillton, a deputy of the General Court, to his wife at Hadley: "As to news from England, all men, both wise and others," think there "will be as black a day as the world hath known. There is another ship expected, in which one Dr. Hoar, a minister, is expected."

28. Rev. Nathaniel Mather dates his preface to "the Power of Congregational Churches," published this year in London and Ireland, by John Davenport, in 1645, as a reply to Mr. J. Paget's "Defense of Church Government exercised in Classes and Synods." He states that Mr. Davenport's answer was lost on its passage to England, and that he re-wrote it in 1652, as the editor undertook to have it printed according to request, made from New England, several months previously, for such a purpose. He and others thought the particular time was come when this work should be laid before the public, so that the rulers of the kingdom may perceive that "the principles and practices of the Congregational way are not in truth so incompatible with the power of the supreme magistrate in matters of religion, as some would represent, nor such as may render them suspected to civil powers, and that therefore we may not for these our principles be accounted unworthy to enjoy a peaceable dwelling in our native land, the weal whereof is more dear to us than our lives, or all our private earthly enjoyments in it." Little over two months had elapsed since the Executive of England had shown a relenting towards ministers ejected for non-conformity, so far as to allow them licenses for preaching to those who wished to hear them. Among such sufferers was Mr. Mather, who wished to improve an opportunity, favorable for the enlargement of their privileges, and a diminution of the odium resting upon them for the influence of their opinions in the promotion of the Commonwealth under Cromwell.

June 3. Urian Oakes preaches an Artillery Election Sermon. This was entitled, "The unconquerable, all-conquering, and more-than-conquering soldier, or the successful war, which a believer wagemeth with the enemies of his soul."

14. In a letter† of William Hamlit, a member of the Baptist church, which he seems to have sent to Newport, R. I., he observes, "I perceive you have heard as if our brother Russell had died in prison. Through grace he is yet in the land of the living, and out of prison bonds; but is in a doubtful way as to recovery of his outward health."

18. A General Court hold its session at Edgartown,‡ Martha's

* Hutch. Coll. p. 441. † Backus, vol. i. p. 441. ‡ Nantucket Papers, p. 42.

1672.]

Vineyard, and pass the succeeding laws. Every person, who sells intoxicating drink, as "wine or any strong drink, beer only excepted," to Indians, shall be fined 5/. a pint, or, if so charged, may clear himself by oath from such accusation, or if he "scruple in conscience" to swear "according to the usual custom," "may purge himself by subscription." An individual seen drunk shall pay 10/. No person is to sell less than a gallon of "liquor, wine, or other strong drink by retail, nor beer, cyder or the like, under the barrel, or quarter cask, unless he have a license," on penalty of £5. No inhabitant is allowed to tarry in a licensed house longer than a half hour, on penalty of 5/., unless he can give a sufficient reason to the magistrate, before whom he may be called to answer. Whoever profanely swears or curses, shall pay 10/.

19. The members of Malden church are required to defray expenses of the late Council, according to their taxes. John Wright, Isaac Coale, Robert Peirce and Matthew Smith,* for withdrawing from communion with that church, are admonished by the Court and ordered to pay costs.

July 17. The First church of Boston† desire Richard Cook and Simon Rogers "to set the Psalms on Sabbath and Lecture days."

September 1. A letter of this date‡ is ordered by the Baptist church, who worshiped on Noddle's Island, for William Hiscox and other Seventh-day Baptists, who had seceded the last year from their brethren, under John Clarke, and formed themselves into another church. It expresses a Christian spirit, and earnestly desires them to heal the breach, so called.

5. Articles of confederation are again signed§ by Commissioners of Connecticut, Plymouth and Massachusetts. The introduction runs thus: "Whereas, we all came into these parts of America with one and the same end and aim, viz., to advance the kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to enjoy the liberties of the gospell in purity and peace. And whereas, in our settling, by a wise providence of God, we are further dispersed upon the seacoasts and rivers than was first intended, so that we cannot, according to our desire, with conveniency, communicate in one government and jurisdiction; and whereas, we are compassed with people of several nations and strange languages, which hereafter may prove injurious to us and our posterity, and forasmuch as the natives have formerly committed sundry insolencies and outrages upon several plantations of the English, and have several times combined themselves against us; and seeing by reason of our distance from England, (our dear native country,) we are hindered from that humble way of seeking advice and reaping those comfortable fruits of protection which we might otherwise well expect; we therefore account it our duty, as

* Middlesex Ct. Rec.

† Ch. Rec.

‡ Backus, vol. i. p. 411-13.

§ Hazard's Coll. vol. ii. p. 521-6.

well as safety, to enter into a confederation for mutual help and succor in all our future concernments; that as in nation and religion, so in other respects, we be and continue one." The Colonies so united agree to give each other "advice and succor upon all just occasions, both for preserving and propagating the truth and liberties of the gospel, and for their own mutual safety and welfare." In this connection, they leave the declaration of an offensive war to the several General Courts, and not to their Commissioners, as under their former constitution. These Commissioners, as previously, are to be in "church fellowship" with the confederate Colonies, who were of the Congregational order. However each session of the Commissioners was to be triennial, except in extraordinary events, yet they were to be elected yearly for managing the missionary funds, while such care was left principally for those of Massachusetts.

The Commissioners of the Union assembled at Plymouth, attend to several items of business.* They receive letters from Messrs. Eliot, Mayhew and Fitch, giving an account of the gospel's progress among the Indians, and directed to the Corporation in England. Thomas Danforth is instructed to have all the Bibles and "other prints" for the Indians bound up, so that they may not be lost. A letter is written to Roger Williams in reply to his, and another to Uncas, encouraging him to attend on missionary preaching.

6. Disbursements for the missions one year are £407 18s. 6d. John Eliot was paid £50; ten Indian teachers and ten rulers under him, the former £5 each, and the latter 20/ each, £60; Waban, £5; Daniel Gookin, £20; Richard Bourn, of Sandwich, £35; three Indians under him, £15; "Old Mr. Mayhew," of the Vineyard, £40; Indian teachers and rulers on "Martin's" Vineyard and Nantucket, under his direction, £57; James Fitch, of Hartford, the revenue of "Mr. Mouthe's gift for the year past," £31 10s.; for well deserving Indians who assist him, £10; diet, fuel, clothes and schooling of an Indian youth at Cambridge, £18 8s.; John Cotton, of Plymouth, £20; Mr. Usher's bill of disbursements, £23 5s. 6d.; Commissioners of Connecticut to distribute among well-deserving Pequods and others thereabouts, £10; Marmaduke Johnson, for printing, stitching and cutting a thousand Indian Logic Primers, £6; clothing for a blind Indian called Bartimeus, £5; Mr. Danforth, for physic and other charitable expenses to Indians, £1 15s.

9. The Commissioners of the Union† write to the President of the Missionary Corporation in England. They acknowledge the reception of his communication, dated the 20th of March. Speaking of the Christian Indians, they say: "We dare not judge any

* Hazard's Coll. vol. ii. p. 527, 8.

† Ibid. p. 530-1.

1672.]

other but that the Lord hath amongst them some of his elect ones, the redemption of whose souls is precious in his sight, and that this work is indeed owned of himself. That it is attended with difficulties, many discouragements from men and devils, as you may see in part by Mr. Fitch's letter, renders (it) the fitter object for the wisdom, power and compassion of an Infinite and Unchangeable Being, who taketh most delight to magnify his own glorious name in the midst of man's misery and nothingness." They observe, that had the funds sent over been more, they should have appropriated part of it for several, who promised to be useful as missionaries; "one whereof is the son of the Reverend and good man, Mr. Mayhew, deceased, who being born on the Island called Martha's Vineyard, and now grown to man's estate and there settled; is an hopeful young man and hath their language perfectly." They thank the President for his readiness to assist the College at Cambridge, "although that society doth at present labor under sundry discouragements, partly arising by death of their late President, and also by the decay of their buildings, which were made in our infancy, yet are now in a hopeful way to be again supplied with an able President, and also with a new building of brick and stone, for the effecting whereof there is already a contribution made according to our low condition. We hope that our endeavors herein will be a blessing to the Indians as well as to the English."

11. Moses Fisk, son of John Fisk, settled at Chelmsford, is ordained over the church of Braintree. He graduated at Harvard College, 1662, and was admitted freeman, 1666.

25. The Topsfield church* invite the Rowley church to take part in the ordination of Jeremiah Hobart over them on the 2d of October. The invited decline for several reasons. One was, that they had prosecuted their late pastor, Mr. Gilbert, at Court. Another was, that it was too soon to settle Mr. Hobart, who had been among them "scarcely a year."

October 8. General Court assemble. President Hoar, doctor in physic, who was inaugurated over the College, September 10, is admitted a freeman of the Colony. They confirm his office and allow him a salary of £150. The Legislature grant a Charter for the College, which repeats the idea of the preceding Charter, that in all its resources the Institution "may conduce to the education of English and Indian youth, there residing, in all good literature and godliness."

A Fast, to be the 24th of December, for increase of "ignorance, pride, sensuality, security, worldly-mindedness, contention and strife in some societies, civil and sacred, unsubduedness to God's order in families, churches and Commonwealth,—unusual diseases the latter part of summer, which still continue in some places,

* Rowley Ch. Rec.

whereby many useful persons have been removed by death ; unseasonable rains in the late hay-harvest, whereby many have sustained considerable damage ;" for the churches of Europe, and especially those of England, involved in wars of "the Protestant nations."

A settlement is allowed,* named Squakeake, of six miles square, on Connecticut river. The committee are "to take special care that a godly preacher be placed there as soon as there are twenty families settled."

John Payne and others are granted a tract of land equal to ten miles square, near Hudson river ; to have free trade with the natives for twenty-one years, and after settling twenty families there, to maintain "a godly and orthodox ministry."

Edward Naylour is relieved from his banishment of twenty miles from Boston ; is to receive his books, papers and estate ; to have the care and education of his children, if he give security so to do, and to treat his wife well.

15. Antipas Newman, supposed to be a son of Rev. Samuel Newman, of Rehoboth, dies at Wrentham. Hull intimates as though the spotted fever caused his decease. He preached among his people in 1657, and was ordained over them, December, 1663. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Governor John Winthrop. She had five children, John, Samuel, Waitstill, Elizabeth and Sybil, who survived him. His widow married Zerubbabel Endicott, of Salem, who was a son of Governor John Endicott. Mr. Newman was a literary, able and faithful minister. Bradstreet, in his Journal, says that "his death was much lamented."

November 8. The diary of Hull contains the subsequent passage : "The divisions of the church of Newbury were matters of great exercise to the churches and ministers, and to the General Court. Many too much abetting one Edmund Woodman and his party, viz., about five magistrates and above twenty deputies, and two ministers, viz., Mr. James Allin and John Oxenbridge, but it pleased God, by a committee sent by the General Court," to convince and unite them. As before stated, Mr. Woodman was a leader of the Congregationalists, while the Rev. Mr. Parker was followed by the Presbyterians of the Newbury church. The manner in which Mr. Hull speaks of Messrs. Allin and Oxenbridge, may be accounted for by the fact, that they considered him and others, who left the First Boston church to form what has been long called "the Old South Church," as walking disorderly.

Referring to such compromises, Hubbard remarks : † "During these intervals of time (1666 to 1671 and may be extended to 1672) several contentious breaches, that happened in sundry of the churches of the Massachusetts, were orderly composed, though

* Mass. Gen. Ct. Rec.

† Hubbard's New England, p. 608, 9.

1672.]

not without the interposition of the civil magistrate, who is *custos utriusque tabule*, which it is thought meet rather to intimate in this place, than pass over with silence, seeing thereby a full answer is given to the main objections, that use to be made against the Congregational churches of New England, as if there was no way found to end differences, that might occasionally arise in or amongst the churches of that constitution." He further observes, that the common method of settling ecclesiastical difficulties, was through the advice of a Council, composed of elders and messengers from adjacent churches. But in case of difference among members of the Council, or "contumacy in any of the offending parties, the civil magistrates' help being implored by them that are aggrieved, that useth always to put a final end to all matters of controversy amongst any of their churches."

11. James Bailey, of Newbury,* who began to preach at Salem village about October, 1671, is voted by the people there, £40 for his first year's labor among them.

December 7. Richard Bellingham dies, aged over eighty years. He was born in England and educated for a lawyer. He was the only surviving patentee, named in the Royal Charter of Massachusetts. He arrived at Boston, 1634, and August 3, with his wife Elizabeth, united with the church there. As he began his purpose and endeavors for the advancement of Puritanism in New England, so he continued them to the end. His resistance to the Quakers rendered him the object of severe remarks, as in Coddington's "True Love." However he had the faults of human nature, yet he was remarkable for Christian integrity. He stood with Davenport in the controversy against the half-way covenant. He left a second wife, whom he married, 1641, performing the ceremony himself, as a magistrate, which cost him a presentation of the grand jury, though he was cleared. After the decease of his wife and son and his son's daughter, he gave his whole estate at Winnisimmet "to be an annual encouragement to some godly ministers and preachers, who may be judged by my Trustees faithful to those principles in church discipline, which are owned and practiced in the First church of Christ in Boston, of which I am a member, a main one whereof is, that all Ecclesiastical jurisdiction is committed by Christ to each particular organic church, from which there is no appeal, visible saintship being the matter, and express covenanting the form of the church." As to what he wished of his Trustees, he proceeds: "I do desire them to observe these instructions. 1. Minister's house and meeting-house be built at Winnisimmet, etc. 2. Lots for dwellers and inhabitants be given out, and conveniency of land to the minister's house. 3. That four or six young students be brought up for the ministry, as the estate will bear. 4. That

* Annals of Salem.

something be allowed yearly to any godly Congregational minister, who shall be willing to settle in that place, etc. That every quarter of the year one sermon be preached to instruct the people of Boston in church discipline according to the word of God, and such compensation be given to each preacher as my Trustees think meet." Though the Court set aside this will as impairing the rights of Bellingham's family, still it shows the prevalent bias of his motives.

This year Joseph,* an Indian, and a member of the church at Hassanamesitt, subsequently Grafton, collects a small society of Indians at Chabanakongkomum, afterwards Dudley, and opens to them the instructions of the Bible.

Gookin informs us that six or seven Indians, one of whom was a teacher, with others to assist them, who could speak the English and Indian tongues, undertook a mission to the Wessamomeks, who were reported to be numerous, and acquainted with the language of the New England Indians, and living by a lake "three or four hundred miles south-west from Boston." The missionaries took with them a supply of Indian catechisms, primers, Bibles, and other books, and presents and supplies for their journey to the value of thirty or forty pounds. After they had gone one hundred miles, their conductor complained of sickness, and other difficulties rose, which induced the company to return, to the great disappointment of those interested in their undertaking.

Besse, in his work on the sufferings of the Quakers,† says that Richard Bellingham caused Samuel Eccles and Nicholas Alexander of Jamaica, a Justice of the Peace there, to be banished. He also detained £10 worth of books sent to William Coddington, from England. John Tysoe had a parcel of books and goods seized, and he was apprehended before he came on shore, and then brought to Boston prison because he was a Quaker. The captain who brought Tysoe was required, on £100 penalty, to carry him away the first opportunity. Five strangers, James Lancaster, John Stubs, John Rance, Thomas Eaton and Robert Harnden, Quakers, were put in jail. George Heathcot, the owner and commander of a ship, being of the same persuasion, was alike confined, 1st of August. He refused, when delivering a letter to Governor Bellingham, to take off his hat.

William Coddington wrote to the Governor for his books, warning him against hard dealings with the Quakers.

From the foundation of the First church in Salem,‡ 1629, to the present year, Joscelyn states that forty churches had been gathered in New England, and one hundred and twenty towns granted. A large portion of the latter corporations which belonged to Massachusetts, Connecticut and Plymouth, were strong enough to sup-

* Gookin's Coll. Mass. Hist. Coll. 1 s. vol. i. p. 189, 90.

† Ibid. 1 s. vol. i. p. 157, 8.

‡ Joscelyn's New England, p. 105.

1673.]

port the stated ministry among them, as required by their colonial governments.

1673. January 26. Michael Powell dies. He preached for the Second church of Boston, and was strongly desired by them to become their pastor; but he was prevented by the General Court, because they did not consider his literary qualifications sufficient. He was chosen by the church to the office of ruling elder, and he usefully discharged its duties. He felt himself kept back from a sphere of action to which he believed himself called by Providence. It was his consolation that the Lord reigned in righteousness.

March 2. The Salem church keep a Fast day for "the afflicted state of the people abroad, and also fears of approaching judgments * towards ourselves."

16. A letter of dismission is granted by the First church of Boston to John Harwood, to "Mr. Grenill's church in London, Mr. Matthew Mead being pastor."

29. The King assents to the Test Act,† which requires all officers, civil and military, to partake of the Sacrament, in accordance with the form of the English church, and declare against Transubstantiation. This act allows the exception to our Colonies, so far as they are dissenters.

April 1. As Benanuel Bowers and family neglected public worship,‡ he was fined 40/., the costs of prosecution, and admonished to be more careful. He appealed to the next Court of Assistants. He was fined again, June 17, was admonished and ordered to pay costs, October 7, for allowing labor in his family on the Sabbath; and, December 23, was fined £5 for "reviling the Court of Middlesex and their sentences against him, and several magistrates by name." He was committed till his fine should be paid. He appealed to the Assistant Court.

16. A vote is passed in Newbury that the rate for the minister's salary shall be paid in English grain, as rye, barley, wheat and peas, for one half, and the rest in Indian corn. This is an indication that the two parties there, Congregational and Presbyterian, had laid aside their differences, after existing for more than a quarter of a century, so as to join in common action for the support of a preacher. This person was John Richardson, for whom in December they ordered a house to be erected. He had been one of the Fellows in Harvard College.§

* Among these was that on the foregoing Feb. 4, when increased restrictions were laid by Parliament on the commerce of their Colonies. At the restoration of Charles II., duties of poundage and tonnage were required of them, but now "is the first act which imposed customs on the Colonies alone, to be regularly collected by Colonial revenue officers, approved by Commissioners of the Customs in England."—*Chalmers' Pol. Annals*, 317–20, *Holmes' Annals*, I. 360.

† Salmon's Chron. vol. i. p. 201.

‡ Middlesex Ct. Rec.

§ Coffin's Newbury, p. 113, 4.

May 7. The General Court assemble. The Election Sermon is preached by Urian Oakes. His text is Deuteronomy xxxii. 29, and subject, "New England pleaded with and pressed to answer the things which concern her peace." He views the protection divinely extended to the Jews, like that experienced by the people of the confederated Colonies. From this he discusses the doctrine, "That it is the great wisdom of a people that have been conducted by the mighty hand of God, to a place of rest and liberty, and settled in the possession of singular privileges and enjoyments, to understand and consider what will be the latter end of their sinful ways." He remarks: "Good magistrates, good laws, and the vigorous execution of them, have been the privilege and glory of New England, wherein you have been advanced above most of the nations of the earth. As to your sanctuary mercies, God hath sequestered you from the rest of the world, brought you into these parts of the earth, that you might set up his way and worship in the purity and gospel glory of it. This was the refreshing mercy of God to his people when he first brought them over, and that which sweetened to them many a bitter cup, and supported them under the burdensome inconveniences of a wilderness condition. Here you have seen the orderly administration of the worship and ordinances of God. Church officers duly qualified and set apart to their work, and ruling authoritatively in the Lord, according to the order of the gospel, using their power to edification, and not destruction. And church members allowed and using their liberty and privilege, obeying and consenting in a due exercise of their judgment and discretion. The doctrine of faith duly dispensed, the worship of God solemnly celebrated, without the mixture of human inventions, and discipline administered (for the substance thereof) according to the appointment of Jesus Christ. And in cases of difficulties, emerging through want of light or peace, Councils orderly assembling and acting in the fear of God, ministerially declaring the mind of God, and commending their advice to the churches concerned, without any irregular imposing upon their liberty. And this course also attended generally with the blessing of God for the final issue of controversies and ending of differences. These are such mercies as are almost appropriately yours, if all circumstances be considered, so that hardly any people under heaven equal you in this respect. And for the continuance of these mercies, the Lord hath given you schools of learning, and prospered that work of the education of your children in the hands of those that have undertaken it, both in inferior private schools, and in the College (that nursery of piety and good literature) even to admiration.

"You have here, in this place of retirement, enjoyed peace and rest when other parts of the world have been embroiled, and that dear nation of which you are a part, have been involved in blood

1673.]

and distractions. All that have attempted to devour you, you have offended, and 'evil hath come upon them.' God having blessed you in basket and store, hath raised you up to some considerableness in the world. Indeed, if we cast up the account and sum up all our mercies, this our Commonwealth seems to exhibit to us a specimen, or a little model of the kingdom of Christ upon the earth, not in the wild sense of those that are called Fifth-monarchy men, but in the sober sense of many of our divines, wherein it is generally acknowledged and expected. This work of God, set on foot and advanced to a good degree here, being spread over the face of the earth, and perfected as to greater degrees of light and grace and gospel glory, will be (as I conceive) the kingdom of Jesus Christ so much spoken of. When this is accomplished you may then say, 'He hath taken to himself his great power and reigns; and that the kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ.'

"You have been as a city upon a hill, though in a remote and obscure wilderness, as a candle that gives light to the whole house. You have to a considerable degree, enlightened the whole house (world I mean) as to the pattern of God's house, the form and fashion and outgoings and incomings thereof. God hath been doing (in my apprehension) the same thing, for the substance of it here, that shall be done more universally and gloriously, when Israel shall blossom and bud and fill the face of the world with fruit."

The preacher speaks of the controversies about the half-way Covenant, as recommended by the last Synod, and the seceders from the old church in Boston: "Your differences will make way for those that will make no difference between Synodists and Anti-synodists, Old or New churchmen."

He says: "I fully believe that the Congregational way is the highest step that hath been taken towards reformation, and, for the substance of it, is the very way that was established and practiced in the primitive times according to the institution of Jesus Christ.—They who would forsake the Congregational and pass over to the Presbyterian way, because of some differences of notion among our Congregational divines, or difficulties in the practice and way of the Congregational churches, shall find that they make but a bad exchange. I cannot find, upon my utmost inquiry, that there is any real foundation for such invidious reports, or anything which answers the 'great cry which some make.'"

"He is a madman that will hope for the continuance of our spiritual liberties, if the wall of our civil government be once broken down. He that shall be treacherous to the civil government, as he is injurious highly to the present and succeeding generations, so he is guilty of high treason against the Lord Jesus Christ. It hath been very sage counsel that hath been often given

you, 'Keep to your patent. Stand for the liberties and immunities conferred upon you therein.' My heart's desire and prayer is, that the electors this day may use their privilege well in choosing men fearing God and duly accomplished for government, acquainted with the worth and glory of the interest of Christ among us in church and Commonwealth."

With regard to toleration, he observes: "I profess I am heartily for all due moderation. Nevertheless I must add, that I look upon an unbounded toleration as the first-born of all abominations. This would be not only to open the wicket, but to fling open the great gate for the ready admission and reception of all abominable heresies. The eye of the magistrate is to be to the securing of the way of God, that is duly established. And if anywhere this is to be the concern and duty of rulers, surely it is most of all so in New England, which is originally a plantation not for trade but for religion. We must not be so compassionate to schismatic, turbulent, erroneous persons, as to be cruel, injurious, or unkind to the precious interests of Christ among us. Nature teacheth a man self-preservation. Grace should teach a Christian magistrate (if you will allow me the word) Christ-preservation; I mean the preservation of the truth, ordinances and interest of Christ." The preacher urges that greater encouragement should be given to graduates from the College, when settled as ministers, so that learning may be advanced, as well as spiritual good promoted.

May 10. A letter from the Governor and Assistants* to Robert Boyle is dated. They thank him for speaking in their behalf to the King, while others accused them, and thus allowing himself "an advocate for this part of God's poor church in the wilderness." They notice the charges at Court against them. First, disloyalty. They mention several particulars to the contrary. They did not proclaim the Commonwealth or act in its name, during the absence of the King, "as all other remote colonies did." In public and private, they pray for his Majesty. They sent provisions for the Squadron, under Sir John Harman, in the West Indies. They had forwarded a ship load of masts for the royal navy. Second, they are "factious in the principles of religion." They answer, that their religion was like that of the Puritans under Edward VI., and Elizabeth, who were approved by all true Protestants. Third, they "are a divided people." They reply, that however there is not all the unanimity they wish, because of human imperfection,

NOTE.—The inhabitants of Hadley are granted a plantation of six miles square, near the northward of their bounds, if two hundred and fifty acres be reserved for the Colony; and families enough be there in seven years, and they settle a good orthodox minister.

NOTE.—Poucomptock, afterwards Deerfield, is allowed to be a town on like conditions of reserved land and settlement of a pastor.

* Birch's Life of Boyle, p. 453-8.

1673.]

they bless God they "have much peace and tranquillity in church and state." Fourth, disrespectful treatment of his Majesty's Commissioners. They respond, we dealt with them civilly, though we did not obey their mandates, because subversive of our Charter. Fifth, "great omission as to the baptism of infants." They state that their principles are before the world in print, which allow "visible confederate believers and their seed" the ordinance of baptism, as in "other reformed churches, and as particularly expressed in the result of their last Synod." Sixth, rigidity to other denominations. They allow that "Familism, Anabaptism and Quakerism have been looked upon by the godly here, as great errors, and the promoters of them disturbers of the peace and order;" that, to keep them from inflicting on this country the evils which they had caused elsewhere, they had laws against them, which have been executed on such as "have exceeded the rules of moderation in practice." They add: "We may say truly, that some peaceable Anabaptists and some other sects, who have deputed themselves quietly, have and do live here, under the protection of this government, undisturbedly."

Lastly, grasping after territory, especially the Province of Maine. They state that their Charter includes this Province by clear demonstration; that it was deserted by its proprietor, and its population petitioned to be under the care of Massachusetts, so that their divisions might not destroy them; that it was a source of trouble and expense; that when it was taken from their jurisdiction by order of the royal Commissioners, the people fell into their former collisions, and again besought that they might return to the protection of the Bay Authorities, as a means of keeping them from ruin; that their "main end in taking them" under their government, was to encourage "a pious and able" ministry in their several settlements.

June 19. William Hamlet writes* to Samuel Hubbard, of Newport, that the Baptists are still prosecuted and fined for not attending the public worship allowed by law. He says: "Brother Trumbel and brother Osborne were fined last Court at Charlestown. They have appealed."

27. A letter "from the dissenters,"† afterwards Old South church, to the First church of Boston, is read before the latter and much debated. It was put off to the 8th of the next month, when a vote was passed, that it should be answered by "the three magistrates and the three elders." Mention is subsequently made that such a letter was accordingly prepared, and that the First church made several appointments to consider it, but no record of theirs shows that they did send it to the church who had left them.

It is very likely that the recent sermon of Mr. Oakes, strongly

* Backus, vol. i. p. 412.

† First Ch. Rec. of Boston.

setting forth the need of harmony with regard to the difference between these two churches, as well as to others, helped to promote the renewal of an application by the members who had withdrawn, for reconciliation, and a more deliberate consideration of such a paper by those to whom it was addressed, than they had been disposed to give on similar occasions.

August 22. In reply to the questions of a brother in the ministry, who seems to have been in England, Eliot gives the following* relative to the Indians. "How many churches and where? There be (through the grace of Christ) six churches gathered, according to the order of gathering churches among the English; one at Natick, one at Hassanamesitt, twenty-eight miles to the west, one at Marshpee, twenty miles east of Plymouth, two at Martin's Vineyard, and one at Nantucket. Are all furnished with church officers? All are, saving the church at Natick, and in modesty they stand off, because so long as I live, they say, there is no need; but we propose (God willing) not always to rest in this manner. Do the English commune with Indians at the Lord's supper? On two occasions at the Vineyard, I administered the elements where such communion took place."

27. The Commissioners† of the Confederation, being assured that the Dutch Fleet, which captured New York, July 30, from the English, intended to do all the damage they could to other Colonies, "are therefore firmly resolved, in confidence of Divine Assistance, accordingly to demean themselves," and do commend to the several General Courts to make all due preparation for defense.

October 15. The Legislature meet. They make an addition‡ to the law about freemen, requiring that each application for any person who is not a church member in full communion, shall be handed to the Secretary at the Court of Election, and be read by this officer during the session, before the whole Court, and not be put to vote until the Court of Election, the following year.

A paper handed to the Commissioners§ for Plantations this year, states that "a freeman must be orthodox, above twenty years old, and worth £200." It also represents that among the most popular of the ministers here are Thomas Thacher, John Oxenbridge and John Higginson. It further says that "there are no musicians by trade; a dancing school was set up, but put down; a fencing school is allowed."

The Court appoint November 20, for Thanksgiving, because of a good harvest and preservation from enemies on neighboring coasts. This has reference to the Dutch Fleet at New York. They speak of "uncomfortable debates at the College." They

* Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. 1 s. vol. x. p. 124.

† Hutch. vol. i. 3 ed. p. 261.

‡ Gen. Ct. Rec.

§ Chalmers' Pol. Ann. p. 435.

1673.]

recommend this institution to the inspection of the Overseers, "that it may, by the blessing of God, answer the cost and expectation of such whose hearts the Lord hath or shall move to bring up their children in those studies." It was supposed that the students preferred Mr. Oakes, of Cambridge, for the presidency, to Mr. Hoar, and therefore promoted discontent among themselves, and abroad among others, so as to render the situation of the incumbent very unpleasant.

26. Thomas Gilbert dies at Charlestown,* aged sixty-three. The inscription on his tomb says, "Sometime pastor of the church of Christ at Chedlie, in Cheshire: also of the church at Eling, in old England." His decease was at the house of Rev. Mr. Symmes. He is supposed, after leaving Topsfield and residing in Charlestown, to have assisted Mr. Shepard in pulpit duties. Among the events of his life while at Topsfield, was his being complained of in 1666, "for praying that the King and royal family might be converted from idolatry; that cabals and flatteries might be removed from him, and because he had said that his Majesty had broken his covenant with Scotland." The idolatry here spoken of was Romanism, which the King was strongly suspected to have embraced. Mr. Gilbert had felt the opposition of Charles II. to non-conformists in his own ejection from the ministry. For being the first among those so cast out of office, he was called proto-martyr. His epitaph says of him, a "sincere, zealous, devout and faithful minister of Jesus Christ."

30. Deeply affected with the ruinous power of intemperance, and alike impressed with his obligation to attempt the arrest of its progress, Increase Mather edits his "Woe to Drunkards."

December. The selectmen of Salem,† knowing that several parents neglected the education of their children, advertise the latter as ready for being bound to fit persons, who will take better care of them.

This year Captain Wyborn,‡ of the ship *Garland*, states to the Commissioners for the Plantations, that having visited Boston, he found there "very many of the better sort" for the Church of England, had the common prayer books in their houses, and would not have their children baptized after any other form than the Episcopal. This seems to have been a strong representation.

An unprincipled measure is adopted to increase prejudice against the Anabaptists of New and Old England.§ A pamphlet is published in London with the following title: "Mr. Baxter baptized in blood; or a sad history of the unparalleled cruelty of the Anabaptists in New England; faithfully relating the cruel,

* *Magnalia*, vol. i. p. 597. † *Annals of Salem*. ‡ Chalmers calls him Cleyborne. § *Neal's History of N. E.* vol. i. p. 374, 5. Backus, vol. i. p. 410.

barbarous and bloody murder of Mr. Josiah Baxter, an orthodox minister, who was killed by the Anabaptists, and his skin most cruelly flayed off from his body. Published by his mournful brother, Benjamin Baxter, living in Ten-church street, London." This pamphlet was licensed by Dr. Parker, the Archbishop's chaplain, and cried about the streets by hawkers. The author represents his brother as worsting the Anabaptists in a public disputation at Boston; for which, by way of revenge, they sent four ruffians in vizors to his house, a little way out of town, who, after they had bound his wife and three children, first whipped and then flayed him alive. The author concludes: "I have published this narrative *in perpetuum rei memoriam*, that the world may see the spirit and temper of those men, and that it may stand as an eternal memorial of their hatred to all orthodox ministers." But search being made by authority into the contents of this publication, they were found to be a total falsehood. Passengers who first arrived in London after the work was published, deposed that it had no foundation. The King's Council made declaration in the Gazette, to the like import.

1674. January 5. The religious society at Wenham* offer Joseph Gerrish, as their preacher, the following salary: £50, twenty cords of wood, and use of the parsonage, with the condition that he should receive two pounds of butter for every milch cow in his parish, as part payment of the said money. He began his ministerial labors, May 25, 1673, and was ordained there, January 13, 1675.

9. William Hamlet, of the Baptist church,† writes to Samuel Hubbard, of Newport: "The church of the baptized do peaceably enjoy their liberty." He refers to the toleration which they had experienced under the government of Leverett, as chief magistrate, and Samuel Symonds, his deputy.

February 9. Peace takes place between England and Holland, whereby the authorities of Massachusetts had obstructions to their temporal and spiritual interests removed. The duke of York received,‡ on June 1, another patent of his territory in New York and Maine, at Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard, and thus, being a decided papist, renewedly sets up the barriers of Episcopacy against the order of the adjacent non-conformists.

11. It is remarked by Hull,§ "Divisions at Salem, between Mr. Nicholet, who came from Virginia, and supposed, in part, invited by Mr. Higginson, but now an affliction to him. He went out of the church in sermon time on the Lord's day, and drew others after him. Yet he seems to be a zealous preacher and full of affection, though peradventure less fully fixed in some truths."

* Wenham Ch. Rec.

† Backus, vol. i. p. 414.

‡ Salmon's Chronology, vol. i. p. 202. Smith's New York, p. 41.

§ Hull's MS. Diary.

1674.]

19. Mr. Higginson, knowing that a majority of his people were about to invite Mr. Nicholet to preach a third year, which would begin June 14th, called* a church meeting, and stated that he was decidedly opposed to Mr. Nicholet's staying any longer. The reasons of his objection were, that his colleague did not preach sound doctrine; that his continuance was calculated to increase difficulty; and that he was less beneficial, than otherwise, to him. Mr. Higginson laid these reasons before the church, that Mr. Nicholet might have suitable notice to provide for himself elsewhere. Much debate ensued. Mr. Higginson was inclined to take a vote on the subject, but the principal of the brethren advised him to delay, lest a minority of them would join the town and have Mr. Nicholet at all events. He complied, and observed that he felt satisfied with having done his duty. At the beginning of March, the town desired him to attend their meeting, and asked his reasons for objecting to Mr. Nicholet's preaching. He answered, "You know." When they stated that they wished for his assistant to abide with them another year, he said that he should be passive but not concur.

March 3. Benanuel Bowers, on an appeal from Middlesex Court to the Court of Assistants, has his sentence confirmed,† to pay £5 and costs, and stand committed to Cambridge prison until he discharge the same.

7. A constable of Boston discovered, last Lord's day, in time of public worship, in the house of Nicholas Moulder, certain Quakers, as George Cole, speaking to those present, the said Moulder and wife Christian, Stephen Hussey, David Fogg, John Somes, Joshua Buffum, Ann Gillam, Martha Almy, Eliphaz Stratton and Hester Drue. Being arraigned, they were admonished and told that "the law would be too hard for them, and they must, if they fell into the like transgression, expect the execution thereof."

16. Moses Paine, constable, reports‡ that, by a warrant from the Deputy Governor, Samuel Symonds, dated the 13th, to prevent a meeting of Quakers in Boston, he took two men with him, on the Sabbath, the 15th, to the house of Nicholas Moulder; that he found him, John Somes, Stephen Hussey, William Mumford, David Fogg, John Hollaway, Nathaniel Drue, John Sempsted, Ann Gillam, Martha Almy, Eliphalet Stratton, Patience Drue, and Isaac F——, assembled there, near the last bell ringing, in the afternoon; that he warned them to disperse, but they refused, "replying we had nothing to do to disturb them."

April 7. Samuel Dunton§ and wife, of Reading, who neglected to attend public worship, are charged with bringing up

* Annals of Salem.

† Court of Assistants Rec.

‡ MS. Papers in Mass. Hist. Soc. Library.

§ MS. Middlesex Ct. Rec.

their children in an irreligious manner, and the selectmen are authorized to dispose of the children to "service or apprenticeship," where better care will be taken of them.

Edmund Parker, of Lancaster, accused of a similar offense, is admonished, and the selectmen are required to inspect him and his family.

10. Rev. John Collins, of London,* writes to Governor John Leverett. "New York being restored by the peace, one Mr. Andrews (Andros) is appointed Governor, a man I know not. Some rumor is maliciously spread at Court, that you have made peace with the Dutch there, which is obviated by the readiness of some persons to show the falsehood of it. I hope nothing will for this year disturb you, and if anything do arise, it will be from New York and the government there. I have, therefore, greatly encouraged some gentlemen, your friends, who would purchase it of his Royal Highness, as thinking it will be much for your peace, who are about it. How it will issue, I know not." The writer, being a graduate from Harvard and a strong advocate for New England Puritanism, seems to have been apprehensive, that, as the Duke of York was openly the supporter of Papacy, his government, administered by a Deputy supposed to be like him in religion, would be adverse and give the English colonists much trouble at New York and Maine. It is likely, also, that he knew that the Duke's charter gave him a claim to the country immediately west of the Connecticut, which, if enforced, would produce a collision between the authorities on that river and those empowered by his Highness. The movement to purchase him out of such territory, was, therefore, very judicious.

The correspondent proceeds: "I hear the King is offended, that some of your ships take in their loading from Virginia and go to France and defraud his customs, as also from other plantations." This complaint was often made in England, because part of the colonial vessels, instead of going directly thither in order to pay duties, as the act of trade demanded, though bound to other European ports, sailed directly for these places. He remarks as to the "presaging of men's minds, of some dangers of papists and popery." He mentions the death of Sir Thomas Temple, in London, who was a member of the Boston church, and deceased the preceding 27th of March. He says that "melancholy and grief" was the cause of his departure, in consequence of being slandered. "I saw neither disease nor pain, that would hasten his end, but his spirit broken, his inward estate dark, wherein God did enable me to do him some small service. I hope he had the root of the matter in him and is gone home to rest."

Mr. Collins continues: "Your concussions you have at the

* Hutchinson's Coll. p. 442-6.

1674.]

College, do greatly grieve me ; and so much the more, that no friend hath been pleased to give me a true state of it, but all, I gather from them, I see, are wholly of one side. It causeth a great rumor here, and is greatly aggravated to the President's reproach, in whom I am concerned, for he was a member with us, but it seems has joined himself with the Third church of Boston, which surpriseth me, although I do judge his relation thereby to us is erased ; all that I would say is, that it hath by our New England friends here been laid as a reproach upon all the elders, yet I think without cause ; for if our letter be viewed, you will not find that we did recommend him to be your President ; we judged that too much for us to undertake, nor did we excite him to come or urge him upon such hopes. It was his own eager desire after it, and his thinking that he might be serviceable there. All we said was, that since he was prepared to come, we thought him one that might be helpful in your college work, and left it with you to judge how." He then observes that a letter from Mr. Leverett had just come to his hand, on this very subject, and adds, "I hope God will please to heal that breach, or to direct you to what may be most for the good of the College."

16. The Rev. John Knowles addresses * a letter from London to Governor Leverett. "It is very grievous to your friends here, not only to us ministers, but your Commissioners for the College, to hear of the great breach that is made in it. We wonder at the occasion of it ; that they do not either strengthen the hands of Mr. Hoar, that so the work may go on, or else some other able man may be put into the place. For the wound will widen by delays ; and if the College die, the churches (as some judge) will not live long after it. Let me assure you that here is at present a great design of foot for the regulation of New England, but you have no man here to prevent your trouble or speak a word for you. Your country ought to be at some charge here to answer for it, or else I clearly see you never shall be long quiet. I pray you conceal my acquainting of yourself with it ; the thing is true." The writer probably refers to the endeavors for taking from Massachusetts the jurisdiction of Maine and New Hampshire, and especially to the long and repeated project of nullifying the civil and ecclesiastical privileges of New England, by the imposition of a general Governor over them.

Thomas Gould dies† between the 25th and 30th of this month. He was a founder of the First Baptist church in Massachusetts, which was gathered in Charlestown, and worshiped at Noddle's Island and afterwards in Boston. He was among those who officiated in its ministerial duties. Though called to endure hardness for aiding to introduce a new form of baptism which seemed to his

* Hutchinson's MS. Papers, p. 267.

† Suffolk Prob. Rec.

opponents as a useless disturbance of the peace, yet he appeared strongly persuaded in his own mind of being correct, and did much to promote the advancement of his denomination. Elder Russell observed of him: "He proved an eminent instrument in the hand of the Lord for carrying on this good work of God in its low and weak beginnings." He left wife, Mary, and children, Samuel, not of age, Mary Skinner, Mehitable Goodin, Hannah Gould, Nathaniel Hayward and two children, Mary Buncar, and Abihail Shapley.

May 27. The General Court assemble at Boston. Samuel Torrey, of Weymouth, preaches the Election Sermon. The subject was Reformation. The text was Revelation ii. 5.—"Remember therefore from whence thou art fallen, and repent, and do the first works." A preface to it by Increase Mather, has the subsequent passages. "We may conclude that the Lord intended some great thing, when he planted these heavens and laid the foundation of this earth, and said unto New England, (as sometimes to Zion,) Thou art my people. And what should that be, if not that so a Scripture pattern of Reformation as to civil, but especially in ecclesiastical respects, might be here erected, as a first-fruits of that which shall in due time be accomplished the whole world throughout, in that day when there shall be one Lord, and his name one over all the earth. The first design of New England was purely religious, but now we begin to espouse and are eagerly pursuing another, even a worldly interest."

The author of the discourse shows his views with regard to the Baptists and the Quakers of his day. "Such I take to be the transgression of those who do grossly and scandalously profane any of the holy ordinances of Christ, in the administration; but much more of those who do both professedly and practically deny most, if not all fundamentals, both of faith and order, and are known and acknowledged so to do by all the reformed churches in the world." With such impressions he supposed that these denominations should not be tolerated by law in their principal deviations from the Congregational order.

He urges as a means of reformation, "the full and faithful discharge of duty to the children of the Covenant."

In the connection he observes: "The corruption of churches doth begin in families, and if there be no hope of family reformation, there is no hope of church reformation." As to the children of the church, he remarks: "If we unchurch them, either doctrinally or practically, by the general and total neglect of them, and our duty toward them, we do hereby lay the foundation of the apostasy both of these churches and of the whole generation." He proceeds: "We must labor to recover our first New England interest; that is, that interest upon which this people and these churches were first founded, as to their religious constitution, which

1674.]

is God and religion. This is the only uniting interest ; our very hearts and souls will cleave and unite most entirely in love, with peace and union, in our God and our religion. This interest will make a people of one heart and of one soul."

Addressing the magistrates who are about to be elected, he says : "It is your concernment to uphold this Government in the full and whole interest and influence of it, unto all the ends of it ; especially this great and main end of it, the preservation and propagation of religion."

Mr. Torrey and Joshua Moody are thanked by the Court, for the great and very acceptable pains which they took in their late Election Sermons, and that they be desired to print them "with as much speed as may be."

It is ordered,* that no single woman, and no wife in the absence of her husband, shall "entertain or lodge any inmate or sojourner, with the dislike of the selectmen of the town, or magistrate, or commissioner, who may have cognizance thereof," on penalty of £5 a week, or whipping, not above ten stripes.

As leave is now granted to have a printing press in some other town besides Cambridge, an addition of Rev. Thomas Thacher and Rev. Increase Mather, is made to the licensers for its proper regulation.

One committee of the Court had visited Marlborough to settle serious divisions there, and another are appointed for a similar purpose with regard to Mendon. The troubles of this place, being of a municipal and ecclesiastical kind, were adjusted by the Fall session.

June 4. Robert Thomson, of London, writes to Governor Leverett.† He observes : "Being at the Corporation for the Propagating the Gospel among the Indians, I found the commissioners' letter did not encourage the sending any stock into the country, but, upon consideration amongst themselves, have at last resolved to send some, remitting it to the hands of Mr. John Richards and Mr. Peter Sergeant, to be improved for that work. I wish I may not be a prophet (as I have been twice some amongst you) in this, that I fear another war."

15. A member of Harvard College,‡ "being convicted of speaking blasphemous words concerning the Holy Ghost, is sentenced to be publicly whipped before all the scholars ; suspended as to taking his degree of Bachelor ; sit alone by himself in the hall, uncovered, at meals, during the pleasure of the president and fellows, and be in all things obedient, doing what exercise is appointed him by the president, or else be finally expelled the College."

* General Court Records.

† Hutchinson's Coll. p. 449, 50.

‡ Sewall's MS. Diary.

30. An individual, for slandering Rev. Mr. Higginson,* of Salem, is sentenced to apologize for it before the assembly on lecture day, and audibly crave his pardon, or be whipped fifteen stripes, and imprisoned till a bond be given for £5 to keep the peace.

July. Robert Boyle, in writing to some one in the Colony, makes the subsequent request.† “When you see any of the principal magistrates of New England, you will oblige me to take an occasion to let them know, that whereas, some months ago, I received from several of them a letter apologetical, concerning answers to misrepresentations that they feared had been made of their affections and actions, I had a just sense of the honor they were pleased to do me, and used my endeavors, perhaps not altogether unsuccessfully, to have the particulars they allege for themselves taken notice of by those two or three persons of our courts on whose good opinion it most concerns them to stand right.” He adds, that he thinks it would be greatly for the benefit of the Colony to have some accredited agent in London to look out for their interests.

28. A letter from John Collins,‡ of London, is addressed to Governor Leverett. He remarks: “Some stirrs are in Scotland about the late impositions; what they will produce, time will show. Referring to the Government here, he observes: “I am sorry they should not yet have their eyes opened to see the vanity and fruitlessness of persecuting Quakers, or any others, who are otherwise peaceable.”

August 24. A reply§ from Governor Leverett is made, with reference to Mr. Hoar, President of the College. He observes: “The doctor’s opposers lose ground, and I hope the work will yet be carried to an end.” He indicates a dislike that the President had united with the Third church of Boston, and that he had not taken a regular dismission from Mr. Collins’s church. He proceeds: “Your brother Moody hath been lately here with us, a very sorrowful widower by death of his wife, your sister; so the Lord hath been pleased to bereave your good father and mother of their daughter, who are helped to carry it like old disciples in the school of Christ.”

“This summer,” as Mr. Hull informs us,|| “the Anabaptists, that were wont to meet at Noddle’s Island, meet at Boston on the Lord’s day. One Mr. Symond Lynde letteth them a house, which formerly was Mr. Rusk’s. Some Quakers are also come and seated in Boston. Some of the magistrates will not permit any punishment to be inflicted on heretics, as such.”

According to a letter from Thomas Mayhew, under September

* Annals of Salem. † Hutchinson’s Coll. p. 450, 1. ‡ Ibid, p. 451-3.

§ Ibid. p. 463-5.

|| MS. Diary.

1674.]

1st, to Gookin, we have the following account. There are three hundred families at least on the Vineyard; two hundred and forty of them are praying families. There are two churches, having fifty members in full communion, and each a pastor and elder. There are seven jurisdictions and ten Indian preachers, and six assemblies every Lord's day.

Nantucket has three hundred Indian families, many of whom have prayers; and one church. With regard to missionary labor in Plymouth, Connecticut and Rhode Island, Gookin's statements are placed among the accounts of these jurisdictions.

Gookin relates that while he held a Court at Pakachoog, he gave a letter having the force of a commission, dated September 17, to Jethro, of Natick, to proceed and preach to fifteen or sixteen families of Indians at Weshakim or Nashaway, near Lancaster. He observes that he shall furnish other ministers of the new praying towns, with similar documents. He mentions another collection of Indians at Waetung, or Uxbridge, who heard the gospel from James and Sasoment, of Hassanamesitt. He states that Indians at Quabaug, or south-east part of Brookfield, "are coming on to receive the gospel." He estimates that there are fourteen towns and two churches of Indians, who have renounced heathenism and embraced Christianity, and number eleven hundred souls.

On November 16, Daniel Gookin dates at Cambridge, his address to the reader of his Collections, relative to the numbers, customs, manners, religion, government and condition of the Indians of New England. He dedicates this work to Charles II. and to the Corporation for Propagating the Gospel in America, the 7th of December. In the address, he says: "I am not ignorant that there are some persons, both in Old and New England, that have low thoughts of this work, and are very prone to speak diminutively thereof; but I entreat it may be considered that this frame of spirit is no new thing; for the servants of God heretofore have complained of it, and with reference to the greatest and best tidings, that ever were declared unto men." He desires the particular attention of the King to the proposal for having a free school for Indian children at Marlborough, and another in Plymouth Colony, as conducive to the advancement of the mission.

He speaks of the different settlements for Indians who have embraced Christianity. In Natick they have twenty-nine families and one hundred forty-five population; numbering fifty communicants, besides others who pray. They have a lecture once a fortnight, in logic and theology, which succeeds well. They have a large house after the English style, the lower part for a school and worship. They assemble forenoon and afternoon, on the Sabbath; forenoon on Lecture and Fast-days, "at the sound of a drum." Each sex sit by themselves. A teacher offers a prayer; after a short pause, he or some other reads a chapter from the Bible;

a psalm is sung ; the preacher "catechises and prays," and proceeds to remark on some text of Scripture ; prayer is offered, a psalm sung and benediction pronounced. Occasionally, instead of reading the chapter, questions and answers of the Catechism are substituted. The chief of this place is Waban.

Pakemitt, or Punkapoag, has about sixty souls, who moved from Neponset Mill. Their teacher is William Ahawton.

Hassanamesitt has twelve families, whose teacher is Tackuppa-willin, and ruling elder, Piambow. Among them are sixteen men and women in full communion, and about thirty baptized persons. There are several more members of the church, who live in other places.

Okommakamesit, or Marlborough, has about fifty souls. Their ruler, Onomog, the very soul of the place, died two months ago.

Wamesit, or Tewksbury Indians, suffered much in the late war with the Mohawks. Their teacher is Samuel, who had been educated at the charge of the Corporation in England. He was son of their ruler, Numphow. They were visited by Messrs. Eliot, Gookin and others, the 5th of May, according to custom, when many Indians assembled there to catch fish. They put up at the wigwam of Wannalancet, the eldest son of Pasaconaway. Though the former of these two had heard the gospel, he did not turn Christian for fear of some among his chiefs. But the next day after their arrival, he took a decided stand on the side of Christianity. He said, "Now I yield myself to your advice and enter into a new canoe, and do engage to pray to God hereafter."

Nashobah, afterwards Littleton, has about fifty persons. John Thomas is their teacher. The place was deserted when the Mohawks were at war with them, and secretly killed Thomas's father, who was a pious and useful man.

Magunkaquog, subsequently Hopkinton, has fifty-five souls. Eight males and females compose the church, and fifteen are baptized. Their teacher's name is Job.

Besides these, called old praying towns, Gookin proceeds to speak of six others, designated new praying towns, in the Nipmuck country. These Indians began to hear the gospel, 1671. He states that Mr. Eliot and himself visited them, July, 1673, and September of the present year, to confirm them in the Christian religion. At the last date, they took several "godly persons" for their ministers.

Manchage, or Oxford, has sixty souls, and Waabesktamin is appointed their minister.

Chabanakongkoman, or Dudley, has nine families, and Joseph, a member of the Hassanamesitt church, instructs them in the gospel.

Maanexit, or the north-east part of Woodstock, has twenty families who hear Christian doctrine from John Moqua.

1674.]

Quantissett, or the south-east part of Woodstock, has one hundred souls, who attend the ministry of Daniel, from Natick.

Wabquissit, or the south-west corner of Woodstock, has thirty families, who have Sampson for their teacher, brother to Joseph, and from Hassanamesitt.

Pakachoog, partly in Ward and partly in Worcester, has twenty families, and James Spear preaches to them. In each of the settlements, Gookin "gave the rulers, teachers, constables and people their respective charges, to be diligent and faithful for God, zealous against sin, and careful in sanctifying the Sabbath."

Gookin, in the latter part of the current year, thus spoke of Waban, a Christian Indian, who lived at Natick: "In this town they have residing some of their principal rulers, the chief whereof is named Waban, who is now seventy years of age. He is a person of great prudence and piety. I do not know any Indian that excels him." Though his decease has been represented as in 1670—1674, he was among the witnesses in April, and afterwards of 1675, against the conspiracy of Philip. He probably died in the course of the year last mentioned.

Under December 7, Gookin, as to the result of educating the Indians, observes as follows:* "Several of the youth died after they had been sundry years at learning and made good proficiency therein. Others were disheartened and left learning, to live among their countrymen, where some are improved for schoolmasters and teachers, unto which they are advantaged by their education. Some others of them have entered upon other callings; as one is a mariner; another a carpenter; another went for England with a gentleman that lived sometimes at Cambridge in New England, named Drake, which Indian, as I heard, died not many months after his arrival. I remember only two of them all, who lived in the College at Cambridge; the one named Joel, the other Caleb, both natives of Martha's Vineyard. These were hopeful young men. Joel was within a few months of taking his first degree. He took a voyage to see his father, Hiacoomes, and other relatives. He was cast away with others on his return, at Nantucket, where they appeared to have been murdered by Indians for the sake of plunder in the vessel. Thus perished a good scholar and a pious youth. The other, Caleb, took the first degree, 1665, and died of a consumption, 'not long after, at Charlestown, where he was placed by Mr. Thomas Danforth, under the care of a physician.'"

The Indian College of brick, at Cambridge, accommodates twenty scholars, cost three or four hundred pounds, with lodgings and studies. It has not been much improved. It has been considerably improved by English scholars, and for the printing press of the College.†

* Gookin's Coll. Mass. Hist. Coll. 1 s. vol. i. p. 141-226. † Ibid. 172, 3.

October. The preceding month, Mr. Nicholet preached farewell sermons,* as if he were about leaving Salem. Now the town, to prevent his departure, give him a call to continue with them for life. The lecture day following, he accepted their invitation. This affair seems not to have been regularly conducted, because the church and Mr. Higginson did not take the lead.

6. The Middlesex Court arraign Thomas Wilkinson and family, admonish and fine them for neglect of public worship.†

7. The General Court, being informed that the measures taken to heal the difficulties which existed in the College, were ineffectual, require all persons concerned to appear before them. The record states that President Hoar gives up £50 of his salary, "in consideration of the paucity of scholars," and agrees to receive £100. The Court, for a similar reason, dismiss all officers of the College, who have salaries, until further order. They desire the Overseers to use their "utmost endeavors for the removal of all obstructions therein" against the Court's next session, when, if the institution be in no better condition, the President shall be dismissed without any further inquiry.

November 14. Matthew Mayhew and Thomas Doggett represent‡ to Governor Edmund Andros, of New York, that when the news of the capture of that place by the Dutch, reached Martha's Vineyard, about one half of the people opposed the settled government here, and that, some time after, they sent messengers to Boston, with the petition to come under Massachusetts. They informed Mr. Mayhew of this step, and he sent a statement to the Bay, which prevented the purpose of his opponents. These then forcibly set up a government, which they have continued. A similar revolution took place at Nantucket. Andros commanded that both governments be restored as they were before the Dutch came.

26. Thomas Thacher, of Boston, preaches a sermon "on a Fast called by public authority." The subject of it was, "A Fast of God's choosing, plainly opened for the help of those poor in spirit, whose hearts are set to seek the Lord their God, in New England." It was printed 1678, with a preface by Increase Mather.

November 19. Samuel Danforth, minister of Roxbury, dies in his 48th year.§ He was son of Nicholas, who came from Framingham, in Suffolk, England, 1634, and settled at Cambridge. He was born September, 1626; graduated at Harvard College, 1643; accepted as freeman of the Colony, 1648, and ordained colleague with John Eliot, September 24, 1650. When three years old, his mother died, and earnestly dedicated him to "the school of the

* Annals of Salem.

† Nantucket Papers, p. 66-8.

‡ Middlesex Ct. Rec.

§ Mather's Magnalia.

1674.]

prophets." His father dying in 1638, left him, as a hopeful son of many cares and prayers, to the paternal oversight of his devout pastor, Mr. Shepard. Such carefulness bore much and precious fruit. When reciting to his tutor out of the "heathen poets," who ascribed works to false gods, which were done by none but "the Holy One of Israel," he added such a truth by way of remark. The tutor rebuked him as though it were impertinent. He replied: "Sir, I can't in conscience" recite such passages, "without washing my mouth upon it." At another time he repeated a similar comment, and his teacher a like reproof, when the latter was immediately seized with a convulsive fit. On recovering, he acknowledged his illness as a punishment for his harshness to his pupil, and approved his conscientiousness. After graduation, he became tutor, and was the second fellow of his Alma Mater. His diary shows that though he was young in years, he was old in Christian knowledge and life. He was vigilant to avoid not only sins of commission, but also those of omission.

Having entered on the duties of the ministry, he married, the year after this, a daughter of John Wilson. She proved to him a help-meet indeed.

While careful to increase his large stock of worldly wisdom, he was still more so to abound in heavenly understanding and in the usefulness of his office. His sermons were "elaborate and substantial." He used forty or fifty texts of the Bible in each discourse, and kept strictly to its main subject. A poem of Mr. Weld upon him has the words,

"Mighty in Scripture, he lived each truth."

His prominent object in preaching was to win souls to the Redeemer. He seldom addressed them but that his earnest desire for their eternal good brought tears to his eyes. Thus was he instrumental in awaking the sympathy of the hardened, and in sending those away from the sanctuary with a spirit of supplication, who came to criticise and be amused. Besides his Sabbath labors, he preached a monthly lecture, and on many occasions at the houses of Christians. He was exemplary in visiting and watching his flock. When meeting any of them who had been restored to health, he would say, "Well, you have been in God's school; but what have you learnt? And what good have you got?" Remarkably beneficial were these applications of true friendship. One of various means which he employed to hinder the inroads of immorality into his parish, was to see that the public house standing in sight of his study, was kept orderly according to the law. In his public elocution he was eloquent and impressive. His intellectual powers were of high order. He felt himself bought with a price, and bound to serve his Redeemer to the utmost of his ability, natural and acquired.

Called to part with three children suddenly, by a violent disease termed "bladders in the windpipe," in December, 1659, the eldest of whom, being five years and a half old, was remarkable for her piety, he bowed to the Supreme will with holy submission. In addressing the concourse who assembled to bury the dead, he remarked: "Blessed be God, that doth not despise the affliction of the afflicted, nor hide his face from him."

About to finish his probation, he said to his wife with regard to her and their children, having had twelve in all, if he should be taken from providing for their necessities,—“At times I have been anxious on this subject, but now I feel assured that divine Providence will fulfill to you the covenant promises, and that your wants will be well supplied.” This was strikingly accomplished.

The next day after this expression of his trust in God, he was taken sick of a putrid fever, and at the end of six days, breathed his last. His colleague, the apostle Eliot, used to say, "My brother Danforth made the most glorious end I ever saw." Such is the experience of a philosophy springing from revealed doctrines, nurtured in the heart and honored by the ministry of Christ's devoted servants.

Of Mr. Danforth's productions, a few are still extant. As the fruits of his taste for astronomical science, he published several Almanacs, and a Treatise on the Comet, which appeared in 1664, and greatly alarmed the world. He, like the rest of scientific men in his day, believed that this body appeared to forewarn the earth of impending judgments. Besides these, there were two discourses. One, "The Cry of Sodom inquired into, or a Testimony against the Sins of Uncleanness." Another, delivered before the Legislature at their Election, 1671, entitled, "A Recognition of New England's Errand into the Wilderness."

Among his children who survived him, were John and Samuel, who followed his instructions and became "worthy ministers of the gospel."* Here we close our interview with him, and feel that its influence tends to quicken our reposing energies, and engage them more faithfully in preparation for the summons of judgment.

December 6. John Richardson unites† with the Newbury church. He was ordained the pastor thereof, October 20th, in the following year. His salary was £100; one half payable in merchantable barley, and the other in pork, wheat, butter, or Indian corn.

8. The party in Salem,‡ who wished to retain the ministry of Mr. Nicholet there, assemble at Lynn for the purpose of having a church formed. On the 30th ultimo, Mr. Higginson informed his church, that they had applied for permission so to do, from the Deputy Governor and the Major General, as magistrates, but that

* Magnalia. † Coffin's Newbury, p. 114-16. ‡ First Ch. Rec. of Salem.

1674.]

it was not granted them. He and two of his brethren appear at Lynn, with other delegates from Ipswich, Rowley and Beverly, to prevent such an organization. Messengers from other churches thought, on examination of the persons proposed for becoming a church, that they had better delay. The First Boston church records say: "Upon the request of certain friends of Salem, intending to gather a church at Lynn, 8th instant, their elders and deacons were chosen to go messengers and give the right hand of fellowship. But upon the appointed day, it did not succeed."

On this occurrence, Hull made the subsequent note.* "Some endeavors to gather a church of some non-members of Salem, to whom Mr. Nicholet should officiate, who met at Lynn, and proceeded so far that they had seven messengers from Boston Old church; but four of them, having declared God's gracious workings on them, showed so much ignorance that their proceedings were hindered."

On the 22d, Sewall remarks in his diary: "Lieut. Way, Mr. Weaver and Thomas Norman came to our house. The lieutenant related several things about Mr. Nicholet's church gathering at Lynn."

23. Nehemiah Hobart is ordained† at Cambridge village, as successor to John Eliot, Jr. He began to preach there in 1672. He was son of Rev. Peter Hobart, of Hingham, and graduated at Harvard College, 1667.

28. The records of the church‡ under John Oxenbridge, pastor, say of him: "As he was preaching his lecture, (on the 23d,) he was found to break off by reason of sickness, was carried home in a sedan, died the 28th, and was interred 31st with great solemnity." This devoted servant of Christ was born in Daventry, Northamptonshire, Eng., January 30, 1609. He was among the most able, learned, and useful Puritans of his age. His daughter, Theodora, married the Rev. Peter Thacher. His published works were: "A Double Watch Word, 1661; A Proposition for Propagating the Gospel by Christian Colonies in the Continent of Guiana; Election Sermon, 1671; Seasonable Seeking of God." He had trials to purify him for a perfect world, and mercies to encourage him in seeking for its incorruptible joys. As he lived, so he died, submissive to the will of the Most High.

31. As an indication that the office§ of ruling elder was not universally acceptable, Wenham church vote that they will dispense with such an officer.

This year, Benjamin, son of the Rev. Adam Blackman, of Stratford, Ct., is settled at Malden.|| He continued to preach

* Hull's MS. Diary. Transactions of Am. Antiq. Soc. vol. iii. p. 239.

† Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. 1 s. vol. v. p. 267.

‡ First Ch. Rec. of Boston.

§ Wenham Ch. Rec.

|| Farmer's Genealogy. Greenleaf's Ecc. Sketches, p. 44.

here four years, and then went to perform similar labor at Scarborough, Me.

Sundry Sermons on Conversion, from the ready and eloquent pen of Increase Mather, are published.

PLYMOUTH.

1671. March 8. William Hedge,* John Gray and Edward Sturgis, for sailing from Yarmouth to Boston, on the Lord's day, are each fined 30/. John and Samuel Matthews and Samuel Gray are summoned to answer for a like profanation.

April 12. Philip, sachem of Pokanoket, renews a treaty with Plymouth† at Taunton. He confesses in this document, his treachery to the English, and promises to deal with them, in future, fairly and amicably. All the endeavors to prevail on him to join the Christian Indians, had failed. What he said to Eliot, who once preached before him, after taking hold of a button on the missionary's coat, "I do not value the gospel any more than that," was too true an indication of his prejudice against the gospel. But he neglected to send in the guns of his men as he promised, and gave other proofs that his heart was bent on mischief.

May 5. Lovelace, Governor of New York, writes‡ to Prince, of Plymouth: "As to your Indian affairs, I am heartily glad that your courage and wisdom has met with that success as to compel him (Philip) to a complacency to your desires. I verily believe, and by what relations I have met with, even of our own Indians, the defection seemed almost universal. The confession of the Sagamore seems clear enough, which, if his compunction be so too, it then may prove in the politic body as sometimes it happens in the natural, that a bone once broken and well set, strengthens the limb, which good effect I heartily wish it may have."

June 5. Nathaniel Woodward,§ for speaking abusively of Rev. Mr. Shove, of Taunton, is sentenced to sit in the stocks during the Court's pleasure; John Gray, of Yarmouth, is fined 5/. for swearing; Nathaniel Soule, for several lies, £5; James Cole, for drunkenness, 10/.; Walter Winsor, for selling liquors to Indians, 30/.; William Walker, for stealing cloth from Thomas Clark, of Boston, is to pay said Clark double, and for a falsehood, 10/.

The Court decide that the arms of Philip, in their hands, are forfeited. To meet the perils which seem to arise from the conduct of him and his subjects, the Council of War are called up and additions made to them. In the oath administered to the latter, is the passage, "You shall faithfully, with respect to the glory of

* Plym. Col. Rec.

† Easton's Philip's War, p. 38.

‡ Baylies, vol. ii. p. 3, 20, 1.

§ Plym. Col. Rec.

1671.]

God and the welfare of this jurisdiction, afford your best advice in all matters of importance."

6. "The Laws of the Colony, lately revised, with some emendations and additions," are published by authority of the General Court. They were printed the next year at Cambridge, by Samuel Green. The Court, in their introduction, say: "Although we do hold and do affirm, that both courts of justice and magistrates, who are the ministers of the law, are essentially civil, notwithstanding we conceive that, as the magistrate hath his power from God, so undoubtedly he is to improve it for the honor of God, and that in the upholding of his worship and service, and against the contrary with due respect also to be had unto those that are really conscientious, though differing and dissenting in smaller matters; but if any really or in pretence of conscience, shall profess that which eminently tendeth to the inundation of civil state, and violating of natural bonds, or the overthrow of the churches of God or of his worship, that herein prudence is to be improved in a special manner, in the enacting and execution of such laws as may be useful for the upholding of the same against such destructive errors."

The Court, after stating that the great end of their coming to this country was, that they "might with the liberty of a good conscience, enjoy the pure scriptural worship of God, without the mixture of human inventions and impositions; and that their children after them might walk in the holy ways of the Lord;" and "whereas, by the grace of God, we have now had near about fifty years' experience of the good consistency of these churches, with civil peace and order, and also with spiritual edification, together with the welfare and tranquillity of this Government;"—"It is therefore, for the honor of God and the propagation of religion," ordered, that the churches shall be protected by the Government and encouraged "in their peaceable and orderly walking, and the faithful, able, orthodox teaching ministry thereof duly encouraged and provided for, together with such other orthodox, able dispensers of the gospel, which shall or may be placed in any township of this Government, where there is or may be defect of church order."

"Although no creature be Lord, or have power over the faith and consciences of men, yet it being a duty to restrain or provide against such as bring in dangerous errors or heresies tending to corrupt and destroy the souls of men," whoever is convicted of this offense and continues obstinate therein, shall be fined, banished or otherwise severely punished as the Court of magistrates shall judge meet.

They who vilify the Scriptures and the holy penmen of them, shall be fined or receive corporal punishment, as the Court shall see fit, so that it do not extend to "life or limb;" those who

reproach the word preached, or the ministers thereof, or the ways of churches or ordinances thereof, shall pay for the first offense 20/., or be put in the stocks not above four hours; for the second, 40/., or whipped. No one is to be deprived of lawful liberty "to propose his scruple for further satisfaction."

"No public meeting shall be set up but such as the Court approve of, wherein they shall have special care that they allow such only as are orthodox in the fundamentals of religion."

The property of non-residents, as well as others, in every village or township, shall be taxed for the support of the ministry, unless they do it by contribution; and if the rateable inhabitants of any such place neglect to build a meeting-house and obtain a preacher, the General Court shall tax them to a just amount, which shall be applied for these two purposes.

This year the people of Rehoboth vote,* that, "as Mr. Newman's salary had not been paid, there shall be a trial made by contribution every Sabbath day."

Among their capital laws punishable with death, are idolatry, blasphemy, witchcraft, cursing or smiting parents, rebellion of a son and presumptuous violation of the Sabbath. The last has added to it, or "grievously punished at the judgment of the Court." Profanity, drunkenness, and neglect of public worship, still treated as violations of law.

Playing "at cards, dice, cross and pile, or any such unlawful game, wherein there is lottery," shall be on penalty of 10/. to the player, and 20/. to the master of the house, wherein the gaming is. Whatever person wears a "vizard, or disguise by strange apparel," for evil purposes, shall be fined 50/., or publicly whipped or bound to good behavior, as the Court may determine.

All persons who smoke tobacco in the streets, or where there is danger of setting fire, shall pay 2/. for each offense. If they cause damage by such a practice, they shall pay for it or "serve it out." Smoking on the Sabbath, within two miles of the meeting-house, to and from worship, shall be fined in the sum last named.

None shall take up his residence in any town or settlement without leave from the Governor, and two of the Assistants at least.

Men, twenty-one years of age at least, having the testimony of their neighbors that they are of orderly deportment, "orthodox in the fundamentals of religion," and have not less than £20 rateable estate in the Colony, may be admitted freemen. They are to stand propounded one year, except those "generally known and approved," or whom the Court wish to employ immediately in public service. They shall be received only at the Election Courts and in open Court. If any freeman be discovered as being "notoriously vicious, as liars, drunkards, swearers, apostates from the

* Baylies, vol. ii. p. 215.

1671.]

fundamentals of religion or the like, or manifestly appear to be disaffected to this Government," he shall, on due conviction, be disfranchised by the Court, if they think fit, "from the privilege of a freeman."

No Indian to powow or "perform outward worship to the devil or other false god, under penalty of five pounds, or severe corporal punishment." All who abet such a person shall be alike punished. No Indian shall resort to houses of the English on the Sabbath, especially when they are at public worship, except on extraordinary occasions; nor "profane the Lord's day by hunting, fishing, fowling, traveling with burthens or doing any servile work thereon,"—"under penalty of 10/., or corporal punishment by whipping."

The Legislature require that the names of all persons who live idly, and of those single persons who will not be under family government, be handed to them by the selectmen of the several towns, so that such delinquents may be proceeded with as the case demands.

The selectmen of every town "shall have a vigilant eye over their brethren and neighbors," that they "by themselves or others teach their children and servants so much learning as through the blessing of God they may attain, at least, to be able to read the Scriptures and other good profitable books, printed in the English tongue, and the knowledge of the Capital Laws, and in some competent measure to understand the main grounds and principles of the Christian Religion, necessary to salvation, by causing them to learn some short orthodox catechism, without book, or otherwise instructing them as they may be able to give a due answer to such plain questions, as may by them or others be propounded to them concerning the same."

If parents do not have their children and servants properly educated, the selectmen are authorized to bind out such children and servants where they may be fitly instructed. Each county town is to have a Latin school for preparing youth to enter college, entitled, for their encouragement, to one third part of the money annually accruing from the Cape Fishery.

June 7. Fifteen or more Indian tribes of the Colony, engage to act as friends towards them. Those of Paomet say in their contract, that they were once in bondage to Satan, but through the word of God, they had been brought to trust in him. So it was substantially with the others. The language of these is, "We hope some of us have received the faith of the gospel of Christ."

Representatives of Indians from six places engage friendship to the Colony,—as the Paomets' paper does.

On July 5, delegates from eight more Indian places, sign a similar contract. They say: "We poor Indians were a people delighting in war and the confusion of one another, but now, having found the benefit of peace by your protection, we hope some of us

have received the faith of the gospel." On the 24th, Awasunks, the Squaw sachem of Saconett, and widow of Alexander, brother to Philip, makes a treaty with Plymouth, that her people shall give up their arms and yield submission to this Colony in ten days. On August 31, her subjects engage that they will be faithful to the same Commonwealth. On September 4th, the Dartmouth Indians promise that their conduct towards the Colony shall be in all good faith.

September 4. A letter of John Eliot* to the Commissioners gives the following: He desires that they would take measures, that the Christian Indians near Plymouth "may have land of their own, competent to live upon."

13. The Council of War convene at Plymouth, but Philip fails to appear as they expected. He had gone to Massachusetts and represented his case to the chief men there. These wrote to the Governor here, desiring him to persuade the said Council to allow Philip's terms of reconciliation, supposing that neither he nor his predecessor owed the Colony, by their treaties with it, any thing more than neighborly and friendly correspondence, and therefore, had not given it so much offense as is charged upon him. Those gentlemen, also, offered to come hither and help settle the controversy. Considering these things, the Council send an invitation to Boston for these persons and the Commissioners of the Union, then in session there, to come and advise with them.

Accordingly, on the 24th, John Winthrop, Governor of Connecticut, John Leverett, Thomas Danforth, William Davis, and others, arrive at Plymouth. Thus come, they gave a deliberate hearing to the complaints of both parties, there being "competent interpreters, both English and Indians." "It was proved by sufficient testimony to the conviction of Philip, and satisfaction of all that audience, both the said gentlemen and others, that he had broken his covenant."

The visitors on this occasion tell Philip, that his story to the Government of the Bay was greatly different from what he had been able to prove; "that he by his insolence had in probability occasioned more mischief from Indians among them (Plymouth Colony) than had fallen out in many years before." They advise him to humble himself unto the magistrates and amend his ways, if he expected peace, and that if he went on in his refractory way, he must expect to smart for it." At length, on the 29th, Philip signs a treaty of peace with Plymouth. Among his engagements are, that he will not make war with any, nor dispose of his lands without the consent of the Plymouth authorities, and that he will pay them £100, in three years' time, for the damage he has caused them.

* Hazard's Coll.

1672-3.]

Mr. Bradstreet, of New London, remarks in his Journal: "The tumult that king Philip, with his Indians in Plymouth, made, was quieted by several gentlemen of the Colony, and the Bay Colony, who, meeting, brought Philip to sign several articles, wherein a peace and agreement was concluded."

1672. March 5. Josias Palmer,* of Scituate, is fined 10/. for asserting that Mr. Witherell's church was a church of the devil.

John Loe, of Marshfield, is sentenced 40/. or to be whipped, for servile labor or contemptible words on the Sabbath.

June 5. A Fast appointed "in concurrence with Massachusetts," to be observed on the 13th, "with special respect unto the sad, and in many respects deplorable estate of our native country," taking in several concerns of New England.

July 1. Dartmouth, having neglected for two years to raise £15 for preaching the gospel among them, are now ordered to comply.

John Williams, of Scituate, is fined 40/. for working on the Sabbath.

The Legislature say † that they are informed of the exertions made by Massachusetts for Harvard College, "whence have, through the blessing of God, issued many worthy and useful persons for public service in church and commonwealth;" and that beneficent individuals in England are ready to assist in such a work, if the Colonies here help in the same direction. They therefore "earnestly commend it to the ministers and elders in each town," and others whom they think fit to take with them, to wait on those who are able, and stir them up to assist in "this worthy work, be it money or other good pay."

September 6. The Colonies of Connecticut, Massachusetts and Plymouth, renew Articles of Confederation in the capital of the last member. Thomas Prince and Josiah Winslow are the Commissioners for this Commonwealth. They repeat the idea that the great end for which New England was settled, was to "advance the kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to enjoy the liberties of the gospel in purity and peace."

Samuel Treat, son of Robert Treat, who lived in New Haven and was distinguished in civil life, is ordained at Eastham. He graduated at Harvard College, 1669. His salary was £50, sufficient wood brought to his door, several lots of land, on one of which, containing twenty-three acres, at the head of the cove, he had a house built for his own use, by the town.

1673. February 23. Among the prominent promoters and supporters ‡ of our Puritan institutions, was John Howland, who now departed this life and was buried the 25th, in his 81st year. His wife was Elizabeth, daughter of Governor Carver. They had four sons and six daughters. "He was a godly man and an ancient

* Plym. Col. Rec.

† Plym. Col. Laws.

‡ Plym. Col. Rec.

professor in the ways of Christ. He was one of the first comers into this land, and proved a useful instrument of good in his place, and was the last man that was left of those that came over in the ship called the *May Flower*, that lived in Plymouth."

March 29. Thomas Prince died in his 73d year, and was buried 8th of April. He came from Lechlade, in Gloucester, England, to America, 1621, in the ship *Fortune*, and settled at Plymouth. He was elected assistant, 1635, and twenty years afterwards; moved to Eastham, 1644; chosen Governor, 1634-38, 1657-72; in the whole, eighteen years. His first wife, Patience, daughter of Elder Brewster, married 1624; died, 1634. He married Mary, daughter of William Collier, 1635. He left seven daughters. He had a son, Thomas, who went to England, died young, leaving a wife and daughter. "He was a worthy gentleman, very pious and very able for his office, and faithful in the discharge thereof; studious of peace; a well-willer to all that feared God, and a terror to the wicked. His death was much lamented, and his body honorably buried."

June 3. The General Court convene.* They order that the profits arising from the fishery at the Cape, be appropriated to the charges, being £33, of the free school in the town of Plymouth.

July 4. They enact that pawns given by Indians for silver or drink, shall be forfeited; that no keeper of an ordinary shall sell any beer to them, on penalty of 5/. for every quart thus sold. Capt. James Cudworth is restored to the privileges of a freeman. Mr. Isaac Robinson is alike favored.

October 2. Elizabeth, widow of Richard Warren, one of the first settlers of Plymouth, died in her 91st year. She "lived a godly life," and "came to her grave as a shock of corn fully ripe."

This month, Humphrey Johnson, "for coming into this government and erecting a house in the township of Scituate, some time in this summer, and dwelling in said house contrary to law," is fined 10/.

December 19. The people of Swanzezy † pass the following vote: "That a school be forthwith set up in this town for the teaching of grammar, rhetoric and arithmetic, and tongues of the Latin, Greek and Hebrew; also to read English and write; and that the salary of £40 per annum, in current country pay, which passeth from man to man, be duly paid to the schoolmaster thereof, and that Mr. John Myles, the present pastor of the church here assembling, be

* Plym. Col. Laws.

† Baylies' Hist. of Plym. Col. vol. ii. p. 248.

NOTE.—Josiah Winslow, Sen., died April 12, 1673. Mrs. Margaret Winslow, was executrix of his will. He had given a house and land in Marshfield to his son and heir, Jonathan Winslow, "in frank marriage unto Ruth, daughter of Mr. Wm. Serjeant," but in his will had devised the same house and land to his son "intaile." The General Court (1675, March 1) decide that the latter entailment cannot make the former free gift void, but must be void itself, while the rest of the will holds good.

1674.]

schoolmaster ; otherwise to have power to dispose the same to an able schoolmaster during the said pastor's life." When he died, his successors in the pastoral office were to assume similar relations to the school. But he and they were to be paid as such instructors, only so long as they were "contented to take their ministerial maintenance by weekly contribution."

1674. · June 3. The Rev. Samuel Arnold, of Marshfield, preaches the Election Sermon. It was printed at Cambridge, and has the imprimatur of John Oxenbridge and Increase Mather, licensers of the press. His text was Acts xiii. 36,—and his subject, "David serving his generation." He calls on the electors to "choose such as have sincere hearts ; that have true piety ; as have skillfulness and dexterity of hands, as may be able to work the vessel in storms as well as in calms." To legislators he says : "Make laws consonant to the Scriptures, such laws as you need neither be afraid nor ashamed to execute." To the clergy he observes : "Affect piety more than popularity ; study harmony rather than singularity ; take heed of soldering in the least degree with persons or doctrine contrary to the simplicity and purity of the gospel ; let us, by all means, cry down the evils and sins of our generation ;" there are those, whose "devotion lies in contradicting and blaspheming the truths and servants of God : let us pray for those that prate against us, speak truth to them that belie us." To such as may hold the reins of government the year to come, he remarks : "God hath delivered the custody of both Tables into your hands ; let the churches of the Lord Jesus find protection and patronage under the shadow of your wings ; for the sake of the church the world stands ; let the Sabbaths of God be of high and honorable account in your eyes ; let no plantation in this jurisdiction, (if it may with your care be possibly prevented,) be without a teaching ministry ; tolerate not things that are intolerable ; when persons err in fundamentals, deny Christ Jesus, the word of God, eternal election, etc., such heresies and heretics had need be suppressed."

4. The General Court order* that the freemen of each town have their names on its records ; and that no person be proposed for a freeman, unless he be approved by a major part of the freemen where he lives. They enact that no keeper of an ordinary shall give or sell any kind of drink to the people of the place where he resides, on the Sabbath ; and every person of such occupation, shall clear his premises of all "town dwellers and strangers," who are there for purposes of drinking, except lodgers in the house, "by the shutting in of the daylight, upon the forfeiture of five shillings." They decide that the profits of the Cape Cod fishery shall be continued to the school, "if a competent number of scholars shall appear to be devoted hereunto, not less than eight or ten."

* Plym. Col. Laws.

July 7. William Maycomber,* for "breach of the Sabbath in a high degree," is sentenced to pay 40/., or be publicly whipped. An Indian, called Hoken, a notorious thief, is "to be apprehended and sold or sent to Barbadoes to satisfy his debts, and free the Colony from so ill a member." In October, George Dausen, for Sabbath breaking, is fined £2.

August 4. Thomas Willet, who had been an efficient promoter of the Colony's civil and religious interests, dies at Barrington,† R. I., aged sixty-four. He came from Leyden as early as 1630; was an Assistant from 1651 to 1664, and the first mayor of New York, after it came into the hands of the English. He married Mary, daughter of John Brown, and had a large family. He left a widow, Joannah, who was of Milford, Ct., in October, the year of his decease. The exigencies of the time and country in which he lived, required the temperament and experience that he possessed, and he dutifully met them.

September 1. Richard Bourne writes to Daniel Gookin‡ concerning the Indians who had come under gospel instruction, within the Colony of Plymouth. He leaves out of his computation, children, and takes into it only those whom he denominates "men and women, young men and maidens." The locations are ancient. At Meeshawn, or near the head of Cape Cod and Billingsgate, the praying Indians are 72; at Potanumaquut, or Nausett, or Eastham, 44; at Manamoyik, or Chatham, 71; at Sawkattukett, west section of Harwich, Nobsquassit, or north-east section of Yarmouth, Metakees, principally in the west part of the same town, and Weequakut, or south-west part of the east precinct in Barnstable, 122; at Satuit, Pawpoesit, Coatuit, Mashpee and Wakoquet, the first, second and fifth of these places being within and near Mashpee, and Coatuit in the south-west part of Barnstable, 95; at Codtanmut, probably a neck in Mashpee, Ashimuit, on the west line of this place, and Weesquobs in Sandwich, 22; at Pispogutt, Wawayontat or Wareham, Sokones or part of Falmouth, 36; Cotuhtikut and Assoowamssoo, both in Middleborough, 35. Mr. Bourne wrote, that within these bounds there was one church of 27 members in full communion, and 90 baptized persons, and that it was formed four years past. He stated that he had four Indians as assistant preachers, and that he had employed four others, but who had not received any compensation yet from the missionary corporation. He mentions several locations which wanted the gospel, and that books were needed to carry on the work.

14. John Cotton addresses Mr. Gookin relative to Indians under his care. He remarks that he had preached to some of them at

* Plym. Col. and Treasury Rec.

† Potter's Narragansett, p. 313.

‡ Gookin's Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. 1 s. vol. i. p. 196-9.

1671.]

Kitteaumut, in Sandwich, among whom were forty male and female "praying Indians," and who, on Sabbaths, go to hear one of Mr. Bourne's assistants. He relates that he had preached sometimes at different places on Cape Cod; that Indian primers and Bibles are much needed; that when the Courts sit at Plymouth, many Indians from various portions of the Colony assemble there, and that he then gave them Christian instruction, which had led some to embrace the gospel. He says that several principal Indians, at a distance from him, desire further religious privileges.

MAINE.

1671. May. Situated as Maine was with relation to the claims of the French, the General Court of Massachusetts order another survey, to ascertain more fully the extent of its boundaries. They appointed Thomas Clark for this purpose. He employed George Mountjoy, of Falmouth, a skillful surveyor, as his assistant. This person, by his report of the next year, found that the northernmost source of the Merrimack river, with three miles added to it, as the Charter proposed, was $43^{\circ} 49' 12''$, and that a line from this point due east, crossed the Sagadahock, near the present Bath, and reached White Head Island, in Penobscot Bay. Through such enlargement of their jurisdiction, the Massachusetts rulers hoped to keep at a greater distance influences of a church and state, which they believed less beneficial than their own.

31. John Oxenbridge, of Boston, in his Election Sermon there, refers to the watchfulness of the French, as Roman Catholics, and neighbors to the English of Maine, as a reason why the freemen of Massachusetts should seek for union in sentiment and action.

July. Thomas Withers is complained of for "endeavoring to prevent the providence of God and privileges of others, by putting several votes for himself to be an officer at a town meeting. He is fined £5, and fees 5/., or "stand in the pillory at York the next training day, two hours." He was also disfranchised.

Mrs. Sarah Morgan, for striking her husband, is "to stand with a gag in her mouth half an hour, at Kittery, at a public town meeting, and the cause of her offense written and put on her forehead, or pay 50/. to the Treasurer."

Withers, aforementioned, charged with contributing "money to lead on others to do the like, and taking of his own money, if not more, out again," gives a bond of £10 to answer.

Thomas Cloyes is fined 5/. for playing cards.*

* York Records. Willis's Portland, vol. i. p. 280, 3.

1672. December 3. Shubal Dummer,* son of Richard Dummer, of Newbury, Massachusetts, born February 17, 1636, graduated at Harvard College, 1656; began to preach at York, as early as 1662; is ordained there over those who had, for a considerable period, already heard the dispensations of the gospel from his lips.

About this year the Scahkook Indians, or the Loups, as the French called them, left and settled above Albany,† on a branch of the Hudson river, which runs towards Canada. Whether influenced by Roman Catholic priests to take this course, though it is probable, there is no positive proof. They were afterwards suspected by New Englanders, as accessory to aggressions made by Indians who were their neighbors.

The war declared by England against the Dutch, was probably one means‡ of so engrossing the public attention in that kingdom, as that the Duke of York did not take particular notice of the new survey ordered by Massachusetts, and trenching on territory of his Patent. It is true that his acquiescence in the re-occupation of his domain below Penobscot, by the French, seemed to indicate that he was not very deeply interested in his title to what still remained under his control. But such yielding to that people was suspected, in part, to come from his sympathy for their papacy more than from lack of concern for the soil he consented they should again control.

1673. February 16. Governor Lovelace writes§ from New York to Pemaquid and dependencies, known as Cornwall County, extending from St. Croix river to Kennebec river. "I shall desire that you would transmit to me a model of such a government as shall be most conducive to the happiness of that Colony, both to its safety, traffic and increase of inhabitants, promising, upon the reception of that scheme, not only to invest you with ample power to exercise your authority, both to ecclesiastick as civil affairs, but will be ready on all occasions to be assisting to you in the preservation of all your rights and interests against any sinister obstructions."

October 15. The Bay authorities,|| sanctioning Mountjoy's survey, and knowing that Governor Lovelace, on the surrender of New York to the Dutch, had left Sagadahock, which belonged to his jurisdiction, unprotected, appoint Commissioners to form a new County below such territory, "that so the ways of godliness may be encouraged and vice arrested."

1674. March 20. As bearing on the Puritan interests of Massachusetts, William,* Earl of Sterling, Ferdinando Gorges and Robert Mason, proprietors of three Provinces in New England, propose to surrender their claims, so that His Majesty may send

* Coffin's Newbury, p. 353. Greenleaf's Ecc. Sketches, p. 9, 10.

† Holmes' Annals, vol. i. p. 368. Colden's Five Nations, p. 95.

‡ Williamson's Maine, vol. i. p. 442. § Me. Hist. Soc. Coll. vol. v. p. 7, 8.

|| Mass. Gen. Ct. Rec.

1674.]

over a General Governor, "which will be a means not only of hindering the further encroachments of the corporation of Boston, but in a short time reduce them also under your Majesty's immediate government, and very much to the profit of your Majesty and people there."*

May 27. Thomas Clark, Humphrey Davy, Richard Callicot and Thomas Gardner, are appointed by the Legislature† of Massachusetts, according to order of the preceding October session, to keep a Court at Kennebeck, Capenawaggen, or some other suitable place. These Commissioners reported, under date of October 7, to the body who appointed them, concerning their transactions. They formed the population and territory, as Williamson says, "from Sagadahock to Georges' River inclusive," into a County, styled Devonshire. They proceeded to take the oath of allegiance from eighty-four persons, and appoint the needed officers. Such an arrangement brought the jurisdiction of Massachusetts upon the line of that included in the Patent of the Duke of York, a juxtaposition not desirable in view of his anti-Puritan prejudices, and high price for his territory. Beyond his boundary, eastward, were the French, of the Romish faith, who had a fort on the east side of Penobscot Bay.

July 28. A letter from the Rev. John Collins,‡ in London, is addressed to Governor Leverett. He mentions a proposition by the proprietors of New Hampshire and Maine, to alienate their claims to the Duke of Monmouth, so that he might send over a Governor, and thus obtain a revenue of £5,000 a year. Collins remarks that he had used means to cool down so mad a project, and that he thought it was laid aside.

August 24. Governor Leverett addressed Robert Thompson, of London.§ He mentions the complaints about the Gorges claim; states that should the claimants have it restored to them, they would suffer loss; that Massachusetts has done right in extending jurisdiction over it, but still, to quiet the continual trouble on account of it, they will give £500 if a good conveyance of the premises be made to them. He empowers Thompson to act accordingly.

October 7. At their session of this date,|| the Bay Legislature confirm the doings of their Commissioners in "settling the eastern parts at Kennebeck and the places adjacent, under government, and that on the desire of the inhabitants of these places," the Court call them "the County of Devonshire."

31. As Edmund Andros,¶ by commission from the Duke of York, had entered on his duties as Governor of the latter's territory in New York and Maine; this event was an important one, as to

* Mass. Archives, Vol. Col. Me.

† Hutchinson's Coll. p. 451, 2.

|| Mass. Gen. Ct. Rec.

‡ Mass. Gen. Ct. Rec.

§ Ibid.

¶ Smith's New York.

what might be its adverse effects on the people under the jurisdiction of the Bay.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

1671. June 25. Soon after this, the ordination of Joshua Moody takes place* at Portsmouth. Of this event, he left a particular account. Although he had regularly preached at Portsmouth since 1658, and proposal to ordain him had been made, yet this service had not been performed before the current year. He remarks on this subject: "After many serious endeavors, which had been used by the then minister of the place in public, and by several of the inhabitants in private, the Lord, without whose presence and blessing man builds but in vain, was pleased at length to lay the foundation of an house for himself in this place." He designates that they had several meetings to discuss the subject of church fellowship; appointed a day of fasting and prayer to seek divine guidance; read to each other a reason for the hope they cherished; and they gave a unanimous consent to many discourses delivered by Mr. Moody, in the latter part of 1670 and the beginning of 1671, from Ezekiel xliii. 10—12, "about the laws, ordinances and forms" of the church. They then appointed a committee "to acquaint the civil authority" with their purpose, as the law required. They invited the churches of Cambridge, Ipswich, Rowley and Hampton to attend. The first of them sent the dismission of Mr. Moody, he having been one of its members. "Governor Leverett came, and several magistrates with him. For no church could settle a minister without the approbation of the Governor and rulers. He that was appointed pastor, preached in the morning out of Ezekiel xlviii. ult. After sermon some intermission was made, and on their meeting again, the pastor, with all those who were to be beginners of the new church, made their relations, and those who were members of other churches had their dismissions, and all made their relations, whether members or non-members, and they were approved by the messengers of the churches, and embodied into a church by an explicit covenant. Then the pastor was ordained, after the unanimous vote of the church for the choice of him, and liberty given to all the congregation to object, if they had ought to say. He was ordained by several of the elders at the desire of the church; Mr. Cabot giving him his charge, and Mr. Wheelwright the right hand of fellowship. Then the pastor ordained Samuel Haynes, deacon, with imposition of hand and prayer. A psalm was sung, and the con-

* Adams's Portsmouth, p. 51-5.

1672.]

gregation dismissed by the pastor with a prayer and blessing." There were nine persons who so entered into covenant and formed the church—Joshua Moody, John Cutt, Richard Cutt, Elias Stileman, Richard Martyn, Samuel Haynes, James Pendleton, John Fletcher and John Tucker.*

Mr. Stileman was recommended on June 25, 1671, by the First church of Salem, as one of its members, to help constitute the Portsmouth church, which, with what Mr. Moody says, indicates that his ordination must have been after this date.

Edward Hilton,† who was among the first settlers and principal promoters of New Hampshire, dies this year at an advanced age. Hubbard says that he came from London and settled at Dover with his brother, William Hilton, and others, about 1623. Here he resided fifteen or twenty years, and then at Exeter. He was highly respectable, held a friendly correspondence with Governor Winthrop, and coincided with the authorities of Massachusetts when they extended their needed jurisdiction over this Colony.

July 5. John Reynner succeeds‡ his father in the ministry at Dover. He graduated at Harvard College, 1663, and married Judith, daughter of Edmund Quincy. Farmer says that he died at Braintree,§ 21st December, 1676, aged 34; and Hull, that the occasion of his decease was a cold and fever, which he took while in the field as a chaplain to soldiers serving against the forces of Philip. Ready to "endure hardness" for his parishioners and his country in their deepest necessities, he fell before the progress of disease, and rested from his earthly labors through a good hope in the high Captain of his salvation.

1672. March 12. The people of Portsmouth vote|| that whoever smokes in the meeting-house, at any public meeting, shall be fined five shillings.

October 8. As the General Court of Massachusetts, at their last session,¶ allowed Portsmouth to have a village above Dover bounds, they confirm the grant, the conditions being that three hundred acres shall be reserved for the Colony, and twenty families be there in five years, who shall pay rates, as other towns, and maintain "an able and approved ministry" among them.

They allow the return of one thousand acres of land, "on a branch of Piscataqua River, at some distance above the head of Dover bounds, lying wholly on the west side of said river, and beginning at Round Meadows." They granted such territory, 11th October, 1670, to "Benjamin Whitchcott, of London, Doctor of Divinity, and Rebeckah," his "present wife, executrix of the will of Matthew Cradock," her "first husband," of the same city, mer-

* Adams's Portsmouth, p. 51-5.

† Hubbard's N. E. p. 608.

|| Adams's Portsmouth, p. 55.

‡ Farmer's Gen. Reg.

§ Probably at the house of his wife's father.

¶ Mass. Gen. Ct. Rec.

chant, for demands of the latter against the Company of the same Colony.

Samuel, son of Jeremy Belcher,* of Ipswich, Harvard College, 1659, preaches at the Isles of Shoals about the current year. He settled at West Newbury, November 10, 1698, resigned 1711, and died at Ipswich, March 10, 1716, in his 76th year.

1673. This year, Portsmouth confirms the agreement† made for seven years, by individuals among them in 1669, to pay the College £60 annually.

1674. May 27. The Legislature of Massachusetts‡ still provide for the annual government of New Hampshire, though aware that strenuous exertions were making to wrest it from their control.

Nicholas Shapleigh, who seems to have been of Kittery and had taken part in behalf of Quakers, is to pay £200, have the rest of his fine remitted and be cleared from prison, on the petition of his sister, Catharine Hilton.

July 28. A letter from the Rev. John Collins,§ in London, is addressed to Governor Leverett. It has the following passage: "Since I wrote you last, there hath been a proposition of alienating by the proprietors, the Province of Maine and what you call New Hampshire, to the King, to make an interest of it in the Duke of Monmouth, and it is proposed that he should send a Governor to raise to himself a revenue from it. I hope it will come to nothing. He that was all agog to go Governor thither, I had him dealt with all by a friend, and such discouragements laid before him, and ridiculousness of hoping for such a revenue as was proposed, of £5,000 a year or more, to the Duke, that I think is laid aside."

RHODE ISLAND.

1671. March 25. Roger Williams writes from Providence to John Cotton, of Plymouth.|| He faults the latter for severe terms used towards him, because he had argued in his book against his father, John Cotton, of Boston. He observes as to what occurred in England: "'Tis true my first book, the Bloody Tenet, was burnt by the Presbyterian party, then prevailing. But this book, whereof we now speak, being my reply to your father's answer, was received with applause and thanks by the army, and by the Parliament." He adds as follows: "Sir, you tell me my time is lost, etc., because (as I conceive you) not in the function of the ministry. I confess the offices of Christ Jesus are the best callings; but, gen-

* Farmer's Gen. Register. Lawrence (N. H.) Churches, p. 54.

† Adams's Annals, p. 56.

§ Hutchinson's Coll. p. 451.

‡ Mass. Gen. Ct. Rec.

|| Belknap MSS.

1671.]

erally they are the worst trades in the world, as they are practiced only for a maintenance, a place, a living, a benefice. God hath many employments for his servants. God knows I have much and long and conscientiously and mournfully weighed and digged into the differences of the Protestants themselves about the ministry. He knows what gains and preferments I have refused in university, city, country and court in Old England, and something in New England; and to keep my soul undefiled in this point and not to act with a doubting conscience, God was pleased to show me much of this in Old England. And in New England, unanimously chosen teacher at Boston, (before your dear father came divers years,) I conscientiously refused and withdrew to Plymouth, because I durst not officiate to an unseparated people, as upon examination and conference I found them to be. At Plymouth I spake on the Lord's days and week-days, and wrought hard at the hoe for my bread, and so afterward at Salem, until I found them both professing to be separated people in New England, (not admitting the most godly without a covenant,) and yet communicating with the parishes in Old, by their members repairing on frequent occasions thither."

April 11. The Governor and magistrates of Newport assembled here, answer* a letter from Governor Prince, of Plymouth, relative to alarms about the Indians. They write: "We heartily desire that the Lord will graciously assist you in your present agitations." They request that any matter, in their overtures to Philip, which they think important to be known, may be communicated to them.

May 3. John Crandal, from Newport, a Baptist preacher at Westerly, arrested by order of Connecticut, for claiming the territory of the latter town to be under the jurisdiction of Rhode Island, is advised by this Colony to give no bonds for his appearance, but rather suffer imprisonment. They engage to sustain his position, and pay his charges. Nearly two years before, they had sent a letter by him to Connecticut authorities, about such difficulties.

June. Samuel Hubbard and other Seventh-day Baptists, of Newport, were so offended with four of their number for re-professing the First-day for the Sabbath, as to call them apostates. Mr. Holmes preaches against such a position. He observes that they had left Christ and gone after Moses. They were cited by his church to answer. They did this through William Hiscox, who charged the elders of the church with denying the ten commandments. They were excommunicated on the 7th of December, and on the 23d of the same month, formed themselves into a separate church. Their names were William Hiscox, Samuel Hubbard, Roger Baster, Tacy Hubbard and Rachel Langworthy. Stephen

* R. I. Records.

Mumford, and wife Mary, who came from England to Newport, as Seventh-day Baptists, at the beginning of 1665, as Backus says, united with the excommunicants.*

On hearing of such differences, the Baptist church, who worshipped at Noddle's Island, opposite Boston, sent them a letter.† They advise them to retract. "Your judging them that have so done, and we hope have not unadvisedly changed their minds, to be *apostate*, seems to our understandings, to savour too much of a censorious disposition." Be not "so strait in your bowels towards others. Our desire is, if it may be the good pleasure of God, that this breach may be healed between you and the church."

June 7. General Assembly having ordered Francis Uselton to depart from the Island, who had now come into Newport without leave, while they are in session, and was walking through the streets, and, brought into their presence, insults them with imperinent language—order him to receive fifteen stripes and leave the Colony. Uselton seems to be a Quaker.

This year, Roger Williams, as he states in his book against George Fox, went and attended a General Assembly of Quakers at Newport. He attempted to set before them some considerations about the true and false Christ, and spirits which differed from their belief. They interrupted him. One suddenly prayed, another sang and a third prayed, and then the Assembly abruptly dissolved. He subsequently gave this as the reason why he did not attempt to address a similar collection at Providence when Fox was with them, but preferred to discuss certain questions separately and orderly.

"I said that John Burnet delivered many truths, yet withall, I then at the same time (in their public assembly at Newport) told them that it lay upon them to manifest to their own souls and others,—1. That their Christ was true. 2. That their Spirit was God's, and the rather because they were charged with denying the institutions of Christ Jesus, and with the setting up of many will-worships, as preaching of women, etc. I went on purpose to discourse of these matters, (this being the time of their General Assembly, and a great concourse.) I was stopt by the sudden praying of the Governor's wife, who also told me of her asking her husband at home, (meaning Christ, which I had touched upon.) I rose up and said, if a man had so alleged, I would have

* MSS. Callender's History, p. 65.

† Backus, vol. i. p. 411-13.

NOTE.—No person to be employed in the office of General, Serjeant or Sheriff, unless he can read and write.

Uselton and Thomas had three pence a day allowed for their maintenance while in prison. This is now allowed for all other prisoners while in confinement, if demanded towards their support, from the Colony treasurer.

William Thomas, sentenced to death for burglary, petitioning the Assembly for reprieve, had his sentence confirmed, and to be executed the day after tomorrow.—*R. I. Records.*

1672.]

answered him, but I would not countenance so much the violation of God's order in making a reply to a woman in public. Hereupon J. Nicols stood up and said: 'In Christ Jesus neither male nor female,' etc. I was replying to him and to J. Burnet's speech also concerning their spirit, but I was stopt by John Burnet's sudden falling to prayer and dismissing the assembly."

August 30. The Governor and Council send a letter* to the authorities of Plymouth. They observe that "there are more than ordinary causes to suspect and believe the Indians are treacherously inclined against the English in general;" and that they are bound, "through the assistance of the Almighty, to prevent their perfidious designs." They propose that Plymouth send men to meet several whom they had nominated, at Taunton, for conference on means of safety.

November 2. They write to the Plymouth Government in reply to two communications of the 14th and 29th of September.† They say: "The contents of both being very much obliging, doth indeed move us to be thankful unto the Most High, for preserving us yet in peace, and diverting the cloud which he was pleased to let hang over the country, threatening a storm of war, or the sad effects that attend thereupon, as burning, massacreing and destroying persons and estates, which would inevitably have followed upon an absolute breach with the natives."

December 1. Benjamin Sweetser, of Charlestown, who belonged to the Baptist church, replies to a letter of Hubbard.‡ One of his passages is: "We should be glad to hear how it is with you, and desire, if it be the will of God, that love and peace may be continued betwixt you and the other society; although you may differ in some things, yet that there may be endeavors to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace."

1672. Feb'y 24. William Harris, being in custody, is brought before "the Court of Justices" at Newport, composed of Benedict Arnold, Governor, and John Clark, Deputy Governor, and the Assistants.§ The prisoner gave in his answer to the charges of Roger Williams and William Tabor. The Court order the sheriff to keep Harris confined in prison here till next May session, on the accusation of "speaking and writing against his Majesty's charter, granted to this Colony, very much to the dishonor of our Sovereign Lord, the King, and subverting the government there established." This injunction was enforced.

April 2. Perceiving that it would be necessary to hasten the long delayed mission of Rev. John Clark to England, for securing their charter claim to Westerly and otherwise, and fearing the opposition of William Harris and others to their charter regulations,

* Records of R. I.

† Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. 2 s. vol. vii. p. 109.

‡ Backus, vol. i. p. 405.

§ R. I. Col. Records.

and similar disorganization, the Assembly remark as follows: * "Being sensible of the great detriment of the Colony in general, and well-minded persons in particular, do sustain by reason of a covetous or factious and malicious spirit appearing in sundry towns and places of this Colony; who oppose all or any rates, and hereby prevailing, by their deluded adherents, in overpowering the more prudent and loyal parties in such town and place, to the frustration of the most necessary and needful ends for which such rates are levied; whereby the Colony is exposed to much discredit, and other detainments, great and dangerous, even tending to ruin and subversion thereof in the issue, and in mean time to the intolerable burden and oppression of the more tractable and rational people," be it enacted, that all persons, who in any "town or place within this jurisdiction, shall resist the assessment of taxes, or any acts or orders," passed by the General Assembly, "shall be proceeded against for high contempt and sedition."

May 14. The General Assembly having been changed so far as to have a majority against several prominent points, sustained and acted on the last year of its political existence, now show their opinions. They speak of several acts, passed the preceding April, as "infringing the liberties of the people, and setting up an arbitrary power." They repeal the law passed in view of resistance by William Harris and others to the mode of taxation, and the order for John Clark to repeat his agency in England, and the provision to support him and his expenses for means to counteract the endeavors of Connecticut Colony relative to territory claimed by Rhode Island Colony. Of course the trial for which Harris was kept in prison, was quashed. These sudden changes appear to have been made partly through the influence of the Quaker party, who, as Judge Staples says in his *Annals of Providence*, had by this year gained an ascendancy in the Legislature.

30. George Fox,† who left England last year, reached Barbadoes, October 3; was at Jamaica, 23d of February, 1672; then visited Maryland, West and East Jersey, and Long Island; and arrived at Rhode Island on the date heading this statement. He soon exhibited his accustomed zeal and activity.

"We were gladly received‡ by Friends. We went to Nicholas Easton's house, Governor of the Island. On first day of the week following, we had a large meeting, to which the Deputy Governor and several Justices came, and were mightily affected with the truth. The week following, the yearly meeting for all the Friends of New England, and the other Colonies adjacent, was held in this Island; to which, besides very many Friends, who lived in those parts, came John Stubbs, from Barbadoes, and James Lancaster and John Cartwright, from another way. This meeting lasted six days; of

* R. I. Col. Rec.

† Fox's Jour. vol. i. p. 351.

‡ Ibid. p. 366-8.

1672.]

which the first four days were general public meetings for worship; to which abundance of the world's people came. For they having no priests in the Island, and so no restriction to any particular way of worship; and both the Governor, and Deputy Governor, with several Justices of the Peace daily frequenting the meetings, this did so encourage the people, that they flocked from all parts of the Island." Fox remarks that the "Truth had a good reception."

On the fifth day was the men's-meeting, and on the sixth, was women's-meeting,—both large and solemn. At these meetings, other similar meetings were appointed elsewhere, to "take care of the poor and other affairs of the church." It was hard for those who had come together to separate, and "they spent two days in taking leave one of another."

John Burneyate, with John Cartwright and George Pattison, "went into the eastern parts of New England, in company with the Friends, that came from thence, to visit the particular meetings there, whom John Stubbs and James Lancaster intended to follow a while after, in the same service of truth."

"Robert Widders and I staid some time longer also upon this Island, finding service still here for the Lord, through the great openness of the people, and the daily coming in of fresh people from other Colonies, for some time after the general meeting was over."

Fox attended a meeting for the Ranters, of whom there were many, and thought that it was followed with good. A man who had been a Justice twenty years, "was convinced, and spake highly of the truth."

Fox went to Providence and held a meeting in a great barn. The Governor of Rhode Island and many others accompanied him. Fox says that the number present was very large, comprising some who came to dispute with him. He observes, "The people went away mightily satisfied, much desiring another meeting." He then held a large meeting at Narragansett, accompanied by the Governor of Rhode Island. He took his course through the Colonies to Virginia, and thence to England.

July 13. Roger Williams, having read the works of George Fox, (a leading Quaker of England, who had recently arrived at Rhode Island, attended the yearly meeting of this denomination at the house of William Coddington, at Newport; and a few days prior to this date, had spoken publicly at Providence,) sends an offer to Fox, now at Newport, for the discussion of fourteen propositions. He desires that seven of them may be considered at Newport and the rest at Providence, because Fox had advanced his opinions in both of these places, and induced many persons to become his followers. After stating the preliminaries necessary to regular debate, Williams proceeds to specify the propositions.

"1. That the people called Quakers, are not true Quakers according to the Holy Scriptures.

"2. That the Christ they profess is not the true Lord Jesus Christ.

"3. That the Spirit by which they are acted, is not the Spirit of God.

"4. That they do not own the Holy Scriptures.

"5. That their principles and professions are full of contradictions and hypocrisies.

"6. That their religion is not only an heresy in matters of worship, but also in the doctrines of repentance, faith, etc.

"7. That their religion is but a confused mixture of Popery, Arminianism, Socinianism, Judaism, etc.

"8. The people called Quakers (in effect) hold no God, no Christ, no Spirit, no Angel, no Devil, no Resurrection, no Judgment, no Heaven, no Hell, but what is in man.

"9. All that their religion requires (external and internal) to make converts and proselytes, amounts to no more than what a reprobate may easily attain unto and perform.

"10. That the Popes of Rome do not swell with and exercise a greater pride than the Quakers' spirit hath exprest, and doth aspire unto, although many truly humble souls may be captivated amongst them, as may be in other religions.

"11. The Quakers' religion is more obstructive, and destructive to the conversion and salvation of the souls of people, than most of the religions this day extant in the world.

"12. The sufferings of the Quakers are no true evidence of the truth of their religion.

"13. That their many books and writings are extremely poor, lame, naked, and swelled up with high titles and words of boasting and vapor.

"14. That the spirit of their religion tends mainly: 1, To reduce persons from civility to barbarism: 2, To an arbitrary government, and the dictates and decrees of that sudden spirit that acts in them: 3, To a sudden cutting off of people, yea, kings and princes opposing them: 4, To as fiery persecutions for matters of religion and conscience, as hath been or can be practiced by any hunters or persecutors in the world."

Williams proceeds to relate that he forwarded these propositions to his friend, John Cranston, Deputy Governor, so that he might notify Fox; but that the former did not receive them until the 26th, after the latter left the country. He adduces proof that the friends of Fox kept back the propositions, so that he might depart and be free from the debate; and that others, whom he left behind, might stand in his stead. Among his trials on this occasion, he mentions a letter written in a bitter style, from J. T., who had been

1672.]

his particular friend for forty years, but, very lately, had embraced the Quaker belief. This J. T. was probably John Throgmorton, who espoused the cause of Williams at Salem, and settled with him at Providence. The said letter was dated July 18. It charged the propositions made to Fox, as "impudent lies and slanders," and calls upon Williams to renounce his errors and repent. On the same day Williams replied to Throgmorton. The former said: "If I had not abhorred lies, I had long, ere this, fined the country about this barbarous land (as some in this Colony have done.) I had murdered the Indians and English by the powder and liquor trade, to which you know I had temptation as much as yourself, or any others in New England. You are dangerously bold to say that you write from the Spirit of truth. I only instance in that monstrous act of your women and maidens, stripping themselves stark naked by your spirit, and with a face of brass coming into the open streets and public congregations of men and youth. This spirit (though defended by G. Fox and others) is such a piece of unnatural and brutish impudence, that I cannot hear of the like amongst Jews or Gentiles, yea, not amongst the most savage, base and barbarous of them all, (all circumstances considered.) I observe your inconstancy. How often have I heard you speak of the chief of the Quakers now at Newport. How lately and how much have you uttered of John Crosman's cross and froward spirit, (ever since he pretended the Spirit,) yet how inhuman and injurious to yourself, in the way of his calling! Now all on a sudden (for I heard but little until I saw your lines) you are got up into the lofty chair of judging, and ready to say, 'God, I thank thee, I am not as this publican.'"

On the 23d, he had a rejoinder from J. T., who, after severely censuring the observations of Williams, adds: "I know thou hast undertaken a great burthen in challenging G. Fox to answer thy positions. I wish thee to provide thy armor of proof, as Goliath, that defied the army of Israel. G. Fox is furnished with that armor that thou hast no skill to make use of; having also the sword of the Spirit to cut down all thy airy imaginations." To this, Williams immediately sent an answer. He refers to the manner in which he was treated by the General Assembly of Quakers at Newport. He denies the charge that he had treated William Harris unjustly for treason against the laws of England and of this Colony, "who hath with all his power now kindled and blown this fire between Connecticut Colony and ourselves."

Not satisfied, J. T. addresses Williams once more, in a reproachful manner, as: "Oh murderous man, that hath not any remorse for thy long-lived wickedness." Williams replies on the 30th: "I heartily wish that your hands were washed from the bloody trade of liquors to the Indians, which even the Quakers have practiced, telling the Indians that the Quakers only know God, and

therefore would sell them powder and liquors cheaper, and they would not mix water with rum, as others did. So that by many sudden deaths, what by consumptions and dropsies, the barbarians have been murdered, hundreds, if not thousands, in the whole country; and more in this Colony than in any part of the country beside, that I have heard of, against which I have witnessed from Court to Court in vain."

He remarks that some Quaker, imagining himself actuated by a good spirit, though by an evil one, may see fit to murder him, so that the prediction of J. T., that he must repent in forty days or perish, may be verified.

A few days after, the Deputy Governor Cranston delivered the proposals of Williams, (which he received the 26th of July, some hours after Fox had left Newport.) John Stubs, John Burnyeat, and other Quakers, called on him at Providence. They proposed the 9th of August for the discussion at Newport, to which he agreed.

The next morning he wrote to them, that as some of his neighbors wished, he would, according to his offer, discuss the first seven propositions at Newport, and the others at Providence. The letter was put into the hand of one of their number. Receiving no answer, he addressed them again, late in the evening, on the same subject. They replied that it should be as he had desired.

August 8. Williams remarks: "God graciously assisting me in rowing all day with my old bones, so that I got to Newport toward midnight before the morning appointed." He sent his opponents a paper relative to the way in which he thought they should proceed in their discussion, and particularly, as he was alone, he should have but one of them speak to him at the same time. He also mentioned to them, that some of his friends objected to have the debate in the Quaker meeting-house. But he did not think with them. He observed: "I could freely go into the Pope's chapel to dispute against the Pope and his worship."

9. Having assembled at the Quaker meeting-house, at nine o'clock, a large collection of people waited with various wishes and anticipations, according to their creed. Williams observes that he found there three noted preachers of the Quakers, namely, John Stubs, John Burnyeat and William Edmundson, "sitting together on a high bench with some of the magistrates of their judgment with them. I had heard that John Stubs was learned in the Hebrew and the Greek, and I found him so. As for John Burnyeat, I found him to be of a moderate spirit, and a very able speaker. William Edmundson was newly come, as was said, from Virginia, and he proved the chief speaker, a man not so able nor so moderate as the other two." Williams took his seat at the other end of the house opposite to them. He began the debate, by remarking that he undertook it, not out of prejudice to any person or denomina-

1672.]

tion, but for the sake of divine truth. He closed his preface thus : "I do humbly hope and beg of God, the Father of spirits, so to order and direct our spirits in these our agitations, that his holy name may receive glory, and the souls of us all some soul-profit and advantage." The first day was spent in the discussion of his first proposition, "that the people, called Quakers, are not the true Quakers according to the holy Scriptures." While a few of Williams's friends sustained him by occasional remarks, more did the same for his opponents. He complained that his proposal for having but one at a time reply to him, was often, and sometimes to himself, vexatiously disregarded, especially by Edmundson. He bore down on the Quakers heavily, while they retorted on him with severity.

10. When the second day of the contest appeared, Williams had a hoarseness and head-ache. He therefore took his seat nearer to Stubs and his assistants, so that he might not strain his voice. He began on the second proposition, "that their Christ was not the true Lord Jesus." The day was spent in arguments and affirmations. Williams says that because of his inability to speak with his usual clearness and vigor, some Quakers accused him of being drunk, though he had taken nothing stronger than milk, as his daughter Hart, at whose house he tarried, could testify. At the close of the day, the parties agreed to dispatch the rest of the questions, assigned to Newport, in a quarter of an hour for each of them.

11. When the hour arrived for the discussion to commence, Williams received a letter, which he supposed was from his brother, Robert Williams, school-master at Newport, and which he handed to his antagonists, but they declined to have it read. Still he gives it a place in his printed narrative. By it Robert does not entirely coincide with his brother Roger, thinking that the latter should have dealt privately with his opponents before charging them publicly with errors, and that his propositions laid too much on the Quakers. On the other hand, Robert complained of Stubs and his two associates, because they would not allow liberty of speech to the friends of Roger, and thus quenched the Spirit in them, and they treated his brother, "their elder fellow-servant and father, with indecorum, both in words and gestures." He proceeds on this point: "Again your improper charging the complainant with mispending of time, when in truth it was yourselves in not suffering of him orderly to proceed, by your often iterations, tautologies, indecorum, behavior and expressions, with improper preachments at that time, and yet lay the defect upon the aged, and would not be satisfied with his substantial proofs, divine reasons and argumental demonstrations."

Having adduced these remarks, referring to the transactions of the two preceding days, we will attend to the acts of the third day. Roger Williams began on his position, "That the spirit by which

they were acted was not the true Spirit of God." He passed through the rest of the seven, with the usual rejoinders, by the time that the boat was ready to sail for Providence, in which he was going home. Just as he was stepping down from his place to depart, amid the clamors of the Quakers that he had proved nothing, his brother's wife Elizabeth, of the Baptists in Newport, "said aloud, the man hath discharged his conscience. He hath fully proved what he undertook to prove against you, and the words that he hath spoken, shall judge you at the last day." The reply to Williams by John Burnyeat and George Fox, called "A New England Fire-brand Quenched," denies, of course, his various positions.

17. According to agreement, the opponents of Williams met him at Providence. He offered his brother's letter to be read, but they objected, particularly Edmundson, whose carriage was so offensive, that Captain John Greene, of Warwick, inquired whether Mr. Williams was there "as a delinquent to answer at the bar, or as a disputant on equal terms." After other questions, Williams entered on the seventh proposition. Having gotten through the whole fourteen, he remarked, that "the conclusion was ordered by the Father of mercies with much peace and quietness."

To the question which he asked about the Quakers, near the close of his argument: "Was there ever any known, (professing the fear of God in so high a measure,) so sharp and cutting in their tongue?" The Fire-brand said, that such severity accorded with the Scripture rule. It addressed Williams: "If thou comest not down into the dust and mournest for these things, thy day will be darkness and thy end everlasting destruction."

Thus terminated one of the most exciting discussions ever before carried on in New England. So far as the particulars of it have come to us, it is very evident, that Roger Williams had thought much on the subject, and brought strong arguments to substantiate his charges against the Quakers. Over these he had an advantage in the order of his facts and reasons, and consequently had the better of the controversy. One cause not only of their failure, but also most of their writers, to confirm what they hold as the truth of their system, was, that they trusted too much to the impulse of present feeling, which they supposed was the instruction of the Holy Spirit, and too little to deliberate consideration and logical arrangement, both entirely consistent with the aid of this Divine Teacher.*

About this date, Roger Williams, in his "Strictures on George Fox and his followers," compares the maledictions of them with those of Reeves and Muggleton, who pretended to be the two last prophets and witnesses. He observes of these two persons: "Thus, about twenty years ago, did the poor cheated souls in Lon-

* George Fox digged out of his Burrows, New England Fire-brand Quenched.

1673.]

don, thunder out their eternal sentence of damnation upon the souls of their opposites, and that with such seriousness, confidence and majesty, that I have known solid Christians put into a fright by them." He adds: "A few years since, two Maries (Quakers) from London, called on me and bade me repent and receive the true light, cursed me for my admonitions, and hastened to Barbadoes. On their passage, they promised the crew that not a hair of their head should perish, if they would fight a Dutch vessel, which attacked them." Both of these women were then killed.*

August 12. William Coddington addresses Richard Bellingham, Simon Bradstreet and William Hawthorn, as members of Massachusetts Government, relative to ten pounds' worth of Quaker books, which he had, years before, expected from Barbadoes, but which were through mistake landed at Piscataqua, and thence brought to Boston. He also accompanies remarks on this subject, with others of rebuke for treatment of the Quakers, as a denomination, which he had professed. In another letter of next October 20, Coddington complains that Bellingham had burnt up his first communication.

November 6. The Assembly nullify the procedure of Capt. John Green, one of the Assistants, who had authorized a bill of divorcement between Richard Pray and Mary Pray, and declare their abhorrence of all such transactions. They command their declaration against liberty of this kind to be sent to all the towns, "that they may know we endeavor good law, all men's peace and safety, but no man's vice."

1673. May 7. The Assembly appoint a committee† to confer with the Indian Sachems, on "some way to prevent the extreme excess of the Indians' drunkenness, that so, if possible, such enormities as thereupon ensue, may be prevented."

August 13. The Assembly at Newport, having been informed that the Dutch had taken New York on the 30th ult, order further

* George Fox Diggd out of his Burrows, p. 15, 27.

† Rec. of R. I.

NOTE.—1672, Nov. 6. Block Island, granted in 1658, by Massachusetts, to John Endicott, Richard Bellingham, Daniel Dennison and William Hawthorn, is now incorporated by Rhode Island Assembly, under the name of New Shoreham.

1673, May 7. Thomas Cornell, of Portsmouth, sentenced to death for the murder of his mother, Mrs. Rebecca Cornell, had his estate seized by the Assembly. These, for the sake of his wife and children, order the Town Council to make a will and divide it among said relatives of the criminal, and supply them out of its amount. Cornell had petitioned the Assembly that his body might be laid by his mother's; but they refused. They permitted that his remains might be deposited at the upper end of the land he had forfeited, within twenty feet of the common road, where, if they see fit, they may have monuments set up, as warnings. Otherwise, his body is to be laid under or near the gallows.

Four pounds (£4) are allowed the "General Sergeant for the execution of Thomas Cornell and the Indian Punean." Under March, 1673, Rev. Mr. Bradstreet's journal says: "A man was hanged at Rhode Island for killing his mother."

preparations to be made for defense. They provide that men raised for this purpose and disabled, shall have a pension; and those killed, shall be remembered, so that relatives who depended for support on them, shall have assistance. They excuse all persons from military duty, whose conscience is opposed to training, fighting and killing. This they do under a long argument.

October 16. Giles Slocum, Sen., and his wife Joan, and their children, Giles Slocum, Jacob and Joanna Moot, are excommunicated from Mr. Clarke's church* at Newport, "for embracing the soul-endangering error, that the Man Christ Jesus was not in heaven, nor earth, nor anywhere; that his body was entirely lost; and they fell in with the sad principles of Quakerism in the early days of its spreading in this Colony."

29. John Clark lays his claim before the Assembly for £450 sterling still due him for his mission to England; but while they desire that they may appoint some one to inquire how the debt came to be so large, they do not think it is.

1674. May 11. A writer in Boston,† to whom William Coddington, of Rhode Island, had addressed a salutation about "the enemy's taking a sloop, etc.," replies that he had handed it to Mr. Bradstreet. He notices some remarks of Coddington concerning persecution. This calls forth the latter at large, and he contends that persecution has existed in New England. He remarks: "Our profession in England, which thou mentionest, about fifty years ago, was far before yours in the Massachusetts. We stood together for the public good. I was one of those many Lincolnshire gentlemen, so called, that denied the royal law, and suffered for it in King Charles the First's days, and bishops' and ceremonies were denied by us and all evils. Assure thyself I am supported by that Power, that I shall never dishonor my grey hairs to come to you, for I am the servant of the Lord, that worship him in spirit, rejoice in Christ Jesus, and have no confidence in your fleshly wisdom." With respect to his belief that the world would embrace Quakerism, he says: "Blessed be God, that so many have come to the sun-rising, which shall rise more and more, until the knowledge of the Lord cover the earth, as the waters cover the sea. Behold, ye despisers, and wonder!" This prediction has not proved correct.

At the close of this year,‡ the family of James Rogers, of New London, desire Mr. Crandal to come from Westerly and preach for

* R. I. Hist. Soc. MSS. † Besse, vol. ii. p. 265-70. ‡ Backus, vol. i. p. 473.

NOTE.—1673, Oct. 23. For the trial of the Indian Iankesick, in prison for the murder of Ossawan, an Indian, the Assembly order a jury of six Englishmen and six Indians to try him. They order that in this and all other cases, Indians may give testimony.

1674, May 18. The Assembly, being desired by Canonicus, chief sachem of the Narragansets, that he may have the body of "the Indian called the Old Man, alias Poaggett," when he is hanged and dead, grant the request.

1671.]

them. He complied, and baptized John and James Rogers, sons of the former, and an Indian called Japheth, as Seventh-day Baptists.

Giving an account, this year, of missions among the Indians of New England,* Gookin makes the subsequent statements. Several of the English in Rhode Island and Providence Plantations "are skillful in the Indian tongue, especially Mr. Williams." The last has preached to some of the Indians in his neighborhood, but it is not known that any of them have become Christians. Such natives are uncommonly averse to embracing the gospel. For this, Gookin assigns the following reasons: "First, the averseness of their sachems. Secondly, the bad example of the English in those parts, where civil government and religion among the English, run very low. Those two orders of magistracy and ministry, are as Jachin and Boaz, strength and stability, upon which the happiness and prosperity of any people doth, under God, depend; and where these are wanting in splendor and beauty, I never promise myself to see any great honor or good to such people."

The communication made by Coddington to Bellingham, Bradstreet and Hawthorn, in 1672, about Quaker books and punishment, is issued from the press. It composes twenty pages, small quarto. Its title-page is, "A Demonstration of True Love unto you, the Rulers of the Colony of Massachusetts, in New England." It contains some valuable items of history, and the discursive severity of style then usual for writers of his sect.

CONNECTICUT.

1671. May 11. The Assembly appoint the third Wednesday of June for a public Fast,† because of divisions and decay of religion, growth of impiety and profaneness; and to implore the remission of sins from the Lord, and that he would "pour forth a spirit of conversion upon the present and rising generation," and "prosper the work now begun among the Indians in this Colony, that if it be his holy will they may become subjects to the kingdom of our Lord Jesus."

They express their pleasure in being assured that Uncas and Owanecoe, with some of their people, have been persuaded to hear the gospel from Rev. James Fitch and others. They "declare to all these people, both Sachems and others," who are ready to attend on Christian instruction, that they will encourage them therein. They conclude to request the Commissioners, that they would employ Mr. Fitch for such a purpose. It must have been very gratifying to them to perceive such indications in those chiefs,

* Gookin's Coll. Mass. Hist. Coll. 1 s. vol. i. p. 210.

† Conn. Col. Rec.

while Philip was giving much trouble to Plymouth by his anti-Christian policy.

They appoint a committee to visit Rye, and endeavor to settle difficulties there. They also instruct them to give their assistance for obtaining "an able and orthodox minister" to settle there; and if the people of the town will not co-operate with them, they are authorized to agree with such a preacher, so that he may dispense the gospel for £40 a year to the inhabitants, and this sum shall be assessed upon them with their colonial rate. This was plainly telling the people, that if they would not maintain religious institutions, as their best safeguard, the rulers would interpose and compel them to perform the duty.*

For the encouragement of Daniel Porter, the Assembly increase his salary from £6 to £12, for service to the Colony in setting bones, etc., and they "advise him to instruct some meet person in his art.†

September 4. John Eliot states to the Commissioners, that Mr. Fitch "holds a lecture at his own house every fortnight," to instruct "Monohegan" Indians. "Uncas and his son have promised to attend it. This, Mr. Fitch by his letters of Uncas' coming in, is a great matter. I desire the work may be countenanced and supported in that end of the country. It may by God's blessing have influence upon the Manquags. Touching the state of the work at Long Island, in the hand of Mr. James, I have nothing as yet this year."

This year Mr. Fitch delivered the following discourse: ‡ "'Peace, the end of the perfect and upright,' preached upon the occasion of the decease of that piously affected and truly religious matron, Mrs. Anne Mason; sometime wife to Major Mason, who not long after finished his course and is now at rest."

John Sherman, one of the licensers for the press, gives an introduction to the discourse, and speaks of Mrs. Mason's "life and death" as "exemplary and instructive."

A letter from Mr. Hooker to the New Haven church,§ says: "Mr. Caryl, Mr. Newman and myself, have received sugars from Barbadoes, to the value of about £90, and have disposed of it to the several poor ministers, and ministers' widows. And this fruit of your bounty is very thankfully received and acknowledged by us. And the good Lord make all grace to abound towards you." This charity was contributed on the annual Thanksgiving of 1665, in grain and other commodities, for ejected ministers and their families in England. The donations so collected, were exchanged at Barbadoes for sugar, which was disposed of as already described. Thus the benefaction was completed after the lapse of several years.

* Conn. Col. Rec. † Ibid. ‡ It was printed at Cambridge, Ms., 1672.
§ Town Records. Bacon's Discourses, p. 157, 8.

1672.]

1672. January 30. John Mason, as the journal of Rev. Mr. Bradstreet states, having greatly suffered the two or three last years of his life, with the strangury, dies with much spiritual "comfort, and assured it would be well with him." Bradstreet puts the age of Mason at about seventy, others seventy-two. Casting in his lot with those who desired and endeavored to found a religious Commonwealth in Massachusetts, he came to this country,* and settled at Dorchester. There he was admitted freeman, 1635, and the same year and the next, was a deputy of the General Court. When the Rev. Mr. Warham left that place for Windsor, 1636, Mason accompanied him. Well for the Colonists of Connecticut, that he was with them. The Pequods had assumed so bold and murderous a stand, that the English were compelled to war against them, or perish themselves. In 1637, Mason, with a small but intrepid band, gained a signal victory over these enemies. After recounting the events of this campaign, he says: "Thus was God in the mount, crushing his proud enemies and the enemies of his people. It is He that hath made this work wonderful, and therefore ought to be remembered." He continued to be one of the main stays of the Colony for a long period. He removed to Saybrook, 1647, and to Norwich, 1659. He was chosen magistrate from 1642 to 1659, and Deputy Governor, 1660 to 1669, inclusive. He was also a Major General. He left sons Samuel, John and Daniel. He appears to have been providentially raised up to meet the perilous necessities of Connecticut.

Prince observed: "I have often thought what a special favor it was, that there came over with the first settlers of Plymouth and Connecticut Colonies, which in those times were especially exposed to the superior power of the barbarians round them, two brave Englishmen, bred to arms in the Dutch Netherlands, viz., Capt. Miles Standish, of Plymouth, and Capt. John Mason, of Connecticut; gentlemen of tried valor, military skill and conduct, great activity and warm zeal for that noble cause of pure Scriptural Religion and Religious Liberty, which were the chief original design and interest of the Fathers of these Plantations, and who were acted with such eminent degrees of faith and piety, as excited them to the most daring enterprises in the cause of God and of his people, and went a great way to their wonderful successes."

March 4. Abraham Pierson, Jr., Harvard College, 1668, is settled at Newark,† N. J., as colleague with his father, whom he began to assist in preaching, July 26, 1669. In 1673, Messrs. Jasper Crane, John Ogden, Robert Bond, Obadiah Brewen, and Abraham Pierson, "with many loving neighbors and friends," are recommended by Messrs. Samuel Willis and John Winthrop, to Sir George Cartaret, as emigrants to his Province.

* Prince's Introduction to Mason's Pequod War.

† Lambert's New Haven, p. 150. Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. 3 s. vol. x. p. 84.

April 27. The wife of Colonel Goffe, called by his political opponents a regicide, writes from London to him as at Hadley. She speaks of her sorrows through his absence, but of her consolation from the religion of Christ. She states as a fact of spiritual and mutual joy, that their daughter had recently united with a church. She mentions that supplies had been sent to him, and desires that when he and her father, Whalley, wished for more, she may be informed. Referring to the late allowance from the Crown for the silenced Congregational ministers to preach, she observes: "The people of God enjoy much liberty at present, but what the issue of it may be, the Lord knows." She cautions him about the contents of his letters directed to her, lest they may betray him. She observes: "I shall not cease to pray for you and all the people of the Lord with you, especially for those that show kindness to you, to whom I desire to be remembered, and return hearty thanks for all their great love."

September 6. The Commissioners* of the Confederation had paid James Fitch, of Norwich, £31 10s. for labors among the Mohegan Indians, being the amount of income from Mr. Mouthe's donation the past year, for so beneficent a purpose. They had appropriated £10 to well-deserving Indians, who assisted him in his missionary labors, and £10 to worthy Pequods and others near them. Gookin says of Fitch: "I heard that this good man doth put forth his utmost endeavors," so far as the duties of his congregation will allow, "to teach the Indians, and that some are hopefully coming on."

October 10. The General Court order a copy of their laws, being viewed and approved, to be printed.† Trumbull says that such acts had been kept hitherto in manuscript, and were made known by being publicly read in the respective towns. They were printed at Cambridge, early the next year, by Samuel Green. The Court, in their introduction to such a code, observe: "We have endeavored not only to ground our capital laws upon the Word of God, but also all our other laws upon due justice and equity, held forth in that Word which is a most perfect rule." They add: "Our whole aim in all, being to please and glorify God, to approve ourselves loyal subjects to our sovereign, and to promote the welfare of his people in all godliness and honesty, in peace, which will be the more establishing to his Majesty's crown and dignity, and best answer his religious direction in our Charter. And that pure religion and undefiled before God, according to the Gospel of our Lord Jesus, may be maintained amongst us, which was the end

* Hutchinson's Coll. p. 432.

† Hazard's Coll. vol. ii. p. 530, 1.

NOTE.—May 9. The Legislature grant to each County town in the Counties of Fairfield and New London, of New Haven and Hartford, six hundred acres of land for the sole use of a grammar-school forever.

1672.]

of the first planters who settled these foundations; and ought to be the endeavor of those that shall succeed to uphold and encourage unto all generations."

Under capital laws, idolatry, blasphemy, witchcraft, cursing or smiting a parent, and rebellion against father or mother, are punishable with death.

The laws against the Quakers and their books or manuscripts, "Ranters, Adamites or such like," are continued.

Those as to "embodying into church estate with consent of the General Court and neighboring churches," and allowance of "no ministry or church separate from and in opposition" to these, established in any town, except by the like approval, "on the penalty of five pounds for every breach of this order," are renewed. An exception to the last clause is, that orderly religious meetings may be held for fasts, conferences, etc., and particularly by such as are hindered from attending "the public assembly, by weather or water."

The Congregational mode of worship is approved, as heretofore. "But as sundry persons of worth for prudence and piety amongst us are otherwise persuaded," they "being approved according to law, as orthodox and sound in the fundamentals of Christian religion, may have allowance in their persuasion and profession in church ways or assemblies without disturbance."

For the first contempt shown to regular preachers and their doctrine, the offender shall be reprov'd and bound to good behavior; for the second, he shall "pay five pounds, or stand two hours openly upon a block or stool four feet high, upon a public meeting-day, with a paper fixed on his breast, written with capital letters, *An open and obstinate contemner of God's holy ordinances.*"

In any place of one hundred soldiers, twenty of them, in full armor, shall guard the meeting-house in all times of public worship, and in no place shall such a guard be less than eight soldiers and a sergeant.

Gaming with the "shuffle-board, cards, dice or tables," is prohibited on certain penalties. Whoever is found drunk in a private family shall pay 20/., and the head of the family where he is so discovered, shall pay 10/. Profanity shall be on penalty of 10/., or sitting in the stocks not less than an hour.

All persons who are able are required, as previously, to attend public worship on the Lord's day, and Fast and Thanksgiving days, and to cease from play and unnecessary work on the Sabbath, on penalty of 5/. for each trespass.

The civil authorities are empowered "to see the peace, ordinances and rules of Christ observed in every church according to his Word." They may deal with church members for offenses, in a legal manner, and churches may deal with them, as members thereof, for a like cause, in an ecclesiastical way.

With regard to the original proprietors of the soil, the authorities take the following action. "This Court, judging it meet that some means should be used to convey the knowledge of God and of his Word to the Indians and natives amongst us, do order that one or more of the teaching elders of the churches in this jurisdiction, with the help of an able interpreter, shall be desired as often as he may, in every year, to go amongst the neighboring Indians and endeavor to make known to them the counsels of the Lord, thereby to draw and stir them up to direct and order all their ways and conversations according to the rule of his Word; and the Governor and Deputy Governor, and other magistrates, are desired to take care to see the thing attended, and with their own presence, so far as may be convenient, to encourage the same."

All Indians who labor or play on the Sabbath within the Colony, "shall pay 5/., or sit in the stocks one hour." "No Indian shall at any time powow or perform outward worship to false gods or to the devil, within this jurisdiction, upon the penalty of five pounds by every such powow, and 20/ by every person of the age of twenty-one years, that shall countenance the same by his presence."

17. That the people might have the laws enacted for their benefit continually before them, the Court order that every family shall purchase a book containing them, and pay for it in silver or wheat. The constables of the several towns are required to see that this rule is observed. They set the price of the book at 12*d.* in silver, or one and a half pecks of wheat, or two-thirds of a bushel of peas, at 3*s.* a bushel.*

This year John Youngs, who became the minister of Southold, Long Island, under the protection of New Haven Colony, 1640, dies in that town, aged seventy-four years. He left wife, Mary, and sons, John, Thomas and Benjamin, and daughters. He came from Hingham, England, to help plant and spread the gospel in a new world, and he ever remained faithful to his sacred purpose.

Soon after his decease, his people sent messengers to Boston for a preacher, and returned with Joshua Hobart, who became their pastor. He was son of Rev. Peter Hobart, settled at Hingham, Massachusetts, born 1628, graduated at Harvard College, 1650, and had preached at Beverly and other places.†

1673. June 7. The following‡ is the contract of Uncas to hear the Gospel: "Be it known to all men, and in special to the authority of the Colony of Connecticut, That I, Uncas, Sachem of the Munheags, now resident in Pamechaug, doe by these presents firmly engage and binde myselfe, that I will from time to time and at all times hereafter, in a constant way and manner, attend upon

* Conn. Col. Rec.


† Thompson's Long Island, vol. i. p. 395.

‡ Coit Gilman's Discourse, p. 12, 13.

1674.]

Mr. James Fitch, Minister of Norwich, at all such seasons as he shall appoint for preaching to and praying with the Indians, either at my now residence, or wheresover els he shall appoint for that holy service; and further, I doe faithfully promis to command all my people to attend the same, in a constant way and solemm manner, at all such times as shall be sett by the sayd Mr. James Fitch, Minister; alsoe I promis, that I will not by any wayes or meanes what soe ever, either privatly or openly, use any plots or contriveances, by words or actions, to affright or discourage any of my people or others, from attending the good work aforesayd, upon penalty of suffering the most greivous punishment that can be inflicted upon me; and lastly, I promis to encourage all my people, by all good wayes and meanes I can, in the due observance of such directions and instructions, as shall be presented to them by the sayd Mr. James Fitch, aforesayd. And to the truth hereof, this seventh day of June, in the year one thousand six hundred seventy and three, I have hereunto set my hand or mark.

Witnessed by us,
John Tallcott,
Ths: Stanton, Ser.
Samuell Mason.

Mark
The  of Uncas,
of Uncas."

August 27. The Commissioners of the United Colonies* approve of the communication made by the Assembly to the Dutch on the 7th instant. They declare that according to their articles of confederation, they shall always "account the damage or spoil, done to any one member, as done to the whole, and are therefore firmly resolved, in confidence of divine assistance, accordingly to demean themselves."

October 18. The Assembly recommend to the churches and congregations "most seriously to bear on their hearts the troublesome and hazardous affairs and interests of the people of God throughout the world in general, and in particular our own nation, and to observe some day or days of humiliation and prayer this winter season."

In this year, the Rogereens, or followers of John Rogers, of New London, who worshiped on the first day of the week, but worked on it as other days, gave evidence of their persistency in such a persuasion.† James Rogers, Jr., for sailing in a vessel; Edward Stallion, for similar action, from New London to Norwich; and Steven Chalker, for driving cattle on the Lord's day, are fined, the first 20/., the second 40/., and the third 20/.

1674. April 22. Nicholas Street, who came from Taunton to New Haven, and after preaching as a candidate, was installed colleague to John Davenport, 26th of November, 1659, is summoned to close his life. His first wife was sister to Elizabeth Poole, one

* Conn. Col. Rec. Appendix, p. 563. † Caulkins's New London, p. 251.

of the principal founders of Taunton. His second wife was the widow of Governor Newman. Of his children were one son and four daughters, all married. His "Considerations upon the Seven Propositions concluded by the Synod," and published as an appendix to Davenport's work on the same subject, "shows great clearness of thought." With reference to such a publication, Mr. Street wrote a letter, in the Mather papers, to Samuel Bache, of Boston, dated 15th of May, 1666, and expressed himself as follows: "I had never a stronger bent in my spirit to any undertaking and had a great conflict upon some account, too large to write, which did drive me to God to seek direction, guidance and help of Him, without which I can do nothing, being nothing in and of myself, and He hath graciously answered me.—If I could call any thing that came from me, the child of my prayers and tears, I can this." Mr. Street being chosen by the New Haven church successor to Mr. Hooke and colleague to Mr. Davenport, strongly indicated that he was accounted as of more than ordinary talents, knowledge and piety. From his composition, he evidently cherished the motives commended by Christ, and which led him to a faithful compliance with his commission to preach the gospel.

May 14. The General Assembly of Connecticut begin their session. James Fitch, of Norwich, preaches the Election Sermon. The text was Zechariah ii. 5,—and the doctrine, "When the Lord is the glory in the midst of the people, then he will be a wall of fire round about them." An address to the reader is signed by John Whiting and Joseph Haines. "The great work still remains, that we believe in earnest, and demean ourselves as believing, that our all is in the hand of God. In respect of glory and defense, we stand and fall therein, as his pleasure is to deal with us." The preacher remarks: "We live in perilous days. Are some storms blown over? Worse than those may soon come upon New England. Will the Lord be a pillar of fire round about New England? The answer to this question depends upon an answer to another question, Whether the Lord be the glory in the midst of his churches in New England? Let us call to mind the first glory in the first planting of New England, and of the churches here. Let me say multitudes, multitudes were converted to thee, even to thee, O Hartford, to thee, O New Haven, and to thee, O Windsor, and the same may be said of many churches of Christ in New England. The Lord will not be engaged to defend us, if we do not keep his glory in the midst of us. He will not account it honorable to keep house, if the house be filled only or principally with vessels of dishonor and reproach. Let us consider, by way of comfort to those who are faithful in this matter of holding up his glory among them, according to the measure of their abilities and opportunities, in public or private occasions or concernments: the Lord knows

1674.]

you have a hard work in hand, and much opposition from without and within, but this is your comfort, the Lord is your defense."

As a matter suited to diminish their anxiety, and increase their hope for the church, the Assembly* had news from Massachusetts, that peace had taken place between the English and Dutch.

19. Southampton, Easthampton and Southold, on the East end of Long Island, who had been assisted by Connecticut against the attacks of the Dutch, desire to remain under their jurisdiction, and are allowed; and twenty Commissioners are appointed to keep a County Court among them.

22. The Court request Eliphalet Joanes to dispense the gospel to the people of Rye, once a fortnight, on the Lord's day, till their session in October, when they will make further provision.† He was presented for a freeman of Fairfield, May 13, 1669.

According to a petition of Wickford,‡ the Assembly order that government be settled there and other places where needed, and "throughout New London County and the Narragansett" territory, that the people there "might not live in dissolute practice, to the dishonor of God, of the king and nation, and to the scandalizing of the very heathen."

In this month, Zachariah Walker and his supporters move§ from Stratford and settle at Paumperaug, called Woodbury, and are released from rates four years, as they had been already two. Thus a quietus is given to the protracted troubles in the former town. He and Mr. Chauncy afterwards apologized to each other for faults in their controversy, and so far as brought to act in concert, they did it with brotherly affection.

September. Robert Fordham dies.|| He was the second minister of Southampton, under the jurisdiction of Connecticut and situated on Long Island. His wife's name was Elizabeth. He left several children, of whom was Jonah, minister awhile at Hempstead. "Traditions," as Thompson observes, "prove that he possessed an amiable disposition, a character unexceptionable, and in the discharge of his pastoral duties, gave general satisfaction."

September 15. Messrs. John Eliot and Daniel Gookin, on a visit to Indian settlements, under Christian instruction, reach one of two such places in Woodstock, then in Massachusetts, but subsequently in Connecticut. One of them had one hundred, and the other one hundred and fifty inhabitants. For the former, they appoint Daniel, a young man from Natick, as a minister. At the latter, Sampson, from Hassanamesitt, preached the gospel.¶ The visitors spent the greater part of the night at the Sagamore's wigwam, where some of the principal people assembled in prayer,

* Conn. Col. Rec. † Conn. Gen. Ct. Rec. ‡ Trumbull, vol. i. p. 341.

§ Conn. Col. Rec. Trumbull, vol. i. p. 490, 1. ¶ Thompson's L. I. vol. i. p. 337, 8.

¶ Gookin's Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. 1 s. vol. i. p. 190, 2.

singing psalms and exhortation. A person present, who had said nothing, broke silence and remarked that he was a messenger from Uncas, sachem of Mohegan, who claimed jurisdiction over Wab-quissit, where they were, and who was "not well pleased that the English should pass over Mohegan river, to call his Indians to pray to God." Mr. Eliot replied that his duty was to preach the gospel wherever he had opportunity, especially to Indians; that he had no design to meddle with civil jurisdiction. Mr. Gookin observed that Massachusetts included the place, but had neither taxed the people, nor purposed to prevent the payment of tribute, which they might justly owe any sachem; and that their chief object was to have them taught in gospel doctrines, forsake their iniquities, and become the followers of Christ. On the 16th, as soon as the Indians assembled, Sampson read from the Bible, and then set a Psalm, which was sung. Mr. Eliot preached from Mat. vi. 33: "Seek first the kingdom of heaven, and the righteousness thereof, and all other things shall be added unto you." The services were closed with prayer.

Immediately after this, Mr. Gookin opened a court, confirmed Sampson as their teacher, and Black James as their constable, and exhorted them to be faithful in their offices. He addressed the people on the importance of obeying the gospel. He read a warrant for the constable to "suppress drunkenness, Sabbath-breaking, powowing and idolatry." Then Messrs. Eliot and Gookin left.

October 8. The General Court allow* Joshua, sachem of Nyantick, to buy two horses, one for himself and another for his interpreter, so that he may attend the meetings of Mr. Fitch.

A Committee of the Court are to try for an adjustment of difficulties between Samuel Wakeman and his people of Fairfield, and obtainment of a minister for Rye.

In the close of this year, James Rogers, of New London,† invited Mr. Crandal, a Seventh-day Baptist, to come from Westerly and preach, which he did, and baptized John and James, sons of the former, and Japheth, an Indian. Mr. Bradstreet, minister of Newport, used endeavors to counteract such a procedure.

31. Commissioned by the Duke of York as Governor of his territory bordering on Connecticut, and, by claim of his Patent, running upon it, Edmund Andros enters‡ on the duties of his office. Here was occasion of fear and dread lest the circumstances under which Andros became such a neighbor, would result, as they subsequently did, in very perilous difficulties.

November 20. Daniel Gookin introduces a letter from the Rev. James Fitch, Senior, to him,§ concerning missionary labors. The writer observes that the Indians of Connecticut and Long Island

* Conn. Col. Rec. † Backus, i. 475. ‡ Wood's Long Island, p. 98, 9.
§ Gookin's Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. 1 s. vol. i. p. 208, 9.

1674.]

have no "inclination to hear the knowledge of God," and that Mr. Pierson formerly, after frequent trials, met with similar discouragement. He states, with regard to himself, that his first attempt to evangelize some of them was at Moheek, "where Uncas, his son, and Wanuho, are sachems;" and that these chiefs attended on his instructions until they perceived that Christianity was something more than mere form, and required the surrender of their idols and tyrannical powers; and that they then became the violent persecutors of those among them who met to hear the teachings of Christianity. He further relates that notwithstanding such opposition, a few had waited on his ministrations, "about one year and a half," and that they had increased to above thirty adults; and that he had begun to teach their children.*

Samuel, son of Nicholas Street, H. C., 1664, who began to preach at Wallingford, 1674, is ordained here. He married Anna Miles, Nov. 3, 1664, and subsequently, Mardlin Daniels and Hannah Glover, by all of whom he had eleven children. In connection with the ordination of Mr. Street, Trumbull remarks:* "The Committee of New Haven for settling the Town of Wallingford, which was settled 1669, for the safety of the church obliged the undertakers and all the successive planters to subscribe the following engagement, viz.:"—"He or they shall not by any means disturb the church, when settled there, in their choice of minister or ministers or other church officers; or in any other church rights, liberties or administrations; nor shall withdraw due maintenance from such ministry."—"This shows how strongly the churches in this part of the Colony were at that time opposed to towns and parishes' having anything to do in the choice of a minister, or in any church affairs."†

* Gookin's Coll. Mass. His.. Soc. Coll. 1 s. vol. iv. p. 208, 9.

† Rev. Dr. Dana's Centennial Sermon. Trumbull, vol. i. p. 521.

CHAPTER X.

MASSACHUSETTS. Nicholet Troubles. — Sausaman murdered. — College Difficulties. — Patent in Peril. — Papacy in England. — Publications. — Waban's Suspicion. — Oakes. — Election Sermon. — Prelatical Principles. — Witchcraft. — Philip begins Hostilities. — Artillery Election Sermon. — Baptists. — Christian Indians. — Quakers. — Captive Indians as Slaves. — Reformation. — Fast. — Praying Indians. — Public Sins. — Death of Hoar. — Andros. — Extent of Indian Conspiracy. — Eliot to Boyle. — Different Colonists. — Jesuits. — Designs of Philip. — Mary Rowlandson captured. — Military Power against Civil Power. — Renewal of Covenant. — Samuel Willard. — Samuel Nowell. — Edward Taylor. — Impression of Piety. — Peter Folger. — Hubbard's Election Sermon. — Prejudice against Christian Indians lessened. — Insanity. — The French help Hostile Indians. — William Turner. — Hope Atherton. — Women build a Fortification. — Enemy discouraged. — Women kill Two Indians. — Quakers. — Randolph. — Reply of Elders. — Christian Indians murdered. — Philip killed. — Losses in the War. — Address to the King. — Captives to be transported. — Randolph's Statement. — Account of Praying Indians. — Provisions from Ireland. — Publication. — Baptists. — Indian Preacher. — Christian Indians at the Vineyard. — Mohawks. — Irish Charity. — Mission. — Thomas Parker. — Sympathy for New England — John Fisk. — Settlement of Indian Children. — Tythingmen. — Andros's Rule of Nantucket. — Edmund Brown. — Committee in London for Harvard College. — Quakers. — Patent imperiled. — Letters. — Election Discourse. — Church Matters. — Indians. — History. — Mohawks. — Difficulty with the Crown. — Irregular Church. — Waban. — Boyle addressed. — Branch Church. — Thomas Shepard dies. — Papal Plot. — Question. — Regal Interrogatories. — Joseph Brown dies. — Captives. — Council. — Oath. — Address to the King. — Thomas Thacher dies. — Church Relation. — Publications. PLYMOUTH. Divorce. — Baptism. — Blackstone. — Sausamon. — Hicks. — Letters of Winslow. — Report on Hostilities. — Cudworth restored. — John Holmes and Thomas Tupper die. — Hospitality. — Right as to Indian land. — Renewal of Covenants. — General Governor. — Indian Captives. — Squaw Weetamore. — Philip. — His Son. — Quakers. — Irish Charity. — Witchcraft. — Election Sermon. — Toleration. — Violation of Sabbath. — Baptists. — Railing. — Temperance. — Support of Ministers. — Grammar School. — Death of Samuel Newman. — Quakers' Memorial. — Colony to help pay Salary of Ministers. — Oath of Fidelity. — Profanity. — Self-marriage. — Death of Nicholas Baker. — Baptism. — Thomas Thornton. MAINE. Gorges' Claim. — Court. — Plantation. — Catechism. — Indians sold. — Disaster. — Language to the King. — Mugg. — Peace. — Enemy. — False Accusation. — Andros. — Purchase of Maine. — St. Castine. NEW HAMPSHIRE. Indians to be shipped off. — Episcopalians. — Randolph rebuked. — Protection to the Colony. — Decision of Mason's Claim. — Peace. — Mis-statement. RHODE ISLAND.

1675.]

Philip's People. — Opposed to Christianity. — Hostilities. — Habbakuk Glover. — Quakers. — Defense. — John Clark dies. — Contributions. — Bearing Arms. — Captives sold. — Fox Controversy. — Trouble with Connecticut. — Market-day. — Arbitration. — Military Duty. — Reply of Court. — Coddington to Fox. — Samuel Gorton's Death. — Quakers. — Rogerenes imprisoned. — Divorce. — Smith's Petition. — Holden and Green's Communication. — Publication. CONNECTICUT. Rogers Family. — Renewal of Covenants. — Plantation. — Church granted. — Pequods. — Insurgents. — Andros resisted. — Fast. — Religion for Troops. — Thomas James. — Montauk Indians. — Negligent Families. — Indian Confederacy. — Chaplains. — Convention. — Army Rules. — Maquas. — Thanksgiving. — Gov. Winthrop dies. — Collections. — Fast. — Covenant. — Captives. — Saturday and Sunday Nights. — Irreligious Families. — Contributions. — Divorce. — Indians sold. — Irish Charity. — Mohawks. — Parish Taxes for Salary. — Election Sermon. — Schools. — Fast. — Missionaries for New York. — Noadiah Russell. — Law of Divorcement. — Families settled together. — Rogerenes. — Uncas. — Seventh-day Baptists. — Joseph Rowlandson dies.

MASSACHUSETTS.

1675. January 18. A letter from the Governor and Council is read to the Salem church.* It proposes to ask advice of churches concerning the difficulties occasioned by the continuance of Mr. Nicholet. Most of the brethren thought it best to comply. The church agreed on the 18th of February, as a day of humiliation, to seek divine guidance, when Messrs. Higginson and Nicholet performed the services.

February. "A report is come† as if John Sausaman was murdered. He was one of the Indian preachers, of excellent parts, and as Mr. Eliot thinks, a sincere convert."

13. There was a fast‡ at Samuel Moody's, of Newbury, principally on occasion of his sickness. Whereat were present Messrs. Woodbridge, Phillips, Moody, Remor and Richardson. "The three first seemed to be very sensible of the state of things, and of the plots of papists, atheists, etc."

February 19. Mr. Higginson excepts against the doctrine and practice of Mr. Nicholet, his colleague, who makes some explanation and concessions, which are accepted as satisfactory.

March 19. John Collins, of London,§ writes to Governor Levett. He mentions the different reports which have reached him as to President Hoar, of the College, and that he had chosen the medium of them as his opinion. He says: "My only concern in this business is to sympathize with the broken state of that once flourishing house, to beg God a revival of the work, and all else in which his glory is concerned, in the midst of the years, and to mourn over that disunited spirit amongst God's people, which

* Salem First Ch. Rec.

† Sewall's Diary.

† Increase Mather's Diary.

§ Hutchinson's Coll.

appears in this matter and all others." He again mentions, that a petition is before the King to buy Maine and New Hampshire for the Duke of Monmouth. He says that there had been a determination to send a Commissioner over to Massachusetts, backed "with some force," but the lack of money will hinder the project, as he thinks, for the next summer; that the King will send the authorities here a letter, requiring them to answer complaints. He remarks: "I fear that which is aimed at is to call your Patent to a strict account, upon what terms you hold it; you would do well to be in preparation for it, especially to make good your title to that part of your government." By the last clause the writer evidently means Maine and New Hampshire. He states that money, by way of presents, would help their cause at Court in London. He designates Major Robert Thomson, concerned in the East India Company, as having access there, and able to dispose of the money, in his hands, to the benefit of the Colony. He observes that he has been to Whitehall but twice in two years, and adds, "Persecution is pretty hot, and if it goes on I may expect a prison for my living in town." As to an invitation from Governor Leverett, to renew his abode in New England, he suggests that it is all uncertain. He relates that the King, through the persuasion of Bishops, had withdrawn his toleration, by licenses, from the non-conformists, "and together with hot persecution of the Papists, left us also a very troublesome persecution, wherein many are spoiled of their goods, several imprisoned; several returned upon 20/. a month into the exchequer, to their utter undoing. All things here threaten a storm a-coming upon us. Holland's condition yet distracted. The Protestants every where sufferers, and yet the Popish swords drawn one against another."

With regard to the Romanists of England, the life of Bishop Hen has the ensuing passages, under the date of 1675. Charles II. would have conformed to Rome, "could he have dared. To save appearances, he was often compelled to proclaim severe penalties against Romanists; but they were negligently enforced. He had long been a pensioner of Louis XIV., to whom he had bound himself by secret Treaty, for the restoration of Popery in England. Whenever his personal necessities were most urgent, he applied to Louis for fresh advances, under plea that the interests of the Catholic Church required such aid." At the same time, a letter from Coleman, a Jesuit in London, to M. La Chaise, holds the subsequent language: "We have here a mighty work on our hands; no less than the conversion of three Kingdoms; and by that, perhaps, the subduing a pestilent heresy, which has domineered over part of this Northern world a long time. There were never such hopes of success, since the death of our Queen Mary, as now in our days, when God has given us a Prince, who is become zealous of being the author and instrument of so glorious a work."

1675.]

April 1. This is the date of a preface, by his son Cotton, to the discourse of Increase Mather, "concerning the subject of baptism, wherein the present controversies in New England are inquired into." He also published this year, with its preface, another discourse, dated May 1, 1671, entitled, "The first principles of New England concerning the subject of baptism and communion of churches." These productions show his strong belief in favor of the half-way Covenant, though at first he was among its strenuous opposers. In a postscript of the latter work is a suggestion of the Rev. John Allin, of Dedham, that it be published as a means of waking up attention to the children of the church, and to the deficiency of ecclesiastical consociation.

In the fore part of this month, Waban, the chief ruler among the praying Indians of Natick, came and told one of the magistrates, that he had reason to apprehend that Philip, Sachem of the Wampanoags, and others, his confederates, would again soon exhibit their resentments, and commence hostilities upon the English and Christian Indians. Such caution he and other praying Indians repeated a few weeks afterwards.

May 12. The Legislature observe* as to the election of Urian Oakes, as successor to Dr. Hoar, which took place on the day of the latter's resignation, that they declare their hearty consent and "earnestly desire his acceptance thereof, and continuance therein, that there may be a revival of that Society unto the glory of God, and the public weal of these churches so much concerned therein." The President of the College is allowed £100 a year for his services. Mr. Oakes, however, did not accept the Presidency, but agreed to superintend the College, which he did four years.

The Rev. Mr. Torrey is granted £5 for the charge of printing his Election sermon.

Deacon John Cooper and Mr. William Manning "are betruſted for the College work or edifice at Cambridge." The towns behind in payment of their subscriptions for this building, are desired to bring them in, and the towns which have not subscribed, should be stirred up to "so pious and necessary a work." For this object, letters are ordered for all the ministers.

The Rev. James Allen, teacher of the First church in Boston, is appointed to succeed his colleague, John Oxenbridge, as a licenser of the press.

The Court desire a copy of "the elaborate and seasonable discourse of the Rev. Joshua Moody," on Election day, for the press.

Petitions and remonstrances from the parties in Salem, one sustaining Mr. Higginson, and the other Mr. Nicholet, are considered, and a committee of Governor Leverett, Deputy Governor Symonds and others, chosen to visit that place and endeavor to reconcile differences.

* Mass. Gen. Ct. Rec.

Mr. Graves appears as deputy in General Court* from Charels-town, but they refuse to allow him a seat with them, because they suspect that he is "prelatical in his principles." He will not satisfy them on this point. His constituents petition for him, but in vain.

13. Arraigned before the Court of Assistants in Boston, on the charge of witchcraft,† Mary, the wife of Joseph Parsons, having been before the County Court, sitting at Northampton, is cleared by the Jury and discharged.

June 8. The Legislative Committee visit Salem.‡ Their report is dated the 10th. They regret the contention which existed. They declare the manner of calling and settling Mr. Nicholet, by a promiscuous vote of the town, very irregular and contrary to all known, wholesome laws of the Colony, and of a tendency dangerous to both church and state. They advise that the church and town observe a day of fasting and prayer, and settle their differences; that the ministry be carried on by Messrs. Higginson and Nicholet together; and that when another society shall be formed, it should be done with harmony. "At the same time the committee were in session, news came that Philip and the Indians had begun war with the English."

Thus Philip embarks in a contest of prospective extermination to the national relations either of himself and allies, or of his opponents. Of the chief inducements which led him and other Sachems to favor such a purpose, was their dread lest Christianity should spread through their territories and draw their own subjects over to English influence, and thus destroy their existence as heathen tribes.

It appears from the acknowledgment of Indians about Hadley, that from 1671 to 1674, Philip, who had previously broken his covenant with Plymouth, was exerting himself to unite all the Indians of such territory, to overthrow the English. The Narragansetts had engaged to supply four thousand men for this purpose. The project was not to commence the insurrection till the spring of 1676. But Philip prematurely began it by his causing the death of John Sausaman. Had we time, we might narrate the interesting, though very sad events of the warfare in particular detail, as collected. But the need of room and the nature of our subject, allow nothing more than general notices. The assault upon Rehoboth, on the 24th of June, immediately brought the forces of Massachusetts and Plymouth to the scene of carnage. By the 28th, they made their head-quarters at the house of Mr. Miles, the minister of Swanzy. They sent a small detachment of horsemen across the bridge, who were immediately met with ambush volleys of shot. The next morning they drove the Indians to a swamp, whither Philip and the residents at Mount Hope sought refuge

* Inc. Mather's Diary.

† Ct. of Ass'ts Rec.

‡ Salem First Ch. Rec.

1675.]

when night came. These two skirmishes were attended with some loss of life on both sides.

While in this expedition, the praying Indians employed in it, behaved valiantly and faithfully. Thomas Quannapohutt, John Hunter and Felix, were rewarded by Governor Leverett for slaying four of the enemy, and Nesutan, a good linguist, who was of great help to Mr. Eliot in the translation of the Bible and other religious books, was killed in this campaign. These and other Indians, who had professed attachment to the gospel, were highly approved by their chief commander. Still, many of the English soldiers were suspicious of their fidelity and strongly prejudiced against them which operated unfavorably to such Christian natives.

10. John Richardson, of Newbury, preaches the Artillery Election sermon. The text was II Samuel i. 18,—and subject, “The necessity of a well experienced soldiery, or a Christian commonwealth ought to be well instructed in the military art.” The introduction says: “Wars are in the same nature with offenses; *necesse est ut veniant*, they must be, though there be a *væ inducenti*, a woe to him, that is the unjust cause of them.” The close remarks: “Though your present exercise be a matter of sport in a sense, yet it tends to solemn execution. You may be called to be in good earnest. Thou knowest not how soon orders may come from the Lord of hosts, for thy sudden march, and then there will be no time to get any skill to defend thyself. You are now, as it were, in garrison, but you may very quickly be in the field, perhaps in Aceldama, a field of blood, where you shall not want for an enemy, but find one; not one it may be, but many. You are most likely, having followed God’s order, to have his presence with you, and protection over you. He delights in those that are like himself.”

15. John Wilson, Sen., and John Wilson, Jr., and their wives, Henry Sumers and wife, Caleb Farlow and Hopestill Foster, are admonished by the Middlesex Court,* and required to pay costs. The following persons are fined from £1 to £5 and costs, by the same authority, for neglect of allowed worship on Fast, Thanksgiving and Sabbath days. Thomas Foster, John Russell, Sen., John Russell, Jr., Benanuel Bowers, Thomas Osborn and John Johnson. All these individuals were so dealt with, because they worshiped with the Baptist Society, now of Boston.

July. The Christian Indians of Punkapog brought before the Council at Boston several of the enemy, whom they had captured, and particularly a noted one, called Drummer, who lived near Taunton.

14. Governor Andros notifies the Vineyard and Nantucket,† as subject to his jurisdiction, that he has sent them match, muskets and powder, to help defend them against hostile Indians.

* Middlesex Ct. Rec.

† Easton’s Philip’s War, p. 57.

By this time, Christian Indians* from Hassanamesitt, Magunkoag, Manchage (Oxford), and Chobonokum (Dudley), had joined others of their profession at Marlborough, so as to make forty men, besides women and children. These men built a fort near the meeting-house of the English residents, intending thereby to defend themselves and neighbors, as well as be under the protection of the latter. As an expression of their fidelity they took part in a scouting expedition, helped to capture seven strange Indians, who were supposed to be enemies, but were finally released.

15. As the Narragansetts, who had agreed to join in the revolt of Philip, and to whom this chief and his people had sent their women and children for protection, were surprised by his commencement of it sooner than they expected, they were unprepared to take the field in his behalf. The Colonies of Massachusetts and Connecticut purposed to keep them in check, as much as possible, by a new treaty.† Therefore the main part of the army at Mount Hope was marched into their country. Under the date given, a covenant is made between six of their Sachems and Thomas Savage, Edward Hutchinson and Joseph Dudley, for the Bay; Wait Winthrop and Richard Smith, for Connecticut. Plymouth, as a member of the Union, had part in this contract.

While the negotiation proceeded,‡ Potuche, the agent of the Narragansetts, endeavored that one condition of the English should be, that they abstain from sending any missionaries among them, "to preach the gospel or call on them to pray to God." But this proposition was decidedly rejected.

August 1. Hostilities were continued, and so carried on by the commanders of the English, of whom Benjamin Church gave prominent proofs of his extraordinary valor, that Philip and his forces feel compelled to retreat. Being the Sabbath, an alarm is given, that the Sachem and his followers are escaping. The Colonists who could be mustered from Rehoboth, led on by their minister, Mr. Newman, and the adjacent towns, with Mohegans, who had come to assist our forces, and Naticks, went in pursuit. They reached the fugitives at ten o'clock, forenoon, who lost about thirty of their number, with little loss to the pursuers, and took up their quarters with the Nipmucks in a swamp, about ten miles from Brookfield.§

The church of Salem agree to use the Bay Psalm Book|| six months on trial.

9. The following persons¶ are apprehended in Boston for holding a Quaker meeting. Robert Edmands, Edward Shippe, (Shippen,) John Soames, George Walker, Jeremiah Deble, George

* Gookin's Christian Indians. Am. Antiq. Soc. vol. ii. p. 443.

† Hubbard's Ind. Wars, p. 80-4. ‡ Gookin. Am. Antiq. Soc. vol. ii. p. 439.

§ Gookin's Hist. of Indians, p. 445, 6.

|| Salem Ch. Rec.

¶ Moses Brown's MS. Letter.

1675.]

Danson, Miles Foster, Thomas Scott, Humphrey Hodges, William Neal, Bridget Phillips, Ephraim Stratton, Elizabeth Bowers, Sen. and Jr. Of these fourteen, two paid their fines, and as the rest would not, they were whipped. A part of these and others were whipped for attending a similar meeting, which came next in course.

13. John Eliot offers a petition to the Governor and Council, a large part of it as follows: "The terror of selling away such Indians unto the Islands for perpetual slaves, who shall yield up themselves to mercy, is like to be an effectual prolongation of the war, and such an exasperation of them as may produce we know not what evil consequences upon the land. Christ hath said, Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy. This usage of them is worse than death. The design of Christ in these last days, is not to extirpate nations, but to gospelize them. His sovereign hand and grace have brought the gospel into these dark places of the earth. When we came, we declared to the world and it is recorded, yea we are engaged by our letters patent from the King's Majesty, that the endeavor of the Indians' conversion, not their extirpation, was one great end of our enterprise, in coming to these ends of the earth. The Lord hath so succeeded that work, as that (by his grace) they have the Holy Scriptures and sundry of themselves able to teach their countrymen the good knowledge of God. And, however some of them have refused to receive the gospel and are now incensed in their spirits unto a war against the English, yet I doubt not but the meaning of Christ is to open a door for the free passage of the gospel among them. My humble request is that you would follow Christ's design in this matter, to promote the free passage of religion among them, and not to destroy them. To sell souls for money, seemeth to me a dangerous merchandize. To sell them away from all means of grace, when Christ hath provided means of grace for them, is the way for us to be active in the destroying of their souls."

28. The Governor and Council write to the like officers in Connecticut, desiring that they would send forward their troops to assist those under Major Pynchon. They remark that their forces "have been under some humbling frowns of God, permitting the Indians there to wax proud and more insolent. How necessary in such a day, the common safety and interest of the people of God were by joint and united counsels considered of and carried an end." They then state that for such a purpose, Commissioners from Plymouth had been to Boston and waited for those of Connecticut, and would come again when they would meet them.

30. In consequence of the strong prejudice* which the generality of the Colonists had imbibed against the Christian Indians,

* Gookin's Christian Indians, p. 450-4.

because Philip and his allies were set upon the ruin of the former, the Governor and Council order all the friendly Indians in Massachusetts, who reside at Natick, Punquapog, Nashobah, Wamesit and Hassanamesitt, to confine themselves within one mile from the centre of their respective towns. All others who do not reside in such places, are required to take up their abode in some one of them. This injunction prevented the Christian Indians from hunting, looking after their cattle and swine, gathering their corn and laboring among the English, and thus subjected them to much suffering for lack of food. Two or three superintendents were ordered to live in every Indian town. Two only, however, fully complied with the order. They were John Watson, Sen., and Henry Prentice, of Cambridge, who resided twelve weeks at Natick and spoke highly of the Indians there.

Instigated by persons who had no good will for the Christian Indians,* Capt. Samuel Mosely sent fifteen of the latter, the most of whom lived at Okonkomesitt, near Marlborough, and had faithfully served on the side of the English, pinioned and fastened with lines from neck to neck, under a guard of soldiers, down to Boston. Among these prisoners were Abraham Spene and John Choo, who belonged to Natick and were of excellent character. Such an act was done, through the false accusation of an Indian called David, who, to save his life when bound to be shot, charged eleven of the prisoners with murdering seven English people on the 22d of August, at Lancaster. At their trial, the prisoners proved that on this very day they were at worship the whole of the Sabbath, in their fort at Marlborough. Ten of them were acquitted. The other, James Spoonant, was tried by another jury, who brought him in as accessory to the murder, of whom Gookin remarked: "Upon what ground" they "went, I know not; but the man was sold for a slave, and sent out of the country." David, on suspicion of shooting an Irish boy at Marlborough and falsely accusing the Christian Indians who were cleared, was similarly sentenced. However the persons thus declared to be innocent, were entitled to their liberty, yet when it was known that the most of them were let out of prison by one or two at a time, in the night, there was much excitement. About forty persons collected in Boston, at nine o'clock in the evening, September 10, called on Captain James Oliver, and requested him to head them for the purpose of breaking open the prison and hanging one of the Indians, who remained there. But the Captain would listen to no such wish, and he drove the leaders of the mob from his house. This was one of the many instances in which Indians who had chosen the religion of the Colonists and were ready to hazard life for their defense, were unrighteously suspected and badly treated. With reference to this

* Gookin's Christian Indians, p. 455, 6.

1675.]

subject, Gookin observed: "But some that were more considerate, serious and pious, had their hearts exercised with tremblings in prayer all this time, lest the wind of temptations might blow so hard as to drive the judges and jurors upon the rock of bringing blood upon the land, which, blessed be God, was prevented in this matter."

The day previous to the seizure of the Indians at Marlborough, Lieut. Ruddock, of that place, took twenty-three guns and ammunition from them and their brethren. Thus he gave them plain intimation that they were accounted altogether unworthy of confidence.

September 1. Philip and his allies attack Deerfield,* burning seventeen of its dwellings, and kill James Eggleston. On the same day, being Sabbath, they appeared at Hadley while the people were at worship. The alarm being given, the assembly were in great consternation. At this juncture, a gentleman of venerable appearance was seen among them. He restored order, headed the men, drove the enemy from the town and disappeared. For a time, the people supposed that he was an angel sent from heaven for their deliverance. It was General Goffe. At that time he had a secret residence in Hadley. He, Whalley and Dixwell, fled hither to avoid death, believed that the execution of the late King's judges was *the slaying of the witnesses* in Revelation, and were much disappointed when 1666 passed without any remarkable occurrence, and they still hoped that there was some mistake in the chronology so as to allow their expectation.

9. The serious aspect of the war with the Indians, who opposed Christianity and its professors, called the Commissioners of the United Colonies together at Boston. They declare it "a defensive war, just and necessary." They order 1,000 men to be raised; 527 from Massachusetts, 158 from Plymouth, and 315 from Connecticut.

12. After this, a correspondent† from the West of Massachusetts writes to Increase Mather: "I desire you to speak to the Governor, that there may be thorough care for a reformation. I am sensible there are many difficulties therein. Many sins are grown so in fashion, that it becomes a question whether they be sins or no. I desire you would especially mention oppression; that intolerable pride in clothes and hair; the toleration of so many taverns, especially in Boston, and suffering home dwellers to be tippling in them. It would be a dreadful token of the displeasure of God, if these afflictions pass away without much spiritual advantage."

17. The Governor and Council,‡ in view of various considerations, as the "ill entertainment of the ministry of the precious

* Williams's Redeemed Captive. Stiles's Judges, 189. Grahame's U. S. vol. i. p. 466. † Hazard, vol. ii. p. 535. ‡ In Mather's Ind. Wars, p. 11, 15.

gospel; the apostasy of many from the truth unto heresies and pernicious errors; great formality, inordinate affection, and sinful conformity to this present evil world. And (besides many scandalous sins breaking forth among us) our great insensibleness of the displeasure of the Lord in suffering these abominations to be perpetuated; together with our carnal security and unquietness under the judgments of God upon us,—we having greatly incensed him to stir up many adversaries against us, not only abroad, but also at our own door, causing the heathen in this wilderness to be a thorn in our sides,”—do—“being under the sense of these evils, and also the distressed state of the rest of the Colonies confederate with ourselves, and of the churches of Christ in other parts of the world in this day of trouble, rebukes and blasphemy; and fearing the sad issue thereof, unless the Lord help us with our whole heart, and not feignedly, to turn unto himself—appoint the seventh day of the next month to be a day of public humiliation, with fasting and prayer throughout this whole Colony.”

28. Governor Andros and Council, of New York, consider a letter brought by an express from Nantucket,* stating their weakness, and the great strength of the Indians there and on Martin's Vineyard; “not above forty men at the latter, and thirty on the former, capable of bearing arms. On Nantucket, the Indian men five or six hundred; not so many on Martin's Vineyard.” Andros and Council resolve to send each of the Islands a great gun—“and the Proclamation concerning the Indians, of keeping watches, erecting block-houses, etc.”

30. This week, somebody in the night-time erected a pillar over the Quakers' graves (who were hanged), under the gallows, and wrote: “Here lie the bodies of such and such, their souls triumphing in their blood, crying for vengeance.”†

Soon after November 3, Thomas Corwin and wife are taken from a place of meeting, (in Boston,) confined in the house of correction, and two days after are whipped, and the next day set at liberty. Besse‡ remarks that the people were so afflicted with the Indian war, they had no heart for further proceedings against these two Quakers. Next January 14, Robert Ford, of these people, nailed a note on the meeting-house doors of the same place, declaring that the ruin of it was at hand. July 8, a woman of them, dressed frightfully, came into the same place of worship and terrified several females into fits, one of whom died.§ On the 15th, a man went through the town, crying, Repent.

October 1. The Council had ordered Lieut. Thomas Henchman, of Chelmsford,|| to dispatch messengers to Wannalancet, Sachem of Naamhok, who, to avoid collision with the English, had retired,

* Nantucket Papers, p. 88, 9. † In Mather's Diary. ‡ Besse, vol. ii. p. 259.

§ Sewall's Diary.

|| Gookin's Christian Indians, p. 462, 3.

1675.]

about six weeks, with the remainder of his people, being one hundred, to the Pennicooks. Now, aware of the enemy's success at Sugar Hill; at Deerfield, September 1; at Northfield, over the forces under Capt. Beers; and then over those commanded by Capt. Lothrop, the Council sign a pass for this chief to meet Messrs. Eliot and Gookin at Lieut. Henchman's house. The Messengers could not meet him, and therefore they sent to him. But he well knew the jealousy of the English in general, relative to the Christian Indians, with whom he was worthily numbered; and hence he declined to comply, moved further off, and took his quarters about the head of the Connecticut, where was very good hunting.

While he and his company were at Pennicook, it was erroneously reported that a body of strange Indians had been discovered thereabouts. Captain Mosely and one hundred men went in pursuit. When this commander approached, Wannalancet and his people left their fort and retired to the woods and swamps. This Sachem had opportunity to have wounded and killed many of the English, and his young men were very desirous to do it, because the latter burnt their wigwams and destroyed their dried fish, but he suffered not a gun to be discharged. He had made a covenant to keep peace with Massachusetts, and he faithfully kept his pledge.

4. The Christian Indians, when retiring from Hassanamesitt, Manchaug and Chabanakongkomam, as ordered, left a considerable quantity of corn, wigwams and other things, which are now mostly destroyed by some of the English soldiers, passing that way, though expressly ordered not to spoil such property.*

8. Among the charities disbursed at this period, the First church of Salem give £10 13s. to individuals of their own and other towns, who had suffered from hostile Indians.†

13. An account of all strangers,‡ not the King's subjects, who are in Boston, is required, and none of them to remain unless they give sufficient bonds for their fidelity. No master of a vessel shall be allowed to land strangers without similar security.

Articles of war are adopted. 1. "Let no man presume to blaspheme the holy and blessed Trinity, God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost, upon pain to have his tongue bored with a hot iron." 2. Profanity shall incur the loss of pay and other punishment. 3. Absence from prayers and worship shall be at discretion, etc. §

The General Court sit. This session a committee of both houses is appointed for reformation of evils,|| the occasions of judgments. They desired the assistance of the Teaching Elders. They agree for suppression of proud excesses in apparel, hair, etc.; testimony against false worshippers, especially Quakers, "who set up a Christ

* Gookin's Chris. Indians, p. 462-7.

† Mass. Gen. Ct. Rec.

§ Ibid.

‡ Salem First Ch. Rec.

|| In Mather's Ind. Wars, p. 16.

whom the Scriptures know not." Excess in drinking increased by multiplied ordinaries, to keep town dwellers from these places. Swearing: "They that hear others swear profanely, and do not complain of it to authority, shall be punished for that concealment." 4th and 5th Commandments to be better observed. Oppression by merchants and day laborers to be rectified. "Indian trading houses, whereby the heathen have been debauched and scandalized against religion, be suppressed." More care of the rising generation as to their discipline in Christ. "Unanimously consented to." On the 19th, conclusions of the committee were signed and delivered to the General Court, who accepted them, and appointed another committee to draw up laws for promoting the reformation.

As there was great danger of famine, by reason of the war, all sorts of provision* are forbidden to be exported, except "fish and mackerel."

Major Clark is to strengthen Mendon garrison by ten more men. The Christian Indians of Punkapoag have leave to move their provisions and stuff to a place near Braintree and Milton.† As they had nearly finished a good fort, "accommodated for scouting and securing of the southern passages and inlets upon our Plantations," sixteen or twenty soldiers, from Braintree, Milton and Dorchester, are ordered to reinforce them, and scout with them between Weymouth and Natick, to prevent the approach of the enemy, or strange Indians, and give notice thereof.

A committee of the General Court are to examine‡ three Indians who had left Natick, and now reside with Henry Leland, and are suspected of ill designs. All the Natick Indians are required to live on Deer Island for the present. Gookin supplies us with various particulars on this subject.§ The Deputies were strongly solicited by their constituents to remove all the Christian Indians from their settlements. A bill was introduced for this object. But it was laid aside, because they knew of no location which would do. Such a demur, however, stirred up the spirit that prevailed against the friendly Indians so much, that the bill was brought forward again. A committee of both houses deliberated on its propositions. A paper was laid before them, assigning reasons, as that such Indians had been under the patronage of the Missionary Society in England; had made much advancement in letters and religion; had made a covenant with the Colony, which promised them protection; had proved themselves faithful, though others were perfidious; some had lost their limbs and lives in fighting the enemy. Still the committee said, that they must report so as to satisfy the popular clamor, though they did it for the safety of the Indians as well as of the English. They handed in their result, that the Indians

* Mass. Col. Rec.

† Ibid.

‡ Mass. Gen. Ct. Rec.

§ Gookin's Christian Indians, p. 467-75.

1675.]

of Natick should move to Cambridge neck; of Wamesit to Noddle's Island; of Nashobah to Concord; of Hassanamesitt, Magunkog and Marlborough to Mendon; and of Punkapoag to Dorchester neck. But as the inhabitants of these places refused to have such Indians live there, the Court took a different course. On the 18th of October, John Watson, of Cambridge, one of the guardians for the Natick Indians, presented their petition to the Court, wherein they beseech this body not to "harbor any jealous or harsh thoughts of them, or hearken to any false information against them; not to fetch them off from their dwellings, which would expose them, especially the aged and weak, to very much sorrow and misery, both for want of food and apparel, especially considering that the winter was approaching. But rather, if the Court pleased, they would deliver some of their principal men for hostages for their fidelity, professing their innocence and integrity both to the interest of God and the English."

18. "If any shall negligently lose, or sinfully play away their arms at dice, or cards, or otherwise, they shall be kept as pioneers or scavengers till they furnish themselves with as good arms.

19. The enemy killed five of a scout from Hadley, numbering ten.* They took the others prisoners, of whom was John Warner. He related that two days after, they put to death one of his fellow captives, as follows. They drove a stake through one of his feet, and so fastened him to the earth; burnt his nails and his feet against a fire; opened his body below the breast, pulled out his entrails, and cut off his head. They threatened to treat him and "his comrad" in the same manner. Warner related that he was made to number the army of Indians assembled at Oasmuck, and who fought for Philip, and counted 2,100 fighting men; none above forty years old, of whom were about 600 French Indians. These boasted that in the spring they would destroy Connecticut, then Boston, and then the Dutch.

On the 19th a detachment of troopers under Cornet Oakes were dispatched by the Court to fetch down some of Wamesit and Pakemitt, because they were suspected of burning the hay stack of Lt. James Richardson, of Chelmsford, the day before. But the Indians, so accused, were subsequently cleared.† On the 20th, Joseph Cook, of Cambridge, related to the Court, that these distressed natives were on their way down; numbered 145 men, women and children; part of them old and decrepid, naked, and needed food. The Court requested Mr. Cook to have them all sent back, except the able men, being about thirty-three. The Christian Indians of Punkapoag were guarded down to Dorchester from their fort by a troop under Capt. Brattle. The Court having heard William Ahaton and others of their chief men, let them all

* John Easton's Philip's War.

† Gookin's Chr. Indians, p. 467-75.

go back except three or four men, who were suspected. The Wamesit men, after being secured in the town house of Charlestown several days, were examined by the Court, and the most of them permitted to go home.

On the 26th, an old house, not worth 10s., as Gookin states, was burnt in Dedham. He says that "in all probability," it "was set on fire on purpose by some back friends" to the Indians of Natick, and so that they might be ejected from their settlement. Consequently much excitement was created against them, and "the contrivance obtained that which it was desired for, viz., the passing an order by General Court forthwith to remove them from their place unto Deer Island." A party of horse, under Capt. Prentice, guarded them down to the pines on Charles river, "about two miles above Cambridge." Here boats were ready to carry them, being two hundred, down to the Island.

A family of twelve persons, whose head was old Jethro, who moved to Natick after the war, but had not joined the praying Indians, ran away in the night and joined the enemy. Before the afflicted Naticks embarked, Mr. Eliot, their long-trying and faithful adviser, comforted them with the consolations of the Gospel, and exhorted them to remain steadfast in their Christian profession. At midnight of the 30th, they left for their destination, fearing lest they should be sent out of the country, and no more behold the homes and the sanctuary in which they professed themselves the friends of Christianity.

Three Indians, brought down with the Wameists, who had no sympathy for them in their religious profession, and who had gone to live in their settlement after the war began, were condemned and sentenced to be sold as slaves out of the country. One of these was Will Hawkins, a Narraganset Indian, who had worked about Salem. The innocent ones, on their way home, had a young man, the son of pious parents, shot by an English soldier, on parade, at Woburn. The person who committed this deed was tried for his life, but cleared by the jury.

21. A day of thanksgiving is observed at Concord* for the remarkable preservation of Capt. Thomas Wheeler and his men, who had returned from very perilous battles with a large body of Indians near and at Brookfield. Their minister, Mr. Bulkley, preached from Psalm cxvi. 12. "What shall I render to the Lord for all his benefits towards me." They have always made the bravest and best soldiers, who most successfully battled against their spiritual foes of shame for the cause of God and forgetfulness of his mercies.

November. Gookin informs us† that "about the beginning" of this month news reached Boston that fifty men, one hundred

* Shattuck's Hist. of Concord, p. 49, 50. † Gookin's Chr. Ind. p. 475-7.

1675.]

and fifty women and children of the Christian Indians, while putting up their harvest of corn at Hassanamesitt, had been taken and carried away by the enemy. The account was brought by two of the principal persons among those, so captured, named James Speen and Job Kattenanit. These related that they, several squaws and some children, being at a distance from the rest, had an opportunity to escape. Among the prisoners was Captain Tom, or Wuttasacomponom, a ruler over them, and Joseph Tuckappawill, their minister. The author just quoted observes: "This providence was a very deep wound to the work of gospelizing the Indians, for this people were considerable for number, as before hinted, being the greatest part of three Indian villages, viz., Hassanamesitt, Magunkog, and Chobone-Konhonom." Detachments of English were dispatched after the enemy, who made such inroad, but without effect.

3. The Colonial Treasurer is instructed to provide for the Christian Indians on Deer Island, and to appoint some person to visit them when proper, for such a purpose.

The General Court begin their session.* They consider sins for which God hath, they observe, "given commission to the barbarous heathen to become a smart rod and severe scourge to us in burning and depopulating several hopeful plantations and murdering many of our people." They state that there has been too much neglect in watching and catechising children of the church. They recommend to the elders and churches of the jurisdiction a reformation in this respect. As an instance how this was immediately complied with, Mr. Higginson, of Salem, proposed that he would catechise the children of his congregation every second week, on the 5th and 6th days, as formerly. They mention pride, manifested in men's wearing long hair and periwigs, and in women's "wearing borders of hair, and their cutting, curling and immodest laying out their hair," as needing correction. They call on County officers to execute the law against excess in apparel. They order the assemblies of Quakers to be suppressed, and the law forbidding their introduction into the Colony to be more strictly enforced. They order that no one turn his back "upon the public worship before it is finished and the blessing pronounced. Youth are to be watched over in the meeting-house." The acts against profanity, violations of the fifth command, idleness, fraud and parties of dissipation, are to be vigorously put in force.

Persons driven from their homes by the enemy to other towns for refuge are not to be considered as residents in these places, and, if poor, shall be supported by the Colony, and the Selectmen, where they are, must see that they are employed, so as to save expense.

* Mass. Col. Records.

The Court say that for weighty reasons, they had placed Indians on different Islands, "for our and their security." They forbid them to leave their places on pain of death, and the English, if meeting them as stragglers, are authorized to slay them. If Englishmen steal any of these Indians and carry them off, they shall be punished for man-stealing, as the law requires.

12. Commissioners commend to the several General Courts of their jurisdiction, to keep the second of December* "as a solemn day of prayer and humiliation, to supplicate the Lord's pardoning mercy and compassion towards his poor people, and for success in our endeavors for the repelling the rage of the enemy. They further commend to several General Courts, that effectual care be taken, that the soldiers sent on this expedition be men of strength, courage and activity, their arms well fixed and fit for service; that their clothing be, in all respects, strong and warm, suitable for the season; that they have provisions in their knapsacks for a week's march from their rendezvous, and supply in a magazine for a more general service; also, that there be a meet number of able ministers and churgeons provided and appointed for the expedition."

13. Of the Christian Indians, Job Kattenanit, who had been a preacher at Magunkog, receives a pass from General Gookin to visit the enemy,† and endeavor to regain his children, carried away from Hassanamesitt. A scout of Captain Henchman's company met him near that place, and brought him to their commander, who sent him to Boston, where, to still the popular clamor, he was imprisoned three weeks and then put on Deer Island. Gookin was reproached by many for granting the pass.

15. The Wamesit Indians, still adhering to gospel order, fall into another affliction through the act of their adversaries. They were under the supervision of Lieut. James Richardson, two miles from Chelmsford. A barn, full of hay and corn, belonging to their guardian, was consumed by some Indians of the enemy, who were thus continually planning to bring the Christian Indians into suspicion with the English. Fourteen men of Chelmsford, under pretence of scouting to discover Philip's forces, went to kill all the Wamesits. They called them out of their wigwams, and most of them, men, women and children, complied, not thinking harm was intended. Two of the Englishmen discharged their pieces, and wounded five women and children, and killed a boy. Of the wounded was Sarah, a respectable, pious widow, and mother of the lad who was slain. The rest of the aggressors were restrained

* Hazard, vol. ii. p. 537, 8.

† Gookin's Chr. Indians, p. 480-2.

NOTE.—1675. Nov. 24. As a matter of anxiety to our people in their various concerns, a proclamation is issued in London which forbids merchandise of Europe to be imported into the Plantations, unless they are laden in England, and which orders the laws of plantation trade to be enforced.—*Salmon's Chron.* vol. i. p. 205.

1675.]

from their murderous purpose. Such an outrage was severely condemned, especially by magistrates and ministers. The murderers were tried for their lives, but the juries did not agree to bring them in guilty. Perceiving that, let them be ever so careful or ever so faithful to the English, they were continually in peril of destruction, the Wamesits left their residence and carried but little with them. They would rather run the hazard of hunger, cold and starvation, than live as they had done. When the Council were informed of their flight, they ordered Lt. Thomas Henchman, of Chelmsford, to seek and persuade them to return. But they would not. John Lyne and Numphow, the rulers of the Wamesits, wrote a kind letter. In this they said that they were following Wanalancet, who had gone to the French. They acknowledged the protection of the Council, but it did not keep them from injuries inflicted by evil-minded Englishmen. When harm was done in their neighborhood, it was laid to them, however innocent. If they should go to Deer Island, the English might come and kill them there, as they had done at Wamesit. They add, "We are sorry the English have driven us from praying to God, and from our teacher."* What oppressive wrong, inflicted on weak and unoffending natives, seeking after heavenly wisdom!

When these poor Indians had been gone twenty-three days, and suffered greatly for want of food, the most of them returned to their wigwams. Lieut. Henchman immediately sent word to the Council, and they instructed him to treat them kindly, and also appointed Majors Gookin and Willard, and Rev. John Eliot, to visit and encourage them, and persuade the Chelmsford people to treat them better. The same committee were empowered to do a like service for the Nashobah Christian Indians, residing at Concord.

On the return of the Wamesits, the Rev. Thomas Clark, of Chelmsford, asked their teacher, Symon Beckom, what they did while absent. He replied, "We kept three Sabbaths in the woods; the first Sabbath," said he, "I read and taught the people out of Psalm 35; the second Sabbath, from Psalm 46; the third, out of Psalm 118." These were passages of sacred writ, pertinent to the sorrows of the speaker and hearers. Their penitent worship in the wilderness, amid hunger, cold, perils and distress, was no less acceptable to the Father of mercies, than that of a courtly audience in the most splendid cathedral.†

28. Leonard Hoar, late President of Harvard College,‡ dies at Braintree, aged forty-five years. He graduated at the same Institution, 1650; went to England, 1653; and received a doctorate of medicine at the University of Cambridge. He became minister at Winsted, Sussex, and was ejected for non-conformity in 1662.

* Gookin's Christian Indians, p. 480.

† Ibid. 485.

‡ Calamy, vol. i. p. 525. Magnalia, 3 ed. vol. ii. p. 14, 5.

Being invited to visit Boston, by the Old South Church, he came 1672, and in September, was inducted into the office of President. While respected for his scholarship and piety, he deemed it best to vacate his place, which he did fifteenth of March, 1675. In England he married a daughter of Lord Lisle, who survived him and married Hezekiah Usher, of Boston, and died May 25, 1723. He left two daughters, Bridget and Tryphena. Cotton Mather says of him, "He was truly a worthy man." Though he had troubles, Christian principles were his support and guide to perfect rest.

December 2. A day of prayer and humiliation* is observed for success of the New England forces against the Narragansetts, whose treachery towards our fathers had been fully discovered. Increase Mather says: "The churches were all upon their knees before the Lord, the God of armies, intreating his favor and gracious success in that undertaking, wherein the welfare of his people was so greatly concerned."

10. Andros writes† to the Governor of Maryland: "Indians at the eastward, so great success in Massachusetts and Plymouth Colonies, having engaged all others the neighbors, and endeavoring by all means of command and profit to engage the Maques, and sent to all other parts as far as Canada, which New England think do supply their said enemies, and all our Indians as far as Delaware, thought only to wait opportunities. There only remains firm the Maques; and by their means the Sinnekes, which as seated are most able to good or harm, and too far and particularly the Sinnekes, if they fall off to be force. I here send you an abstract of a letter sent from the Commander at Albany, relating to some particulars, (writte by y^e Jesuite among the Maques,) by which you may see his sense."

13. The committee designated to visit the Christian Indians‡ at Wamesit, attend to this work of mercy. They also sent for eighteen more of these people, who were afraid to come back, and staid about Pennagog. Among these was the afflicted widow who was wounded, and whose son was barbarously murdered. The message was obeyed, and the community of natives, professing the religion of Christ, were once more united, with stronger pledges from the head authorities, that their rights should be protected. The committee proceeded to Concord and placed the Christian Indians of Nashobah under the inspection of Mr. John Hoar, who duly sympathized with them in their anxieties.

17. A communication from John Eliot to Robert Boyle,§ President of the Missionary Corporation, furnishes the following extracts:

"I must change my ditty now. I have much to write of

* Inc. Mather's Ind. Wars, p. 19.

† Easton's Philip's War, p. 124.

‡ Gookin's Christian Indians, p. 484.

§ Boyle at the Golden Key, in

Watling Street, London.

1675.]

lamentation over the work of Christ among our praying Indians. As yet it is (as it were) dead, but not buried, nor, I believe, shall be. My care and labor is, to exhort them to humiliation and repentance, to be patient and meek in the sight of both God and man. Here be three hundred and fifty souls or thereabouts, put upon a bleak island, the fittest we have, where they suffer hunger and cold. Our rulers are careful to order them food, but it is hard to be performed, that they suffer much. I cannot without difficulty, hardship and peril get unto them. I have been yet but twice with them. Yet I praise God that they be put out of the way of greater perils, dangers and temptations. Captain Gookin and I did this week visit another company (where be fifty-nine souls) at Concord, whom we have ordered in as much safety as the difficulty of the times would permit us; and so we commit them to God, begging his protection over them. From thence, we went to Pawtucket, to visit the poor Wamesit Indians, who in a fright fled into the woods until they were half starved. They are come back again. There be more than one hundred souls of them. At another place there were a company making ready to go to the island, but were surprised by the enemy and carried away captive. There were more than one hundred, and sundry of them right godly, both men and women.

“Another great company of our new praying Indians of Nipmuck fled at the beginning of the wars, first to Connecticut, offered themselves to Mr. Pynchon, one of our magistrates, but he (though willing) could not receive them. They fled from thence to Uncas, who is not in hostility against the English, and I hope they be there. This is the present state of the most of our praying Indians in our jurisdiction. All in Plymouth Patent are still in quiet, and so are all our Vineyard Indians and all the Nantucket Indians. I beg prayers that they may be still preserved.”*

19. After several skirmishes of our troops, while concentrating to the point of their intended attack at Narragansett, they commence this work upon the fortification of the enemy, who had strongly entrenched themselves in a swamp, fifteen miles from Petaquamscot. Having been engaged in a severe battle of three hours, and repulsed once, the English gained the mastery, burnt about five hundred wigwams, in which many Indian women and children perished. They lost eighty-five, killed and died of their wounds, and had one hundred and forty-five others wounded; while of the enemy, one thousand men were computed to have perished. Though our fathers were thankful to God for the victory, as an encouragement that they might hope to secure their colonial existence, yet they felt that it was dearly purchased, and taught them that much was to be endured before they could rest from the contest of Christianity with heathenism.

* Birch's Life of Boyle.

In the orders of Josiah Winslow, as chief commander in the expedition against the Narragansetts, are the subsequent passages. "This trust is committed to you for the honor of God, the good of his people, and the security of the interest of Christ in his churches." After instructing him to prevent profanity, they proceed: "See that the worship of God be kept up in the army, by daily prayer and invocation of his name, and preaching his word as you have opportunity, and the Sabbath be not profaned."

21. A question came up among the Quakers of Salem,* about wearing the hat in time of prayer. The majority of them decided it in the negative.

The latter end of this month,† Messrs. Gookin, Eliot and other friends to the Christian Indians, visit those on Deer Island. The number of such Indians at this time were about five hundred, who had been enlarged by the Punkapoag community. Gookin observes: "The enmity, jealousy, and clamors of some people against them, put the magistracy upon a kind of necessity to send them all to the Island; and although it was a great suffering to the Indians to live there, yet God brought forth this good by it: first, their preservation from the fury of the people; secondly, the humbling and bettering the Indians by this sore affliction. I may say, in the words of truth, there appeared among them much practical Christianity."

24. William Gilbert writes from Boston to his grandfather and grandmother in England. Though news had not come from camp when he wrote, yet it probably came before the close of the day. "Never worse days in New England by reason of the multitude of Indians, which have been lately our neighbors and friends, are risen up against us, and they have burnt many towns and killed about three hundred persons, and used them in a most inhuman manner, they lying in swamps and woods, where there is no coming at them, and now notwithstanding the sharpness of the season, we have sent forth an army of about twelve hundred against them up about sixty miles into the country, and about two days ago post came from the army how that they had killed and taken sixty-five prisoners, and the Indians have killed twenty-four English, and taken a half barrel of powder. But the main body of the Indians is got into a great swamp, and 'tis judged that they will stand a fair battle. 'Tis judged there is about three thousand of them armed. The Lord grant good news from the army. Otherwise we shall have sad times here next summer, insomuch that 'tis judged, that there will be a famine amongst us, if God is not more merciful to us. People are driven from their habitations, so that they cannot plant their corn."

25. Thomas Danforth writes from Boston, in the name of the Commissioners, to the Council of Connecticut,‡ to make further

* Friends' MS. Records.

† Gookin's Chr. Indians, p. 485, 6.

‡ Conn. Col. Records.

1675.]

exertions for suppressing the enemy. They remark: "You will see what we have been necessitated to conclude upon, in prosecution of what by Divine Providence we are so deeply engaged in." On the 28th they say, in another communication: "We had a deep sense of the necessity, that the present opportunity for the subduing of the enemy be vigorously prosecuted, they being now united into one body; for that, if through any neglect or slackness on our part, they have again the benefit of the warm spring to scatter, we may fear that the event thereof will be that the lives and habitations of multitudes of the English must go for their lives. We are not ignorant of the great difficulty and hardship of the undertaking; but yet, if God calls us therein to wait on him, it will be of wisdom as well as duty, with cheerfulness and humility, to submit to his good pleasure." In the margin they observe: "The Council of Massachusetts have sent two Natick Indians as spies to the Narragansetts. Their signs for their security, are the laying down their arms,* (if they have any,) spreading their hands, and opening their breasts."

30. According to the pressing request of the Council, two of these Indians had been engaged by Major Gookin to visit the enemy at their different quarters, and obtain knowledge of their plans. Though their reward was but five pounds a-piece, they agreed to adventure their lives in so perilous an enterprise, and accordingly, before day, they set out on their journey.†

Increase Mather remarks as follows: "It is easy to observe, from the history of these troubles,‡ that whereas there have been two sorts of men designing settlement in this part of America; some that came hither on account of trade, and worldly interests, by whom the Indians have been scandalized;—others that came hither on a religious and conscientious account, having in their eye the conversion of the heathen unto Christ; the former have been attended with blasting, ruinous providences; these latter have been signally owned by the Lord Jesus, for the like hath been rarely known in the world, that a plantation should be raised out of nothing, and brought to such considerableness in so short a time; whereas in the close of the last century, there was not so much as one Christian in the land, there are now above fourscore English and six Indian churches therein, besides many other congregations calling upon the name of the true God in Jesus Christ, although as yet not brought into church estate, according to the order of the gospel."

Randolph replies to questions.§ A reason assigned for the Indian war is, that the authorities of Massachusetts are so strict in their requisitions for the natives to embrace Christianity. Some believe

* Conn. Col. Rec.

† Inc. Mather's Ind. Troubles.

‡ Gookin's Chr. Indians, p. 487.

§ London Plantation Office MS.

that Jesuit priests have been among them and stirred them up against the English.

1676. January 14. A letter from Massachusetts, laid before the Council of Connecticut,* refers to the late battle: "The success of our united forces in the Narragansett country, in which enterprise, though it hath pleased God to humble us, by translating to rest out of the bed of honor in the service of Christ, several worthy and valiant commanders and soldiers, both ours and yours, yet doubtless we have cause (according to our best intelligence) to acknowledge to God's praise, that he hath made use of our army as executioners of his justice upon many of our barbarous and cruel enemies."

24. James Quannapohit, one of the spies, returned from among Philip's adherents.† He related that this sachem and his soldiers had their quarters near Fort Albany, and the Nipmucks and others about Menumese; that in the spring they intended to push the war vigorously, and burn and desolate the English towns. He stated that they were acquainted with the battle between the English and Narragansetts, and were glad that the latter would now openly espouse their cause; that they anticipated much success, and expected a supply of arms and ammunition from the French, through the hunting Indians. He gave information of their purpose to make speedy attacks on several frontier towns. He said that Joseph Tuhpawillin, the minister of Hassenasit (Hassanamesitt) a prisoner among the enemy, told him that Philip had ordered his men to capture the most valiant of the Christian Indians, so that he might put them to some cruel death.

February 5. About this date the praying Indians at Wamesit, near Chelmsford, petitioned the Council, through one of their guardians, Jerathmel Bowers, that they might be removed to a safer place; that they feared the enemy would come and commit depredations, so that the fault might be laid to them, and thus bring on them unjust retribution. The Council replied that they would attend to the request. In the meanwhile, some imprudent English threatened them. They ran away towards Pennahoog, (Pennacook,) except six or seven aged, blind and lame individuals, who were secretly burnt to death in a wigwam. Those who fled joined Wannalancet, and suffered much from famine and sickness. Their ruler, Numphow, and their teacher, Mystic George, died, besides others, men, women and children.

10. Among the captives taken at Lancaster are Mary, the wife of John Rowlandson, minister of that place,‡ and several of their children. He was then at Boston, soliciting the Council for additional protection to his people. On the 21st he was chosen chap-

* Conn. Col. Rec.

† Gookin's Chr. Indians, p. 487-91.

‡ Hubbard's Indian Wars, p. 145, 6.

1676.]

lain of the forces, but anxious and occupied for the recovery of his family, he declined, and Samuel Noble was elected for the office. As well known, Mrs. Rowlandson published a narrative of her intense sufferings after being redeemed by a gentlewoman and Mr. Usher, of Boston, and returned to her husband on the third of next May. While she was striving to obtain her freedom, she had occasion to call on Philip several times, who kindly encouraged her exertions.

21. An instance of military power being used to counteract civil authority, occurs with reference to the Christian Indians* of Nashobah, under the care of John Hoar, at Concord. Some of the inhabitants here had imbibed the prejudice generally prevailing against all who bore the color and name of Indian, as though they were entirely ready to take part with Philip for the extermination of the English. They encouraged a captain, quartered in the neighborhood, and supposed to have been Scyll,* to send the Nashobahs down to Boston. He quickly seconded their purpose. After a day or two's parleying with Mr. Hoar, who refused compliance, unless he brought an order from the Colonial Council, he finally had the house where the Indians kept, broken open, and its inmates carried under a guard to Charlestown. The Captain wrote to the General Court, then in session, an account of his proceedings. The Council, in conference with the Deputies, expressed their dissatisfaction at this great irregularity in setting up a military power in opposition to the chief authority of the country, declaring of what evil consequences such a precedent was; instanced the evil effects of like practices in England in later times, urging that due testimony might be borne against the same by the whole Court. But they were mortified and grieved to perceive, that however the House assented to their statement, they deemed it best to delay action. The poor Indians, who had placed themselves under protection of the English, found their confidence abused. Being about fifty-eight, they were sent down to Deer Island, where they suffered severely.

The Captain here referred to was probably Capt. Joseph Scyll, then quartered with his company at Lancaster. If so, though the Deputies may not at first have complied with the wish of the Council, for punishing him because he assumed excessive power, they may have waited till the next October, when they united with the magistrates in ordering him to resign his captaincy for such conduct.

* Shattuck's Hist. of Concord, p. 52-4.

NOTE.—1675-6. Feb. 11. On complaint of a Dutch ambassador, that the forts of Penatscop and St. John, in New France, belonging to the French, and recently taken by a vessel of his nation, had been re-captured by a force from Boston, the English Council order that Massachusetts rulers be addressed on this subject.—*Orders in Council.*

21. John Curtis, of Roxbury, as the guide of troops going forth to Quaboag, their head-quarters, is authorized to employ six Christian Indians at the Island for his assistants. Curtis accordingly* selected James Quannapohit, Job Hattenanit, James Speen, Andrew Pitimee, John Magus and William Nahaton. These were principal men, glad of an opportunity to show their fidelity to the English, and to serve under Major Thomas Savage, with whom some of them were, in the first of the war, at Mount Hope.

In this session there were several motions† concerning "the poor Christian Indians at Deer Island." Some proposed that they should be destroyed; others, that they should be sent out of the country; but the majority, that they should be treated kindly, according to a covenant, made 1644, between the Colony and their tribes.

March 1. Near this date, Joseph Tuckapawillin, who had been minister of the Indian church at Hassanamesitt, his wife, child, father and several others of his people, having escaped from the enemy, are taken by a detachment of the English and brought into Marlborough. Among the articles found with the preacher, and seized by the troops, was a pewter cup, which was presented to him by Mr. Eliot, and which he used at the administration of the Lord's Supper. No doubt this vessel, surrounded with sacred associations of his spiritual Teacher, heavenly Redeemer, and solemn communions, was more to him than golden goblets to the proprietor of a princely mansion. Some of the people of Marlborough were prejudiced against all Indians, because of barbarities committed by the followers of Philip.

Soon after this, Joseph and his father, Naos, with several children, were sent to Deer Island. In two months his wife was restored to him, but his beloved son perished with famine.

4. The following is Governor Andros's order to Lieut. Teunise,‡ to demand Christian prisoners of the Indians. "Go as far as Connecticut River, and 'find out Philip or other northern Indians; let him or other sachems or commanders in chief know,' that I have sent you to demand of them the Christian prisoners, whom you brought into our parts, and 'forewarn them from or returning into any part of the Government.' If they are scattered into parties, you are to visit each party and demand such prisoners."

9. Thomas Thacher, James Allen and Increase Mather, at the suggestion of ministers who attend the Lecture in Boston, propose to Messrs. Samuel Phillips, Cobbet, Hobart and Gerrish, of Essex County, that the churches renew covenant with God and seek his face for the pardon of prevailing sins and the removal of judgments.

13. A chief of the Indians, who destroyed Groton, called to

* Gookin's Christian Indians, p. 497-501.

† Ibid. 501-2.

‡ Easton's Philip's War, p. 148, 9.

1676.]

Capt. Parker,* in one of the fortified houses, conversed about peace, but threw out severe taunts "at their praying and worshiping God in the meeting-house, which he deridingly said he had burned."

Among the sufferers of Groton† at this date, when the town was burnt by Indians, was Samuel Willard. He was son to Major Simon Willard, of Concord; born, January 31, 1640; graduated at Harvard College, 1659; ordained, July 13, 1664, when his church was organized, though his salary began July 1, of the preceding year; married Abigail, daughter of Rev. Mr. Sherman, of Watertown, next month, August 8; her mother being grand-daughter of Thomas Darcy, Earl of Rivers. Called to preach at the Third church of Boston, (Old South,) he was installed April 10, 1678, as colleague with Mr. Thacher.

26. Rev. Samuel Nowell, chaplain of the army, and whom Gookin styles "minister of God's word at Boston," writes home.‡ "I look at it as a great rebuke of God, that we should miss our enemy as we did, when we were at Menumesse. If we had hearkened to those six Indians, whom we took from Deer Island, we might have prevented that error. They have behaved themselves like sober, honest men, since their abode with us."

April 5. A letter from Edward Taylor,§ minister, and others of Westfield, to the Council of Connecticut, states their distressed condition from great sickness among their people and exposure to the enemy; that they had concluded to draw in their out garrisons, and have such defenses near together; that the Bay Authorities had advised them to leave their settlement and go to Springfield, which they could not do on account of their sick, and it did not meet their wishes. They ask if they should be assisted in removing down to Connecticut, if health be restored to them. The Council replied in a sympathizing manner, but declined to draw them from Massachusetts.

20. Mr. Nicholet preaches his farewell sermons|| in Salem, and is recommended to the churches of London and elsewhere.

22. As the indication of a true idea on heathen mind, that devotion offered to the Supreme, with faith of heart and piety of life, will be efficacious for deliverance from affliction, we have the subsequent tradition.¶ As the Sagamores who still survived and remained in league with the Chief of the Wampanoags, stood in consultation on the highlands of Stow, and asked which of the two settlements, Concord or Sudbury, they should first attack, the decision was made as to the latter. While arguing for such a conclusion, one of the chiefs remarked: "We no prosper if we go to Concord—the great Spirit love that people—they have a great

* Hubbard, p. 173.

† Gookin's Chr. Indians, p. 505, 6.

|| Salem First Ch. Rec.

‡ Butler's Hist. of Groton, p. 156, 7.

§ Conn. Col. Rec.

¶ Shattuck's Hist. of Concord, p. 59.

man there—he *great pray*.” The speaker no doubt had Mr. Bulkley in mind, who was noted for his gift of gospel prayer. It furnishes a clue to the remarkable influence on the hearts of the numerous body of Indians who fled from Hope Atherton, when lost and offering himself to them as a captive, as a means of escaping starvation.

23. Peter Folger, of Nantucket, dates a pamphlet in verse. It is called, “A Looking-Glass for the Times.” It was printed in 1763. It speaks of treatment received by Baptists and Quakers; of ministers as hirelings, and of “college men,” as objectionable. He addresses a petition to Governor Andros, of New York. He represents himself as a prisoner at Sherburn, because he did not pay a fine, laid on him by authorities chosen by opponents to the Duke’s interests, for declining to give up court records; sixty years old; poor and has a family; a resident thirty years on Nantucket and the Vineyard; an interpreter for English and Indians from the beginning. Farmer states that he was grandfather of Benjamin Franklin. The *Magnalia* calls Folger “an able, godly Englishman, employed in teaching the youth in reading, writing, and the principles of religion by catechism, being well learned in the Scriptures, and capable of help in religious matters.” Gov. Andros ordered, August 3, 1677, that his and other cases be suspended, and, September 21, that they be brought before him and his Council at New York. Backus remarks: “I find by Mr. Samuel Hubbard, that Mr. Folger became a Baptist and joined Mr. Clark’s church about the time of this war, as Thomas West, an Englishman, and some Indians from thence, did to Mr. Hiscox’s church in 1680. And Mr. Folger promoted the Baptist principles among the Indians.” One of these, named Japheth, said to him, that he should hold fast his former teachings, and not his latter. After a long, trying and useful life, Mr. Folger died in 1690.*

25. Nathaniel Byfield, a stranger in the country and lately married,† petitions the Council to be released from impressment for marching against the enemy, according to Deut. xxiv. 5: “That when a man hath taken a new wife, he shall not go out to war, neither shall he be charged with any business, but he shall be free at home one year.” This application does not appear to have been considered as within the range of common law for its age and people.

May 3. The General Court begin their session. William Hubbard, of Ipswich, preaches the election sermon. This is entitled “The happiness of a people in the wisdom of their rulers directing, and in the obedience of their brethren attending unto what Israel ought to do.” The text was I. Chronicles, xii. 32.

The author of the discourse says, in its dedication to Governor

* Nantucket Papers, p. 89-98. Mag. B. vi. p. 54. Backus, vol. i. p. 437.

† Mass. Archives. Military, vol. ii. p. 231.

1676.]

Leverett: "It cannot be denied but in the latter end of the former year, the wisest among us were under sad apprehensions concerning the issue of the present troubles that were then come and daily coming upon us, in regard of the rage of the heathen so far let loose against us, and those that were concerned in the election of magistrates for this present year were ready to fear they might bespeak the persons on whom the next election should fall, with the words of the prophet, 'Thou hast clothing, be thou our ruler, and let this ruin be under thine hand. But thanks be to Almighty God, that hath verified that ancient proverb of the Hebrews to our late experience, *Cum duplicantur lateres, hinc venit Moses*,' (When the bricks are doubled, henceforth cometh Moses.) He proceeds to discuss the order, conduct, counsels, courage and resolution of the Jewish Commonwealth in application to New England. He remarks, that in accordance with "learned and judicious writers," it is an undoubted right of "sovereignty to determine what religion shall be publicly professed and exercised within its dominions."

He proceeds to state that "the same power is necessarily required to uphold and maintain true religion, by taking care that public ministers be sent forth to preach the word of truth, administer sacraments, and celebrate all other rites and ordinances, that do concern" such religion; "by providing maintenance and other suitable encouragements for such ministers; by setting up and encouraging the schools of learning, for he that wills the end is supposed also to will the means; by the calling of Synods or Councils, as need may require, to discuss points of religion in controversy, and to hear matters of differences and determine them, and be of use whenever there is want of truth or peace in the churches; by preventing the spreading and growth of corrupt doctrine and heretical opinions. I confess it is not easy to hit the joint in this controversy. I shall lay down this as an undoubted position, that it is scarce possible to give any general rule about toleration that will suit with all times and places. Such opinions in doctrine, or professions and practices in religion, as are attended with any foul practical evils, as most heresies have been, ought to be prohibited by public authority, and the broachers or fomenters of them punished by penal laws, according to the nature of the offense, like other fruits of the flesh. Any doctrine undeniably tending to the disturbance of the civil State ought to be suppressed, and the public profession, yet by civil authority forbidden, and the disobedience to be proceeded against, as wholesome and meet laws provide in such cases. For simple heresy, or misbelieving any truth in religion, though fundamental, if not seditiously or blasphemously held forth, there seems neither rule from the word of God, nor reason from the nature of the thing, why any should undergo capital punishment. Doubtless they that are nursing

fathers of their people ought as well to prevent poison as to provide bread for them, which seems to be all that was intended by the authority of the country in the laws formerly made against heretics. If the owner or keeper of the vineyard shall make a thorn hedge about it, if any man by violence breaking in shall wound or destroy himself, where will the blame be found, in them that made the hedge so sharp and strong, or in them that attempted without leave violently to break in?"

Mr. Hubbard adds: "For those opinions which are inconsistent with the truth of religion and power of godliness, and where those that profess them may in charity be supposed to have in them *aliquid Dei*, as Calvin used to say, the case is far otherwise. Why there may not be an indulgence or connivance at them, that, in some things not fundamental, may not be so far persuaded of the truth of everything professed or practiced in the religion established, as to join with others in all outward acts of worship, being in other respects orderly and peaceable, but desire to worship God according to their own persuasion, I understand not." His remark particularly favored the cause of those who were desirous that the Baptists might be free from all penalties, for not attending the allowed places of worship.

The last branch of the author on this subject is, that the magistrates should reform religion "when it is grown corrupt, or is in tendency thereto."

Referring to the desolations of the land, he says with the Psalmist, "The heathen are come into thine inheritance, O God; the dead bodies of thy servants, some of them have they given to be meat for the fowls of heaven, the flesh of thy servants to the beasts of the earth. Their blood have they shed like water, and there is none to bury them. How long, Lord, wilt thou be angry forever: shall thy jealousy burn like fire before thou pour out thy fury on the heathen?" Here the author vividly refers to the destruction of property and lives by the enemy at Lancaster, Weymouth, Groton, Marlborough, Wrentham, Chelmsford, Sudbury, and of Captain Wadsworth with his company.

Among his closing remarks is the following: "We have many complaints among us. Could we get our hearts stored with this grace of charity," it "would cure all the morellianism and libertinism in the brethren, and all the prelacy and presbyterianism in the elders of the New England churches."

The Court hand instructions to Seth Perry, as a messenger to the hostile Sachems. He was accompanied by Tom Doublet, an Indian guide. He was instructed to require that if they sent persons to make a treaty, such individuals should come to the place that might be agreed on, unarmed, and with a white flag.*

* Gookin's Christian Indians, p. 517.

1676.]

The Court on the 5th send a letter by him to "the Sagamores about Wachusetts, Philip, John, Sam, Wassakenoldquen and Pomham." They say in it that they wish to redeem all the English captives in their hands, and not one after the other. They proceed: "You desire not to be hindered by our men in your planting, promising not to do damage to our towns. This is a great matter, and therefore cannot be ended by letters without speaking one with another. We have therefore sent to you once more, to let you know our minds with all speed. If you will send us home all the English prisoners, it will be a great testimony of a true heart in you to peace, which you say you are willing to have."

As the Christian Indians at the Island are distressed for lack of food, and unable to provide in future, a man is required to take some of them in a boat to catch fish for the supply of their need; and they shall have liberty to get employment in any of the English towns, as scouts and laborers. This is a strong indication that the prevalent prejudice, which had sadly operated against the evangelized Indians, was much weakened, and that they were to be treated with less suspicion and greater friendliness.

With regard to this matter, Gookin observes: "Then God was pleased to mollify the hearts and minds of men towards them; partly by the true reports brought to the General Court, of their distressed estate and the great unlikelihood they were to plant or reap any corn at the Islands; and partly from the success God was pleased to give their brethren abroad in the country's service, insomuch that the hearts of many were, in a degree, changed to those Christian Indians; and the General Court, then sitting, passed an order giving liberty to remove them from the Islands, cautioning their order that it should be done without charge to the country." Such Indians were accordingly brought in boats from the Islands, particularly Deer Island, in Boston harbor, to a place near the house of Thomas Oliver, in Cambridge, who deeply sympathized with them in their trials. Many of them were then sick, such as Waban, their ruler, and John Thomas, their teacher, who recovered, with most of the others. The removal was made at the expense of the missionary Corporation of England, who considered them as under their care. The position so occupied by the Indians was retained by most of them till near October, when they removed.

As an indication* that the extraordinary perils and sufferings of the war had been attended with more than usual insanity, it is ordered that distracted persons in some towns, who had injured their own families and others, should be taken care of by the direction of the selectmen.

A report is made by a committee and accepted, that in view of

* Mass. Gen. Ct. Rec.

"the great difficulties the country labors under to raise money, provisions and clothing for the soldiers employed," a proclamation be made, "that such as are able may be stirred up to give or lend, or both, the country such a sum of money and provisions, as may help to discharge the public necessary debts contracted and contracting in the management of this war; what shall be lent to be paid in three years, and that upon the next public day of Humiliation or Thanksgiving, that shall be appointed by authority, the eldest ministers of the respective towns, be desired to stir up and exhort the people thereunto."

5. Major Daniel Gookin and Capt. Samuel Hunting, of Charlestown, are empowered to raise a company of seventy, and afterwards increased to eighty, Christian Indians, to unite with five hundred of the Colonists, on the 30th, at Concord.

Proposals are made for locating such Indians on Long Island, so that they may improve the planting season. That those of Punkapoag be placed at Brush Hill, as near as they can be with safety to their own fields and wigwams, and some English garrison; those of Nashobah and part of the Naticks at Patucket, and the rest of the latter in their own plantation, or on such lands as may be procured for them. Garrisons shall be constructed at Patucket and Natick, to secure English and Indians against the common foe. The Indians who are to be thus moved, are chiefly women and children, and they are required to lodge constantly in the garrisons, while most of the men are to be in the army. The separation and removal of these afflicted people are committed to the direction of Messrs. Gookin and Eliot. The Court remark, that such are the "solemn occasions with the present awful hand of God on us in the present dispensation," they must put off attendance on the legal cases before them.

The Salem Company of Capt. Joseph Gardner, slain at Narragansett Fort, head their petition to the Legislature, for a supply of officers, as follows: "Whereas by the death of our honored Captain in the service of God and the country, we are deprived of a Captain."

9. Our forces dispersed thirteen Indians. At this point,* Mather remarks: "The praying Indians did approve themselves faithful to the English, and did very good service at this as well as other times; inasmuch as many, who had thoughts of them, begin to blame themselves and have a good opinion of the praying Indians, who have been so generally and so sinfully decryed."

16. A letter from Lord Anglesey, in London, to John Leverett, contains several items† on the distresses of our people. He represents that they seemed to act as if they were independent of the Crown, and would not ask it for help in their warfare with the In-

* Inc. Mather's Diary.

† Hutchinson's Hist. 3 ed. vol. i. p. 279, 80.

1676.]

dians. He mentions that were the King applied to for assistance, he believes that it would be readily granted. He observes: "It is not altogether groundlessly reported, that the French do understand assist and supply your enemies." In this his Lordship was very probably correct. The influence of the Jesuits, easily brought to bear on Philip through French traders, who had long visited in the neighborhood of his territory, and by other means, was most likely a principal stimulus to urge him on in the enterprise of exterminating the Puritans and their religion.

19. In the Fall fight on Connecticut River, wherein the enemy lost three hundred men, women and children, and which was among the causes of their overthrow, Capt. William Turner, with thirty-eight of his men, were slain. He was too unwell to engage in battle, but he felt constrained to lead his soldiers by the great prospect of success. Farmer states that he came from Dartmouth, in England. He left a wife, Mary. He was a member of the Baptist church, of Boston, by whom he was much beloved, and with whom he had suffered for what they believed just resistance to authority.

Hope Atherton, minister of Hatfield,* was chaplain in this expedition. In the retreat he was separated from the troops, and wandered in the woods. Perceiving the next morning, that there was no prospect of striking upon the route homeward, he concluded, if meeting the enemy, to place himself in their hands as the likeliest means of prolonging his life. The next day, when discovering a party, he made directly towards them, and gave signs of his readiness to become their prisoner. But unaccountably to him, they fled from his presence, shewing no hostility and appearing to be under the influence of fear. He then sought the river Connecticut, which he found, and following it several days with great hunger, fatigue and anxiety, he finally reached his home. The singular conduct of the enemy towards him, was probably owing to their impression from his dress and air, that he was a priest, and that injury done to him would bring down on them judgments of the Great Spirit. Such superstition proved in this instance real preservation. Tradition of descendants in the family, reports that he became deranged. In June, 1679, he closed his earthly career, and thus welcomed the restoration of his reason, never more to be disordered, but ever to abound in the glories of a warfare, accomplished through the might of Emmanuel.

24. The Legislature answer a communication from Connecticut. They remark as to late conflicts with the enemy: "Thus God is pleased to mix his smiles with his frowns. The season is sickly, our forces disabled at present, but we have impressed, and hope by 1st of June, to be out with five hundred horse and foot and

* Hoyt's Researches, p. 133. Williams's Redeemed Captive.

Indians, on visiting of the enemy's head-quarters at Wachussetts, taking it on their march to join with your forces and Indians, who we hope and desire may be proportional to pursue and distress the enemy (if God please). The Indians hereabouts do but dally and intend not peace, therefore we concur, without, in a vigorous prosecution of them. We have communicated our thoughts to the Governor of Plymouth, from whom we yesterday received his concurrence in the affair, and assurance that what is in their power now is and shall be out to scout in those parts, commending your and our endeavors to the gracious guidance and blessing of the Almighty."

28. From the minutes of Andros's Council at New York,* it is evident that he, supposing Massachusetts to have complained too much of Philip's forces receiving supplies at Albany, begins to retaliate, and thus prolongs the sufferings of New England churches and communities. It is probable that "Boston will make a peace with the North Indians on their own account alone. Resolved that endeavors be made to put a stop to the Maques' further prosecuting the North Indians. 29. All North Indians that will come in, may be protected. 30. All such Indians shall be received to live under the protection of [New York] Government, and the Governor will be at Albany, where any of them may freely come and speak with him and return again as they see cause, without molestation. Memorandum—That the French do receive North Indians under their protection, and it's said that five hundred of them are already."

June. A petition of Andrew Pittimee† and other officers of eighty praying Indians in service, is directed to the General Court, for mercy towards some of the prisoners lately taken by them, near Lancaster and Marlborough. The persons for whom they supplicate as their friends and kindred, are Captain Tom, his son Nehemiah, his wife and two children, John Uktuck, his wife and children, Maanum and her child. They say of them: "The persons we beg pardon for, as we are informed, are innocent; and have not done wrong to the English, all this war time; only were against their wills taken and kept among the enemy. We have (especially some of us) been sundry times in your service, to the hazard of our lives, as spies, messengers, scouts and soldiers, and have, through God's favor, acquitted ourselves faithfully, and shall, as long as we live, endeavor with all fidelity to fight in the English cause, which we judge is our own cause, and also God's cause, to oppose the wicked Indians, enemies to God and all goodness." The Council reply to the petitioners, that they have so much evidence that Captain Tom had acted with the enemy, they cannot grant him pardon, though they do to the women and children, for whom they intercede.

* Easton's Philip's War, p. 158, 9.

† Gookin's Chr. Indians, p. 527-9.

1676.]

So many of the men belonging to Boston were in public service,* and so great the alarm from the final struggle of foes, whose only hope was in the destruction of the Colonists, the women of this town began to build a fortification across its neck with mud and turf.

Soon after the repulse at Hadley, Philip and his allies began to disperse from that quarter, where they had caused many deaths and great suffering among the English forces and inhabitants. Of their discouragements was, that the Mohawks had become his fearful opponents. Philip had used strenuous exertions to draw these powerful warriors to make a common cause with him against the Christians. Perceiving that they would not consent, he resorted to the stratagem of having a small party of them waylaid and all killed, as was supposed, and the report made that this was done by the English, but one survived to reveal his treachery and bring retribution upon him. Church (Philip's War, p. 68) speaks of this as having occurred while Philip was at "Scattacook, between York and Albany," and before he came to "the fall of Connecticut River," where Turner and Holyoke's forces successfully attacked his warriors, saying: "The Moohags made a descent upon him and killed many of his men, which moved him from thence." Hubbard observes: "It is certain, after the end of this month, (June,) the power of the enemy began every where to fail." They "that had lurked about Connecticut River all this spring, being visited with sundry diseases, disappointed of the fishing and put by their planting, began to be at variance among themselves." "The Hadley and Pocumtuck (now Deerfield) Indians quarrelled with Philip for occasioning the English and them to fall out." They "resolved to return to their own homes; Philip to Mount Hope and the Narragansetts to their country; the Nipnets and River Indians westward; others northward, towards Pennicook upon Merimack, intending to shift for themselves as well as they could."

In Mather's *Prevalency of Prayer*, Increase Mather informs us, the churches of Dublin, where he had a brother settled, manifest their benevolence for our colonists and their faith in divine promise, in assembling to supplicate the God of armies, that he would give victory to our fathers over their heathen enemies. The same writer adds: "The prayers of the churches of Europe have had no small share in our mercies. I can assure the reader that the churches in London, in Suffolk, in Dorset, in Devon, in Somerset, in Lancashire, have, by fasting and prayer, sought the Lord for New England, in the time of our late troubles." Though this may excite the smile of unbelief, it is in the fullest accordance with revealed wisdom.

July. About the first of this month, the Massachusetts authori-

* N. E. Tears for her Present Miseries.

ties being informed that many Indians were desirous of coming under their protection, issued a proclamation* to the import, that whoever of them would submit to their laws, within fourteen days, might hope for mercy.

15. Two Indians were brought prisoners from the Eastward into Marblehead.† While some women there were coming out of meeting, they met these prisoners, and such was their excitement against them for sufferings brought upon the English by the wars, they attacked and put them to death. A Quaker went through Boston, crying, Repent.‡

18. The Quakers of Salem,§ after some respite from prosecution, are again arraigned. Josiah Southwick was presented for bringing the wife of John Smith to address the congregation there on the Sabbath, to their great annoyance. He is fined 10/., and ordered to bring Mrs. Smith before the Court the next day, or pay 30/. The wife of Henry Trask is fined 5/. for disturbing the congregation, as they came out of meeting. John Robinson is fined 10/. for being twice at the Quakers' meeting. Six others are called to account for absence from lawful worship.

20. Ready to embark for England, Randolph says|| that he called on Governor Leverett, who severely rebuked him for conversing in New Hampshire and Maine against their being subject to the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, and that he designed "to make a mutiny in the country, and to withdraw the people from their obedience to the magistracy of that Colony and the authority thereof."

27. Sagamore John, who resided in the vicinity of Brookfield, came and surrendered himself, with one hundred and eighty other Indians, to the Governor and Council in Boston. Among them was Matoonas, who for the injury he had done, was hung on a gibbet. Of them also, were some of the Christian Indians, who were carried from Hassanamesitt.

August 9. A special session of the General Court¶ takes place. The occasion of it is a letter brought from the King by Edward Randolph, concerning the claims of heirs to Gorges and Mason. The Court, informed that many of the Elders were in Boston, send the marshal to request their presence and advice on so important an affair. They agree that the following question be submitted to the ministers. Whether the most expedient manner of making answer to the complaints of Mr. Gorges and Mr. Mason, about the extent of our Patent line, be by sending agents or written representations only.

From twenty-four Elders, to whom this was proposed, Thomas Cobbet returned the subsequent answer to the Court. To reply in

* Hubbard's Indian Wars, p. 236, 40.

† Sewall's Diary.

|| Hutch. Coll. p. 510.

† Inc. Mather's Diary.

§ Annals of Salem, p. 254.

¶ Mass. Gen. Ct. Rec.

1676.]

writing may be construed not sufficiently respectful to his Majesty; doubtful whether it would be received, as the case stands, and it may afford advantage to the plaintiffs so as to obtain their wish. To reply through agents, is encouraged by the former success of such commissioners; our friends in England think that they should be sent over; agents can more pertinently answer objections than mere written statements, and the non-employment of them may be interpreted as though we were fearful to appear in our defense.

Simon Bradstreet and others are a committee to answer the royal communication and the two petitions of heirs to Gorges and Mason. They are to address some suitable person in England, who will receive these documents, deliver them to the proper offices and answer for Massachusetts as need may require.

About this date a sad event took place.* The wife of Captain Andrew Pitmece, his sister, the wife of Thomas Speene, and her three children, and a young woman who belonged to the Christian Indians, were murdered at Hurtleberry Hill, in Watertown. They were here gathering berries to help out the scanty fare of their families. They were accompanied by an Indian man, lately returned from military service and armed. Thirteen English horsemen came in sight of them. They took away the Indian's carbine and threatened to kill him; but he interceded for his life and they spared him. They conversed in a friendly manner with the females and left them. But four of their number returned, and as subsequently proved, killed them and the children. They were tried and condemned to death. Two of them were executed, and two pardoned by the Governor, each paying £10, part of which for the bereaved husband. With reference to the sufferings as well as services of these and the other "praying Indians" of Massachusetts and Plymouth, Gookin remarks as follows: "I contend that the small company of our Indian friends have taken and slain of the enemy, in the summer of 1676, not less than four hundred; and their fidelity and courage is testified by the certificates of their captains. It may be said in truth, that God made use of these poor, despised and hated Christians, to do great service for the churches of Christ in New England, in this day of their trial; and I think it was observed by impartial men, that after our Indians went out, the balance turned of the English side."

12. As an event of great importance, Philip, who had success-

* Gookin's Christian Indians, p. 513, 4.

NOTE.—1676. August 10. Potock, chief counsellor of the Old Squaw Sachem of Narragansett, a prisoner, having been found guilty of promoting the war, is shot to death on Boston Common. While on his way hither, he stated, that at the Fort fight last winter, where there were above 3,000 Indians, they had 700 fighting men killed, and 300 of their wounded soon after died, and "that as to old men, women and children, they had lost nobody could tell how many."—*I. Mather, Ind. Wars.*

fully baffled many plans, stratagems and efforts of the New England forces for his capture and death, is shot dead on Mount Hope Neck, by an Indian called Alderman, under the command of Benjamin Church. Thus fell a man, endowed with great powers, in defense of heathenism and of aboriginal rule over this country, to the exclusion of Christianity and of European population. His allies, who had a lingering hope that he might continue a destructive scourge to the Colonists, despair, in view of his death, and either yield to the English, or flee and become incorporated with distant nations of Indians. In the comparatively short but tremendous conflict, which he commenced and carried on, with distinguished tact and bravery, under many discouraging circumstances, though with savage cruelties of his race,—six hundred of the Colonists, children and adults, were either slain in battle or murdered; thirteen towns destroyed; six hundred buildings, chiefly houses, consumed, and a great amount of other property destroyed, according to common estimation, by his warriors. Edward Randolph, in his statement to the King's Privy Council, said that houses burned, were 1,200, and that 8,000 head of cattle were killed, and that the whole loss of property in New England was £150,000. A writer from Boston, at this date, to a friend in London, makes a lower estimate, as to the slain of the English. He put them at four hundred and forty-four, besides fifty-five prisoners. He observes, that it is uncertain how many the Indians lost, because they burn their slain and keep the number of them secret, but it is conjectured that they had nine hundred and ten killed. An author here, perhaps the same person who gives this account, sent over to London "sad and deplorable news from New England, poetically related," and it belongs to the British Museum. In addition to such losses, the Confederates were forced to lay very heavy taxes on polls and estates, and run greatly into debt for supporting the expenses of the war. Besides all this, they are again called in question by the Lords of Trade and Plantations for complaints.*

Sewall, in his Diary, mentions the commencement of a weekly conference meeting this summer, on Wednesday evening, in Boston, at different individuals' houses. Then some brother, by way of opening the remarks, spoke on a passage of Scripture, which he had selected. This custom was introduced in an early period of the Colony.

September 6. A special General Court assemble. Their address to the King;—declaration as to Eastern territory, and instructions for William Stoughton and Peter Bulkley, their commissioners bound to London, are accepted. In the first document, they observe, that on account of "what the calamitous and deeply dis-

* Church's Philip's War. Holmes, vol. i. p. 384. Hutchinson, 3 ed. vol. i. p. 277. Hubbard's Ind. Wars, p. 226. Hoyt's Researches, p. 143.

1676.]

tressed estate of this your Majesty's Colony, (in conjunction with its neighbours and confederates,) laboring under woeful and tragical effects of more than a year's cruel and uninterrupted war, have been," sent Mr. Secretary Williamson, so that he may inform your Majesty. "Since that time it hath pleased Almighty God, to whom vengeance belongeth, to plead our cause against the insolent heathen, both by laying a restraint upon them, and thereby for a season, giving us respite from their violent and depopulating incursions, as also by making the expeditions of your loyal subjects against them, in our southern and western parts, so far prosperous, that multitudes of them, together with their Sachems and principal counsellors and commanders, yea, Philip himself, whose head and hand were first in the design, are cut off and destroyed, most of the remainder being found either to submit to mercy, or to forsake their old and seek new habitations, far remote in the wilderness. This singular smile of divine Providence gave us fair hopes of such a calmness and composedness in our public affairs, as might well suit with our intended convening, and best further our desires and resolutions of attending your Royal pleasure signified to us; but suddenly and unexpectedly we are alarmed by the irruption and treacherous villainy of a new enemy, together with some of the former, springing up in these eastern parts, concerning which the controversy between us, and the complainants against us, doth arise."

As to their commerce, letters dated in April were forwarded to them and all the other Colonies, requiring them to conform with the maritime regulations of the mother country. That such orders may be complied with, they were backed by the declaration, "that no Mediterranean passes should be granted to New England, to protect its vessels against the Turks, till it is seen what dependence it will acknowledge on his Majesty, or whether the custom-house officers are received as in other Colonies." Having a full share of these trials, Massachusetts has another, peculiar to her, even collision with the King's partiality for the withdrawal of New Hampshire and Maine, as previously stated, from her jurisdiction. Surely, she would have sunk beneath her burdens, had not the Lord sustained her.*

12. A license is granted by Governor Leverett to Thomas Smith,† captain of the ship *Sea Flower*, to transport and sell seventy Indians, men, women and children, who had "been sentenced and condemned to perpetual servitude," for being concerned in the rebellion of Philip.

19. A Council met at Salisbury,‡ relative to the excommunication of Col. Pike. They advise the church to repeal the vote for cutting him off.

* Mass. Gen. Ct. Rec.

† MS. Mass. Hist. Soc.

‡ Annals of Salem.

20. Edward Randolph gives a narrative of affairs in Massachusetts, to the King's Privy Council.*

He proceeds to mention laws contradictory to those of England. Some of them follow: "All persons of the age of twenty-one years, being excommunicate or condemned, have liberty to make wills and dispose of lands and estates. Ministers are ordained by the people, and no injunction to be put on any church officer or member, in point of doctrine, worship or discipline, whether for substance or circumstance, besides the institution of the Lord. Whoever shall observe a Christmas-day or the like festivity, by forbearing to labor, feasting or otherway, shall pay 5/.; and whosoever shall not resort to their meeting upon the Lord's day and such days of Fasting and Thanksgiving as shall be appointed by authority, shall pay 5/. No days commanded by the laws of England to be observed or regarded. No person shall join any person in marriage but a magistrate, it being an honorable ordinance and therefore should be accordingly solemnized. All strangers professing the true Christian religion, that shall flee to them for succor from the tyranny or oppression of their persecutors, or for any necessary or compulsory cause, shall be entertained and protected amongst them according to that power and prudence God shall give them. By which law, Whalley and Goffe, and other traitors were kindly received and entertained by Mr. Gookin and other magistrates."

Randolph states that the Bay authorities have a dislike to the French, bordering on their Eastern jurisdiction, "believing they have had a hand in the late war with the Indians." In reference to causes of this war, he relates: "Some believe there have been vagrant and jesuitical priests who made it their business, for some years past, to go from sachem to sachem, to exasperate the Indians against the English, and to bring them into a confederacy, and that they were promised supplies from France and other parts, to extirpate the English nation out of the continent of America. Some impute it to an imprudent zeal in the magistrates of Boston to Christianize those heathen before they were civilized, and enjoining them the strict observance of their laws." With regard to this last clause, it is erroneous in its matter of fact. Eliot and other missionaries were encouraged by the authorities of Massachusetts, as well as by the Commissioners of the Union, who acted for the Missionary Society in England, to bring the Indians to civilization and Christianity together, believing that the one was an efficient aid to the other.

From Randolph's description of the great body of the people in New England, as desirous for the subversion of Massachusetts ascendancy, so that they might come under a general Governor, he

* Hutchinson's Coll. p. 477.

1676.]

must either have been much imposed on, or made very incorrect conclusions from the real facts.

He continues his narrative. "The clergy are for the most part very civil, and inclining to his Majesty's Government, being held in subjection by the ruling elders, who govern all affairs of the church." If he meant that the former were not strong for their charter privileges, which he spoke of as naught, and that the latter were arrayed against them, in this respect he labored under a great error.

On October 12, he mentions the library at Harvard College as containing "some few books of the ancient fathers and school divines, but in regard divinity is the general study, there are many English books of the late Non-conformist writers, especially of Baxter and Dr. Owen. Here they teach Hebrew before they well understand Latin. Mr. Thomas Graves, an ingenious and worthy person, was put by his fellowship, by the late Dr. Hoar, because he would not renounce the Church of England."*

September. The Indians at Cambridge separated for different locations.† Some took up their abode at the falls of Charles River, and others at Nonantum Hill, where they first began to pray to God, under the instruction of Mr. Eliot. Here, Anthony, one of their teachers, had a large wigwam erected, in which Gookin held his Courts, and Eliot preached once a fortnight. The other week, these friends of the Indians met for like purposes, the Packemitt or Punkapoag tribe, who came from the Island at the same time, and were placed at Brush Hill, in Milton, under the supervision of Thomas Swift. With what they raised, the venison their hunters took, the corn and clothes provided by the Missionary Corporation, these several companies of natives were rendered very comfortable through the winter. They held to the religion of Christ, whose promises had enabled them to endure a great "fight of affliction." Besides the places where Indians met to worship, were Natick, Medfield, Concord and Namkeake, near Chelmsford. At most of them there were teachers and schools for the young.

October 3. Benanuel Bowers and his wife Elizabeth,‡ Thomas Osborn and his wife, are fined by the Middlesex Court for non-attendance on lawful worship. To be committed, if refusing payment.

12. The complaint of Mr. Rushworth last session, against Captain Joshua Scottow, of Boston, a firm supporter of Puritanism, charging him with employing soldiers under his command at Black Point for his own private concerns, is declared unsupported, and the accuser is required to pay the costs.

17. Thomas Clark is granted £6 by the Legislature, for serving as chaplain seven weeks at Narragansett. He was the son of Jonas

* Hutch. Coll. p. 477. † Gookin's Chr. Ind. p. 518, 9. ‡ Middlesex MS. Rec.

Clark,* born at Cambridge, March 2, 1653, graduated at Harvard College, 1670, succeeded John Fisk as second minister of Chelmsford, 1677, and died December 7, 1704.

25. As the allies of Philip were slain, taken, or had fled into remote parts; there was an abatement of an epidemical disease which had prevailed most of the summer; and there had been a plentiful harvest, Thanksgiving is ordered to be kept on the 9th of November. The Court, also, appoint a Fast to be observed the first Thursday in December.

November 1. Mugg,† desirous for peace, visits Portsmouth, bringing with him Fryer, mortally wounded, and promising that his crew should be returned without ransom. General Daniel Denison being there, accommodated him with a passage to Boston.

6. Here Mugg negotiates a treaty of peace with the Governor and Council, in behalf of Cheberina and Madockawanda, sachems of Penobscot, who are pledged to treat all eastern Indians as enemies, that continue hostile to the English. This was the first transaction of the kind with the Tarranteens.

10. Gookin gives an account of the praying Indians, to the Council.‡ It is to be understood that the first figures mean men; and the second, women and children. The Punkapoags reside about Milton, Dorchester and Braintree, where they are employed by the English, and number 35 men and 140 women and children. The Naticks are divided into four companies. One, with James Rumney Marsh and his relatives, dwell at Medfield, and are 5 and 20. Another reside near Natick, and the garrison-house of John Dewin and sons, and consist of 10 and 40. A third company are with Waban, adjacent to the falls of Charles River and the house of Joseph Miller; they are 12 and 50. A fourth division are located at Nonantum Hill, where they and some nigh John White's, of Muddy River, and Thomas Oliver's, meet to worship on the Sabbath; they constitute 15 and 60.

Among the Naticks, are remains of those Indians whose settlements, before the war, were at Hassanamesitt, Magunkog, Marlborough and Wamesitt. The Nashobahs are placed at Concord, numbering 10 and 40. Wannalancet's people are at Dunstable, nigh Jonathan Tyng's, and make 10 and 50. There are 8 and 17 at Ipswich. Some families live about Watertown and Cambridge, who number 7 and 33. The total is 112 men, 450 women and children, and in all 562. Above thirty of the men are at the eastward, under Captain Hunting. Part of them work for the English in spinning, cutting wood and building stone wall. Some of the children are put to service in English families. The several companies assemble on the Sabbath to worship God. There are

* Farmer's Gen. Reg.

† Williamson's Me. vol. i. p. 545.

‡ Gookin's Christian Indians, p. 532, 3.

1676.]

religious teachers of themselves at Medfield, Andrew Dewin's, Lower Falls, Nonantum, Concord and Dunstable. Evidently the desolations of war had greatly reduced the number of Christian Indians.

25. A vessel arrived at Boston from Ireland with a load of provisions,* to help supply those who had been impoverished by the war. She was thus fitted out by charitable Quakers of Dublin.

December 2. Increase Mather's "War with the Indians," from June 24, 1675, to the death of Philip, August 12, 1676, is licensed for a London press, "according to the original copy printed in New England." His reason for doing this was, that there were errors in the publications of a merchant in Boston, published in London, and of a Quaker (John Easton) in Rhode Island, "fraught with worse than mere mistakes," which required his correction.

After presenting the documents which prove that New England were amply justifiable in their resistance to the desolating attacks of this chief and his allies, Increase Mather remarks as follows: † "We may truly say of Philip and the Indians, who sought to dispossess us of the land which the Lord our God hath given to us, as sometimes Jephthah and the children of Israel said to the King of Ammon: 'I have not sinned against thee, but thou dost me wrong to war against me. The Lord the Judge be judge this day between the children of Israel and the children of Ammon.' And as Jehosaphat said, when the heathen in those days combined to destroy the Lord's people: 'And now behold the children of Ammon and Moab and Mount Seir, whom thou wouldst not let Israel invade, when they came out of the land of Egypt; but they turned from them and destroyed them not; behold how they rewarded us, to come to cast us out of thy possession, which thou hast given us to inherit.' Even so, when Philip was in the hands of the English in former years, and disarmed by them, they could, easily, but would not, destroy him and his men. The Governors of that Colony (Plymouth) have been as careful to prevent injuries to him as unto others; yea, they kept his land not from him but for him, who otherwise would have sold himself out of all; and the gospel was freely offered to him and to his subjects; but they despised it, and now behold how they reward us!"

18. Messrs. Rowlandson and Willard called on my father.‡ While they were here, Mr. Shepard came in. They discoursed of reformation, especially of the meetings of the Quakers and Anabaptists. They thought that if all could agree, i. e., the magistrates and ministers, the former might easily be suppressed, and the magistrates would see reason to handle the latter. As to what offense England might take at such a course, they should leave it to the disposal of God. They wished that all the children in the

* Inc. Mather's Diary,

† P. S. of Ind. Wars, by Inc. Mather, p. 8.

‡ Sewall's Diary.

country were baptized, and believed that as this rite was neglected, religion would falter.

Wunnanauhkomun was an Indian preacher at Christian town.* He was exemplary in the religious duties of his family, consisting of a wife and three daughters, who survived him, with the consolations of his parting benediction. He labored diligently to support his dependants, devoting a part of each successive mid-day to study and meditation, and the whole of the last day in the week to preparation for the Sabbath. "He was highly esteemed and honored by many of the poor people, to whom he dispensed the word of God, who therefore frequently visited him and performed many good offices for him in the time of his last and very long sickness." So comforted and disciplined, he peacefully departed, this year, for the Canaan of promise.

In the distressing war with Philip, the Indians at Martha's Vineyard,† being as twenty to one of the English there, were suspected by some persons, who desired that they might be disarmed. Their governor, Thomas Mayhew, and his assistants, favored a conversation, through Capt. Richard Sarson and a small party with the natives who resided at the west part of the Vineyard nearest to the main, and who had not lately professed Christianity. These Indians replied that they needed their arms to protect themselves against the insurgents, who were enemies to them as well as to the English. They also signed an obligation to do all in their power for the welfare of the Islands. Having such a return, the Governor immediately employed them as a guard, supplying them with needed ammunition and instructions how to act. They proved themselves faithful in the trust, and when their relatives and acquaintances came frequently to solicit and turn them from their covenant, they would bring them before the chief magistrate. Such was the confidence which they gained, the English of the Islands left with them the principal care of vigilance and defense against whatever approaches the enemy might make.

1677. January 4. The Council write to the like body in Connecticut on the subject of hiring the Mohawks against Eastern Indians. "Being fully assured that the Mackquaes are and long have been a great terror unto them, we have at length concluded, with your joint concurrence, which we desire, to send unto the said Mackquaes to invite their coming down upon them through the country, which may drive them down unto the sea-coast and places fit for our forces to fall upon them; and to bestow some suitable present upon them, by the hands of such persons as yourselves and Major Pynchon shall judge meet to betrust therewith." This was done next April by the officer, here named, with a guard of seven men.‡

They add: "We suppose you have long since received account

* E. Mayhew, *Indian Converts*, p. 18-20.

† Prince's *Autobiography of*

English Ministers, p. 295, 6.

‡ Conn. Gen. Ct. Papers.

1677.]

of the Irish Charity. We thought meet to give you account of our method of obtaining knowledge of such as are in distress, as you may see by this order, sent to our several towns, by which we find 660 families, consisting of 2,265 persons, in distress; and yet want returns from thirteen towns, which will augment our distressed inhabitants. We want such account from yourselves and the other Colony, by which we may proportion what is divisible amongst us."

14. John Fisk, minister of Chelmsford, is called to close his faithful labors. Though here as one of his various abodes, yet he was uniform and steadfast in the continuation of his exertions for the best of human interests. The Gospel, in its calls on the faith and obedience of all the world constantly increased, to his perception, in its excellence and necessity. Aside from the toil he had given to the education of youth, it was his joy to conform with the two-fold duties of a skillful physician and an able messenger of Revelation. An inestimable helper to him in his various employments was Anne, the companion of his younger years and trials. She was remarkable for her acquaintance with the Bible. She could guide expertly even the intelligent therein for knowledge. But the infirmities of mortality touched her vision. She lost her sight several years before her decease. Still the affliction imparted to her a nearer view of "the things which are not seen and are eternal." She expired 14th of February, 1671.* Though deeply afflicted, Mr. Fisk, after a time, married again, as a change better suited to his loneliness and usefulness, Elizabeth, the widow of his friend, Edmund Hinchman. While disciplined by his various allotments, he was careful to meet his obligations as they arose.

When the Westminster System of doctrines was communicated to the churches of New England, by the Colonial authorities, Mr. Fisk was among the most active to have this matter properly considered by his church, so that it might be returned for due and conclusive action. That his flock might feel that it was all-important for them to advance in heavenly wisdom and piety, he persevered in the means to give and perpetuate such improvement. He discoursed on the Assembly's Catechism twice with his people before his afternoon sermons on the Sabbath. He composed and published a useful catechism, called "Watering of the plants in Christ's garden, or a short catechism for the entrance of our Chelmsford children, enlarged by a three-fold appendix."

During his ministry, he went through "an exposition of almost all the Scripture in both Testaments," delivered a monthly lecture on week-day, discourses at the meetings of professors, and continued a salutary course of church discipline.

Yielding to the pressure of abundant labor and study, and receiving additional warnings that his earthly habitation was soon

* Allen's Chelmsford, p. 21, puts this 21st of March.

to be broken down, he was visited with the severities of stone and the gout. These occasioned him to be carried to and from the pulpit in a chair, whence, in a sitting posture, he dispensed the messages of salvation. But this privilege was arrested, and he was confined to his chamber. Waiting for the summons of his Lord, he said as follows to his four children, who were at his bed-side for a blessing: "You are as a shock of corn bound up, or as twins made beautiful by the covenant of grace. You have an interest in the sure mercies of David; those you have to live upon. Study to emulate one another; but in the best, in the best. Provoke one another to love. The God of your forefathers bless you all." Cotton Mather applies to him the passages of Paul, "The beloved physician; a brother whose praise is in the gospel throughout all churches."*

February 7. The Baptists of Boston and vicinity had become enlarged so much under the ministrations of Mr. Miles and others, they agree to form two churches,† though afterwards revoked.

On an expedition‡ of one hundred and fifty men, who sail from Boston to subdue the enemy in Maine, and liberate the captives in their hands, are sixty praying Indians. Previously to their departure a public Fast was observed for their success.

March 5. Robert Boyle addresses Robert Thompson§ on the subject of propagating the Gospel among the natives, where the East India Company had extended their commerce. He relates the means employed for a similar purpose among the Indians of New England: "We have caused the Holy Scriptures and some few choice practical books to be translated into their chiefest language. We have caused some of ours to learn their tongue; and, having convinced them of their idolatry and the sinfulness of their courses, to preach to them and to catechize them in their own language. And then we breed some of their hopeful, forward youths, to that knowledge of the English tongue and European learning, that they may afterwards be able to confute the idolatrous priests, and convert and instruct their own countrymen."

6. A case is before the Court of Assistants, which shows that Indian men, women and children had been sent to Fayal, and there sold, without proper authority. The vessel which carried them was commanded by John Houghton. He was charged with man-stealing and cleared; but was fined £20 and costs for not protesting against the reception of such Indians on board of his vessel.||

April 24. Thomas Parker dies in his eighty-second year. He was the only son of Rev. Robert Parker, and was born 1596. For a time he studied at Oxford, afterwards with Dr. Usher, of Ireland, and with Dr. Ames, in Holland. He returned to Newbury, in England, where he preached and taught school. He came with

* *Magnalia*, vol. i. p. 477-80.

† Hubbard's *Indian Wars*, p. 345.

‡ Backus, vol. i. p. 480.

§ Life of Boyle. || Ct. of Ass't Rec.

1677.]

other "devout Christians out of Wiltshire," to New England, in May, 1634. He preached at Ipswich about a year, as an assistant to Mr. Ward. The next year he was settled as pastor, and James Noyes as teacher, over the Newbury church. He lived a bachelor, and having no children of his own, he supplied several young men with means to be educated at Harvard. He was an advocate for Presbyterianism, which was the source of long and severe trouble to him and his colleague, as opposed by a large number of their congregation. He had printed several theses *de traductione peccatoris ad vitam*, composed by him when young; with some works of Dr. Ames; a Letter of his to a Member of Parliament, on the Government of the Churches in England, 1644; his Exposition of Daniel's Prophecies, 4to, 1646; and a Letter to his Sister, Mrs. Avery, on her religious opinions, 1649. Several years before his decease, he became blind. He used to remark on his darkened eyes, "They will be restored shortly in the resurrection." He deservedly sustained the reputation of eminence in talent, scholarship, beneficence and piety.

Thomas Jollie, of Pendleton, near Clitheron Lane, addresses Increase Mather, whom he had never seen.* "The extraordinary account of the New England worthies which I ever had, and the entire accord I have with them in that pure yet peaceable way wherein the Lord hath led them, have been the foundation of a more abundant affection to the New England churches than any people in the world. The late troubles you were in, gave us an occasion to know our own hearts the better as to that thing. The Lord is witness how deeply we resented your distresses, and what days were set apart for you, as also how heartily we rejoiced in your deliverance, and what a day of thanksgiving we had on that account." He speaks of reformation in the churches of Old and New England. "I wish to know the true state of that question among you about the posterity of the church. Whether you do not admit them as complete members of the Lord's supper, if they be free from scandalous sins of omission and commission, if they do also solemnly own the covenant with the Lord and his people, though they give not a satisfactory account of the work of God upon their souls, and yet would partake of such farther privilege; whether you exercise discipline upon them in a church-way, if they neglect the duty and privilege aforesaid; whether you admit the children of such to baptism, the immediate parents falling into scandal or neglecting to own the Covenant as aforesaid."

May 8. John Westgate of Harleston, Norfolk, writes to Increase Mather.† He formerly resided at Rev. John Cotton's, of Boston. "The sad condition of New England has been much upon our

* Mather's Papers.

† Ibid.

hearts. We have had many solemn days of humiliation and y^e 25th of January last, we had a solemn day of Thanksgiving for y^e great deliverance we heard y^e Lord had given you. This was very general among all y^e Congregational churches in city and country round about, we sending one to another, and agreeing of y^e day before hand, which was also kept by many of y^e Baptist congregations. In which day (understanding your deliverance was not perfected) we not only blessed God for y^e mercy you had received, but pleaded with God to perfect your deliverance, and help you to a thorough reformation, both in Church and Commonwealth." He thanks Mr. Mather for the history of the wars. He thinks that New England suffers in Old England for severe treatment to the Quakers, and that our laws should be more lenient to them, and especially to the Baptists. Of these he says, are three classes in England; one who hold no other regular Christian churches but theirs, and will not join in prayer with the best of Congregational ministers, even in the family. Another, who join with Congregationalists in religious service. The third (most of them in London) commune with other denominations.

23. Considering the settlement of adjacent Indians to be of "great concernment," the Court make the subsequent regulations.* All their children and youth, who are disposed of by authority, or by the consent of the parents and relatives, to any English people, shall be taught the Christian religion and remain servants till they are twenty-four years old, except special contract otherwise provide. The children of hostile parents, or those who have lived with the enemy, and have been captured, and given or sold to the English, shall be at the disposal of their masters, if instructed in civilization and Christianity. Others, in this jurisdiction, inclusive of those known as praying Indians, shall dwell at Natick, Punkapoag, Hassanamesitt and Wamesitt; be inspected and governed, as the Legislature direct; a list of their number shall be taken annually; they shall entertain no foreign Indians without leave of their overseers. None of them are to carry guns a hunting without permits.

The General Court commence a session. Their transactions follow. All laws, for preventing the violation of the Sabbath, shall be read by ministers to their congregations, twice every year, in March and September. The Selectmen are required to appoint persons, as tything-men, each of whom shall have the inspection of ten families in his own neighborhood, and who, in absence of constables, shall have power to apprehend all violators of the Sabbath. These trespassers shall be "put into a cage in Boston, which is to be forthwith set up in the market-place," and in such other towns as the county courts may designate, where they are to remain, till tried and punished. Constables are required to

* Gen. Ct. Record.

1677.]

search for Quakers on the Lord's day, if suspected of being met together for worship, and should they be denied admittance, they may break open the doors and take them. All who are able to attend allowed worship and do not, shall be legally fined.

June 5. Capt. Jno. Gardner, brought from Nantucket to General Court at Martha's Vineyard, when led into Court, sat down with his hat on, showing by his manners, contempt for them. They fined him £10, in money. Not allowing the Court at Nantucket to be legally chosen, he appeals to the Court of Assize at New York. On August 3d, Andros and his Council order a suspension of Gardner's case, and the case of Folger and others. Sept. 21, they order the sentence for Gardner and Tristram Coffin's disfranchisement and fine to be null, and that Folger's case can be laid before Governor and Council at New York.*

Benanuel Bowers, of Charlestown, and wife Elizabeth, are in Cambridge prison.† He, by her, on March 5th, presented Thomas Danforth a Quaker book, and "a paper of scurrilous verses," which defamed him and other magistrates. For this, Bowers is sentenced to be whipped twenty stripes, next 5th day after lecture, in Boston.

On the petition of Salisbury, the Court nominate a Committee to go thither and settle their town and church difficulties, which had existed for several years.

11. The selectmen of Salem agree,‡ that each of them would take turns and go with the constables, forenoon and afternoon, morning and evening, of the Sabbath, to prevent its being violated.

22. Edmund Brown, minister of Sudbury,§ closes his useful life. He was employed here in pastoral labors as early as 1638. He was admitted freeman, 1640. The Magnalia places him among its first class of divines, or such as had been ministers before leaving England for this country. His wife had been widow of John Lovejoy. "He was a worthy and good character; a man of eminence and distinction in his day."

July 3. Recently some of the Mohawks had carried away the son of Uncas, though they had a treaty with the English.|| This event led the praying Indians, who feared lest they might be attacked by the Mohawks, to forsake their settlements and corn at Natick, Magunkog and Hassanamesitt. Resorting to such injurious means of self-preservation, some of them move to English plantations, Medfield, Concord, Cambridge and Chelmsford, where they supported themselves by their labor.

6. John Knowles, of London, addresses a letter to Governor Leverett.¶ He mentions a committee there, for the College here at Cambridge, and of a Mr. Smith, as a suitable architect to be

* Nantucket Papers, p. 110-13. † Mass. Gen. Ct. Rec. ‡ Salem Town Rec.

§ Magnalia, vol. ii. p. 235. Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. 2 s. vol. iv. p. 58.

|| Gookin's Christian Indians, p. 519.

¶ Hutchinson's Coll. p. 514.

employed on the new College building. He desires that Mr. Higginson, of Salem, may be requested to influence his congregation to contribute something for the support of Hugh Peters's widow, who had been maintained, since his execution, by Mr. Cockquaine and his church. He remarks: "The blessed God strengthen your heart and hand in that great work, which he hath called you to."

9. An order is issued by Governor Bradstreet to the keeper of the Boston prison. "Whereas there was one man and four women, Quakers,* committed to prison yesterday, being the Lord's day, for making an horrible disturbance, and affrighting the people in the South church in Boston, in the time of the public dispensing of the Word, whereby several women, as I am informed, are in great danger of miscarrying;"—they are to be kept until legally discharged, and others taken with them at their meeting, are to be dealt with according to the last law. The principal actor among these prisoners was Margaret Brewster, who came from Barbadoes. She had sent what she called "A warning from the great God of heaven and earth to the rulers and magistrates of Boston, in New England, that they put not in practice that cruel law that they have made concerning swearing." She was the chief leader† in the disturbance, for which the Governor's order was issued. Fancying that she could predict judgments on the people and in a prophetic manner, she conducted as William Coddington wrote, August 16, to Ralph Fretwell, of Barbadoes. She went "into Thacher's meeting in sackcloth, with ashes upon her head, and barefoot, and her face blacked. With her was Lydia Wright, of Long Island, and Sarah Miles and Elizabeth Bowen, Jr., and John Easton, Jr., who took her riding clothes and shoes, when she went into the house. The 4th of this month they were called before the Court at Boston, and she was sentenced to be whipped up and down the town with twenty lashes, and the three maids were to follow the cart." Easton was asked if he were a single man, and then released. The sentence was executed on the 9th.

Coddington continues: "The same day that the four above-mentioned were apprehended, these others were apprehended at their ordinary place of meeting, viz., Robert Edmunds, Edward Sheppey, John Soames, George Walker, Jeremy Deeble, George Danson, Miles Foster, Thomas Scott, Humphrey Hodges, William Neale, Bridget Phillips, Eliphaz Stratton, Elizabeth Bowers, Sen. and Elizabeth Bowers, Jr. These were all of them whipped but

* Besse, vol. ii. p. 259, 60.

† On her trial, the Governor asked her, "Are you the woman that came into Mr. Thacher's meeting-house with your hair frizzled and dressed in the shape of a devil?" She answered, "I am the woman" who so came "with my hair about my shoulders, ashes upon my head, my face colored black, and sackcloth upon my upper garments." The constable said, "I thought her hair looked like a *periwig*." Increase Mather's Diary states that one of the women, thus frightened, died in consequence.

1677.]

Miles Foster and Thomas Scott, for some paid their fines, against their minds. The next meeting-day, these were whipped: Robert Edmunds, Edward Sheppey, John Soames, Miles Foster, William Richardson, Humphry Hodges, Jeremy Deeble, Thomas Hilbourn, Robert Levy, Josiah Southick, George Danson, William Mumford, Bridget Phillips, Eliphal Stratton and Ann Wilson. Three of these were strangers and masters of ships. The next meeting-day, seven of our "Friends" assembled, and many gathered with them. Neither then nor afterwards were they forbidden to meet for worship. It appears that the authorities had concluded to try the experiment of such toleration towards the Quakers, and perceiving it subsequently better than they had feared, allowed it an uninterrupted right. Thus, a source of bitter sorrow was closed for those who felt bound to execute law, and those who felt equally obligated to oppose it at any hazard.

In connection with his account of Margaret Brewster, Coddington gives the following. He states that with Governor Vane and himself, then a magistrate and treasurer of Massachusetts, there were, for two days in 1637, "the major part of the magistrates and deputies, against the banishment of John Wheelwright and Anne Hutchinson;" but that, on the third day, "the priests got two of the magistrates on their side, and so got the major part with them."

10. As the occasion of great affliction in Boston, Peter Hobart's Diary gives the subsequent fact. A ship arrives at Nantasket with the small pox. In consequence, more than eight hundred died. Increase Mather relates in his Diary more particulars. August. Small pox very sore. 8th. Fast observed for it. It raged most violently November 3, when there were notes to pray for eighty persons, eight lying dead, six buried, and thirty-eight had died in town with it in one week, to the first of the month. Next April 23, he states that his congregation gave public thanks for restoration of health to Boston.

25. Mr. Higginson, of Salem, makes the subsequent record.* "The Lord having allowed the Indians," at the Eastward, "to take no less than thirteen ketches of Salem and captivate the men, though divers of them cleared themselves and came home, it struck great consternation into all the people here, and it was agreed that the Lecture day should be kept as a Fast. The Lord was pleased to send in some of the ketches on the Fast day, which was looked on as a gracious smile of Providence. Also, nineteen wounded men had been sent to Salem a little while before. Also a ketch with forty men was sent out of Salem, as a man of war, to recover the rest of the ketches. The Lord gave them success."

August 4. The Quakers hold a monthly meeting† at the house of Josiah Southwick, in Salem. As an encouragement to the cause

* Salem First Ch. Rec.

† Friends' Record. Smith's N. J. p. 98, 102.

of this denomination in America, a Colony of them from England, arrive the 16th of this month at West Jersey. Similar emigrations followed.

14. A communication of Richard Blinman,* formerly a minister in New England, to Increase Mather, observes: "Your agents in London, have not so good a reception, as is desired, and that you will be like to lose your Patent."

16. A letter from Massachusetts bearing this date, and directed to Major John Talcott, of the Connecticut Council, complains that they had not come up to the line of duty, as implied by the principles of their Union, and thus defeat had come on the forces in Maine. It remarks: "Many eyes are looking upon us in this day of our adversity. Those that are wise hearted among ourselves, do with Eli, sit trembling to think of the Ark of God; and we fear there are too many, that would rejoice to see it delivered into the hands of the uncircumcised." An answer to it, of September 3d, takes a different view.

This is the date of a preface to "An historical discourse concerning the prevalency of prayer" in the late deliverance of New England "from the rage of the Heathen," by Increase Mather.

In the same year, this author published his "Relation of the troubles in New England by reason of the Indians," from 1614 to 1675.

This summer, as Gookin relates, part of the praying Indians† "were employed; some to scout with Lieut. Richardson upon the borders of the Merrimack, to watch the motions of the eastern enemy; others were sent to keep garrison in the east parts, as at Cocheco, York, Wells and Black Point; others went with a small army to Black Point, where eight of them were slain."

September 1. A letter is addressed in England, to the Governor‡ of "New England," or Massachusetts, by Peter Chamberlain, Sen., a seventh-day Baptist. He calls himself "Doctor of both Universities, and first and eldest physician in ordinary to his Majesty's person, according to the world, but according to grace, a servant of the word of God." He continues: "I have always had a love to the intended purity and unspotted doctrine of New England; for Mr. Cotton was of the same College and University, of Emmanuel in Cambridge, as I was, and so was Mr. Hooker and others, with whom we were all contemporary; and I never knew them but of a holy life and conversation. I also knew Colonel Humfrey, Sir Richard Saltonstall and Mr. Peters, who were of note among you, and Sir Henry Vane, who all had some share in the foundation of your government. But certainly, the first intentions were never to debar the truths of Scripture and liberty of conscience guided thereby; but to suppress sin and idolatry, and prevent all the

* Mather Papers. † Gookin's Chr. Ind. p. 519. ‡ Backus, vol. i. p. 476, 7.

1677.]

adulteries of Rome, to whom all things are lawful, especially lies in hypocrisy ; to promote their most damnable doctrines, covetous superstitions and blasphemous supremacy. It is great wisdom to suppress sin, but not oppress the liberty of a good conscience ; and whilst men grant liberty of conscience, not to admit liberty of sin. All magistrates have not attained to this wisdom, else England had been long since freed from popery and perjury."

This month a company of Mohawks, contrary to the stipulations between their nation and the Confederates, come down and show themselves hostile to the Christian Indians. A party of them captured two of their widow women, who were at Hassanamesitt. They, or others, killed Josiah Nowell, an Indian of good reputation, within a half mile of an English house at Sudbury. Pursuit was made after such aggressors, by English and Indians, but they escaped. The peril, thus occasioned, induced the Naticks and Pakemits to repair their forts.*

10. Urian Oakes preaches an Artillery Election sermon at Cambridge.† His text is Ecclesiastes ix. 11., and subject, "The Sovereign Efficacy of Divine Providence." In the application of this doctrine to the military hearers, he refers them to hard conflicts, which they had had with hostile Indians, as a lesson to teach them reliance on the help of God. He mentions that complaint is made, that when they meet for exercise in arms, there is too much smoking, carousing, swaggering and dishonoring the Lord. He proceeds: "It is one of the characters of a good soldier, Acts x. 2, to be a man of prayer. It were well if all our artillery and military gentlemen were men of this character." He advises them, that, while they try and hope for success, they would prepare for disappointments, of which, from the beginning of the war and subsequently, they had repeated experience. Of his closing remarks, is the injunction: "Follow your commander in chief, the Lord Jesus Christ. He was the greatest example that ever was, or will be in the world, of sobriety, gravity, seriousness and diligence in his work ; of prudent and prosperous management of his affairs ; of savory, gracious communication and holy conversation. Learn of him, and you shall be prosperous men indeed."

13. A committee of the Legislature, Daniel Denison, Joseph Dudley, Thomas Savage, Hugh Mason and Daniel Fisher, report on their proceedings with Messrs. Wheelwright, Pike and others, of the church at Salisbury. They relate that the original fault of Major Pike was not a plain matter of immorality, but his subsequest contention ; his impeachment of the pastor, Mr. Wheelwright, and thereby much disturbance in the church and town ; his contemptuous treatment of the same minister, sudden withdrawal

* Gookin's Chr. Indians, p. 519, 20.

† Patres' New England.

[MASS.]

from the church, and disregard for their judgment ;—was wrong, and for all which, he is expected to make a “candid acknowledgment.” They mention that Mr. Wheelwright had been precipitate in pronouncing sentence of excommunication against said Pike, and thus occasioning a breach in the church. They are obliged to state that the conduct of those, belonging to the church and town, who petitioned the General Court to dismiss Mr. Wheelwright from his ministry, “by rendering him to be the cause of the disturbance, and that his ministry had a tendency to the inflaming the minds of people one against another—a practice of so dangerous a consequence, that not only the contrivers, but even those drawn thereinto ought to reflect upon with self-condemnation, which we expect to hear from them.” They find that the brethren with Major Pike are chargeable with a breach of communion and tendency to schism by espousing his cause. They consider those of Amesbury, who have been similarly involved, alike to blame. They advise all the parties to take a serious review of the subject, and desire that Mr. Wheelwright and his church may restore the Major to their communion on the acknowledgment mentioned ; and that they, so receiving him, may see their error, as already intimated. They propose that the people harmonize in the choice of a “godly and learned person to assist their pastor in the work of his ministry, not abating his former maintenance among them.”

The same committee* assembled at Salisbury, October 30, to ratify the preceding advice. Having given a day to attendance on hearing the various statements of both parties, they, on collection of the assembly next morning, obtained their consent to have a settlement of their difficulties, as had been specifically laid before them.

19. A company of Indians from Canada,† who came with those that attack Deerfield and Hatfield, visit Wannalancet and his people, near Chelmsford, and take them away for their residence, except two men and their wives, one of whom was their minister, and a widow, who effected an escape. The subjects of Wannalancet, who departed with him, were fifty, of whom were eight men, and the rest women and children. Reasons for his leaving the territory of his fathers, were, that he had no sufficient means to defend his people against the Eastern Indians and the Maquas who were hostile to them ; had little means for subsistence, because his planting soil had been occupied by the English ; the party with whom he went away were his relatives, one of them being his wife’s brother, and his son resided with the French. Gookin, who states

* Major — Appleton, of Ipswich, was with them at the latter time, and signed the report at Salisbury, as they did.

† Gookin’s Christian Indians.

1677.]

these facts, observes of the Sachem, that he "made a profession of religion; was of a prudent and peaceable spirit."

About this time, Mr. Eliot held a lecture at Natick. He was accompanied by Gookin and other friends to the missionary cause. On this occasion, Waban made an address, which comprised some leading points in the experience of himself and other Indian converts. He remarked that before so destructive a conflict, they had been much encouraged by many Christians of Old and New England. After it began, they were in peril by the allies of Philip and by many of the Colonists, who were prejudiced against them, and they feared an utter extermination. The authorities, to save them, ordered that they take up their residence on Deer Island, and thus they were obliged to forsake their homes and substance, and look for "famine and nakedness." While so situated, the Lord raised up friends in England, who had them supplied with food and raiment; and the rulers here, with confidence in their faithfulness, which was generally suspected, employed some of their men to war with the enemy, which they did successfully. This brought them into favor with the many who had unjustly looked on them as ungrateful and treacherous. The close of Waban's speech says: "For all these things, we desire God only may be glorified."

Gookin replied to such observations. He stated, that Christ teaches all his disciples to bear the cross after him daily, and that there were bad Englishmen as well as bad Indians. He adds: "Let us leave this case to God, and wait upon him in a way of well-doing, patience, meekness and humility, and God will bring a good issue in the end, as you have seen and experienced." He then closes with the encouragement, that the Great Shepherd would accept his labors for these people, who, though despised by some, "are, through the grace of Christ, the first professors, confessors, if I may not say martyrs, of the Christian religion among the poor Indians in America."

25. To this date, from November 4, 1674, Roger Derby and wife Lucretia, were fined several times, as inhabitants of Ipswich, for absence on the Sabbath, from the Congregational worship. In the last year, a piece of land was taken to meet such demands, and afterwards they were ordered to prison, if they delayed to pay them. Some have supposed that they were Quakers, but they appear to me as though they were Episcopalians. They moved to Salem in 1681. He was ancestor of the Derbys, eminent as merchants in this place.

October 1. Samuel Whiting, of Lynn, writes to his cousin and brother in the ministry, Increase Mather. "Let me beg one request of you, that you would set pen to paper in writing a history of New England since the coming of our chief men hither, which you may do by conferring with Mr. Higginson and some

of the first planters in Salem and other places, which I hope you may easily accomplish, having by your diligence and search found out so much history concerning the Pequot War. And the rather let me entreat this favor of you, because it hath not been hitherto done by any in a polite and scholarlike way, which, if it were so done, would gladden the hearts of many of the Lord's people, and turn to your great account in the last and great day of the Lord Jesus."

2. The selectmen of Charlestown are licensed by the County Court to erect a cage "for the restraint of such as shall be taken in profaning the Sabbath, and other dissolute and disorderly persons."

A remonstrance of B. Bowers to the General Court last May is referred to Middlesex Court, who find no just exception against the sentence for his commitment to prison; and consider that his obstinacy against the laws, "making his appeal to England," has brought on him the sufferings of which he complains.*

7. Samuel Cheever, of the Marblehead church and congregation,† is received into the Salem church, being recommended by the Ipswich church. It appears that the members of the church to whom he preached still held their connection with those at Salem, who were considered as its parent church.

10. The Legislature convene.‡ They empower tythingmen to inspect public houses when they think necessary.

They appoint Thanksgiving on the 15th of November, in view of a plentiful harvest and a great diminution of the enemy's rage.

As an expression of their loyalty, they order a present for the King, consisting of "10 barrels of cranberries, 2 hogsheads of special good samp, and 3,000 cod-fish."

12. They address a letter to the Mohawk sachems. They state to them that six of their men, fully armed, were lately taken in the woods, near Boston; that these were imprisoned, but when ascertained to be Maquas, they were released; that they are disposed to continue the treaty, made with them of late in Albany, by Major Pynchon, though some of their nation had recently killed a man and carried away two squaws of the Natick Indians; that they wish for such aggressors to make satisfaction and return the women, and no more harm to be done to their friends, the Indians, who had proved themselves faithful in the war; that they would reward any of the Mohawks who should pursue the Canada Indians that carried captives from Hatfield, and recover the latter; that they had been disappointed in not having their aid against the Eastern enemy.

In compliance with a petition from Hatfield, the Court desire the Governor to send letters by the six troopers, who are to guard

* Middlesex Ct. Rec.

† Salem First Ch. Rec.

‡ Gen. Ct. Rec.

1677.]

the six Mohawks on their way homeward, to the Governor of Canada and the Indians who had carried away some of their inhabitants, so that these might be restored to their families and friends.

22. The Legislature, while preparing communications for friends in London,* express the deep importance which they consider involved in their difficulties with the Crown. "We thought meet by this opportunity to represent to you the due sense we have or would manifest of the good hand of the Lord our God upon us in general, and yourselves in particular, in this affair of so great concernment to us in our spiritual and civil liberties and constitutions, that when the enemy struck at the foundation of these our precious things, manifested in the eighth article and otherwise, the Lord our God, (in whose hand is the King's heart and the management of all these our concerns,) we believe, hath made them (by this act) to begin to fall before his people, and therefore we hope they shall not prevail, but most surely, (as Haman's wise men told him;) and so we would take it as a matter of great thankfulness to our God. Though we yet have not what we expected or desired, or hope we may have, and further difficulties remain to be conflicted with, yet this beginning is more than we deserve, and would look upon it as an answer of prayer, and a token for good shewed us from the Lord."

After Jeremiah, son to Thomas Shepard of Cambridge, had preached at Rowley from February, 1673, amid experience of increasing opposition from part of his hearers, the parties receive a decision of their difficulty from a committee of the Legislature.† These conclude as to the singular purpose of some to settle him, though not having become legally qualified in the relations of freeman and church member, as follows: "The Court declare that they will not countenance any procedure or actings therein contrary to the laws of this Court, having therein made provision for the peace of the churches and a settled ministry in each town. And that all votes passed by any among them contrary thereto, are hereby declared null and void."

The same year Mr. Shepard ceased preaching at Rowley, he commenced the like service at Chebaaco, a part of Ipswich. Here the result was unhappy, as it had been in the former town. Joseph Dudley and others, a committee of the General Court, report their proceedings as to this trouble, June 11, 1680. They relate, that they had expressed to him his omission of union with some regular church, and advised him to perform this duty, "that he may with more general approbation labor in the work of the ministry;" that they recommended his friends to select a candidate for settlement, who should be likely to promote their best welfare; and that they presented John Wise, as the person whom

* Gen. Ct. Rec. † Ibid. Hist. of Rowley, p. 76, 7; of Ipswich, p. 258.

they had unanimously chosen. Mr. Shephard became a church member between October 15, 1679, and May 19, 1680, being declared a freeman at the latter date. He was ordained at Lynn, and was eminent in his profession.

Gookin speaks as follows of a distinguished person among the Christian Indians, who lived at Natick. "In this town they have residing some of their principal rulers, the chief whereof is named Waban, who is now seventy years of age. He is a person of great prudence and piety. I do not know any Indian that excels him." Though the decease of this individual, so desirably introduced, has been represented as in 1670 and 1674, yet he was among the witnesses against the conspiracy of Philip in April and afterwards in 1675, and was alive September 19, 1677. He probably died not long after this date. He left a wife, Tasunsquaw, daughter to Tahattawan, sachem of Musquitaquid, or Concord. She was living in 1684. His son Thomas served the people of Natick, many years, as a Town Clerk. Shephard, of Cambridge, observed that the Indians gave "names to their children, usually, according to appearances of providences; and the most Indians for stirring up other Indians to seek after the knowledge of God in these parts is Waban, which signifies *wind*; although they never dreamt of this their Waban should breathe such a spirit of life and encouragement into the rest of the Indians, as he hath endeavored in all parts of the country, both at Concord, Merrimack, and elsewhere."*

22. A petition from Chebacco, in Ipswich, to the General Court, that they may continue meetings for worship, is referred to the town, who had opposed such a privilege as irregular.

23. John Eliot writes to Robert Boyle,† as President of the Missionary Corporation: "The poor praying Indians do thankfully acknowledge that (under God our heavenly Father, and under Jesus Christ our Redeemer, who redeemeth us out of all our troubles) you have been the means and instruments in his hands, to save and deliver us. God moved your hearts to own us in that black day, when we were almost ready to be swallowed up in destruction. Many of our aged, decrepid, fatherless and widows, still wear the garments which your charity did, the last winter, clothe us withal. Understanding that some doubt is raised about your countenancing and encouraging our rulers, who are of us, and live among us, and without whose presence and assistance, the Lord's work of soul-instruction and edification will soon faint, sink and come to nothing, our humble petition is, first, to God, that he who hath hitherto, would still move your hearts for our welfare; and next, our petition is unto yourselves, that we may have the countenance of your favour, to countenance and own our rulers among us, without whose

* Hist. of Concord, p. 28, 9.

† Birch's Life of Boyle.

1677.]

countenance, our teachers will be of little power, especially among our youth and rising generations, who do not yet savor the things of the gospel of Jesus Christ; and among strangers, who have not yet tasted how good the Lord is, though for their protection and safety, they have crowded in upon us.

"In our first war with the Indians, God pleased to show us the vanity of our military skill in managing our arms after the European mode. Now we are glad to learn the skulking way of war.

"The Governor of New York sent a strength this summer, and took possession of a northern post, where they fixed and fortified themselves, since whose coming the Indians have not stirred much. Whether their intention be to promote religion, or only trading, I know not."

Eliot continues as follows: "It pleased the Lord very lately to permit a small handful, not twenty, of the late scattered rod, to make a sore disruption upon Hadley and Deerfield, where about twelve persons were killed, more than twenty carried away captive or lost, seven dwellings burned, and sundry barns full of corn; and since, they have appeared at Hadley and burned the mill. These last actions have very much discouraged our people from repairing the destroyed towns, which some were beginning to do."

"We had a Sachem of the greatest blood in the country, submitted to pray to God a little before the wars. His name is Wanalancet. In the time of the wars he fled, by reason of the wicked actings of some English youth, who causelessly and basely killed some of them. He was persuaded to come in again. But the English having ploughed and sown with rye all their lands, they had but little corn to subsist by. A party of French Indians, of whom some were of the kindred of this Sachem's wife, very lately fell upon this people, being but few and unarmed, and partly by persuasion, partly per force, carried them all away. One, with his wife, child and kinswoman, who were of our praying Indians, made their escape, came in to the English, and discovered what was done. These things keep some in a continual disgust and jealousy of all the Indians."

24. John Leverett writes to Earl Frontinac, of Canada. He states that Indians from that quarter, pretending to be Mohawks, on the 19th of September, killed and wounded some of our people and took prisoners of others. He desires him to discourage such expeditions, and assist the bearers in obtaining the liberty of our Christian captives.

November 18. Mr. Higginson, of Salem, reads a vote of the town,* dated 9th, that a contribution be taken for the poor every Sabbath, and that the individuals, unable to give money, may put on paper what they will otherwise give.

* Salem First Ch. Rec.

December 3. Mr. Bailey, pastor of the Salem Village church, is admitted to the Salem church, the former being still a branch of the latter. He presented a letter of dismission from the Newbury church.

18. John Russell, John Wilson, Sen., and Caleb Farlow, are fined as Baptists, for neglect of authorized worship.* George Polly, the wife of John Wilson, Sen., John Wilson, Jr., Timothy Brooks, Francis Wiman, Aaron Cleaveland, and Hopestill Foster, are admonished, and ordered to pay costs for a similar charge.

Benanuel Bowers, and his wife Elizabeth, are ordered to pay £5 each, or be whipped openly fifteen stripes apiece, for reproaching and slandering Thomas Danforth. They are to be committed till their sentence is executed.

Daniel Gookin, of Cambridge, dates his account of the praying Indians to the Society in England, who support missions among them. The same month, it was approved by John Eliot as correct.

22. Thomas Shepard, minister of Charlestown, dies of the small pox. He was son to Thomas, of Cambridge, born in London, April 5, 1635, graduated at Harvard College, 1653, and ordained colleague with Mr. Symmes, April 13, 1659. He married Hannah Tyng, November 3, 1656. She and three children, Thomas, Anna and Margaret, survived him. His Election Sermon of 1672, is quoted under that year. There are several volumes of his manuscript sermons in the American Antiquarian Library. An elegy of his, on John Norton, is published in Morton's Memorial. The disease which proved his death, was prevalent among his parishioners. It was then dreaded as the plague. One of his flock sick with it, desired a visit from him. He complied, expecting that the contagion would attack him, and fearing that it would terminate his life. One of the elegies, occasioned by his decease, says:

"Rather than run from his work, he chose to die,
Running on death, sooner than duty fly."

At the next commencement, President Oakes, in a Latin oration, spoke of him as follows: "He was possessed of undissembled piety and uncommon learning, united with modesty, amiable manners, and noted industry. His countenance was grave, his words well considered and weighty, and his gestures becoming and unaffected. He was of a very sedate turn, sincere and open, possessed of a fertile mind, and a penetrating judgment, and distinguished for the mildness and sweetness of his manners."

28. The Council address letters to ministers and selectmen of towns, as to bringing in the remainder of subscriptions for the College brick edifice.

This year Increase Mather publishes a discourse on the renewal of the covenant, the duty of decaying and distressed churches.

* MS. Middlesex Ct. Rec.

1678.]

1678. January. The Baptists of Boston and vicinity, who had agreed to form themselves into two churches,* conclude to defer such a separation till they can obtain a suitable ministry. They also decide to have a new meeting-house. They had the labors of Messrs. Russell and Miles, and thought of settling one or the other of them.

21. Thomas Thacher, minister, of Boston, dates "a brief rule to guide the common people of New England how to order themselves and theirs in the small pox or measles." It is printed on one side of a sheet of paper.

February 21. A public Fast is observed, because of small pox in some towns; fears of further trouble with hostile Indians; and in behalf of the agents in England, by order of Council.

March 7. Elders, met at the lecture in Boston,† have the following question laid before them by some brethren of the church at Woburn. "There being one that was in his infancy in Woburn church, that when adult, did receive rebaptization from a person belonging to that disorderly society of Anabaptists, lately combined amongst us. This rebaptize now desiring to join the church in Woburn, the question is whether the church ought to receive him into their communion until such time as he doth acknowledge his offence in the matter mentioned." The Elders reply: "The person in question hath been guilty of violating plain, clear rules in the Scripture, which he ought to see and acknowledge before admission into the church. He hath made himself one with that disorderly society of Anabaptists, combined to the disturbance both of civil and ecclesiastical order. Anabaptism, though a pretended friend, hath been a fatal enemy to the interest of the Reformation, wherever it hath sprung up. Witness Stockholm, Munster and other places. Mr. Baxter, in his treatise of Infant Baptism, testifieth, that when he lived at Coventry, they were, at first, very indulgent towards the Anabaptists, as hoping they might be honest, well-meaning men, but afterwards, they saw a sad consequence of their too much indulgence. It is famously known that an excess of indulgence towards Socinian Anabaptists hath been the ruin of the churches in Transylvania." This shows the reason why, at this period, the ministers of the allowed order, were so opposed to Baptists, lest, if becoming sufficiently numerous, they would overturn the institutions of the country. But, happily for the general good, such fears were not realized in those Baptists, who were the occasion of them, nor have they been in their successors. It is true that the most of these deny the churches who practice infant baptism, and this ordinance by way of sprinkling, to be of regular foundation, and not admissible to communion with them. Had they first settled our Puritan

* Backus, vol. i. p. 480.

† Mather MS.

churches, and had no greater light than the age afforded, and perceived others coming among them, who renounced their close communion and thus declared all their churches to be without true foundations; there can be little doubt, that such intruders would have experienced treatment severe as that of their fathers, when first setting up here their claims to immersion.

March 27. In the correspondence of Increase Mather, a note says there is "an engrossed bill for the better and more speedy discovery of Popish recusants, read and ordered to a second reading" in Parliament. Soon after this, another letter to him states that Parliament are more against Papists than the Non-conformists. The cause of this was the discovery of what was called the Popish plot "to take away the King's life, to subvert the constitution, to introduce Popery and to extirpate the Protestant religion, root and branch." The King disbelieved it, and remarked to Lord Halifax, "that it was not probable that the Papists should conspire to kill him, for have I not been kind enough to them?" (says his Majesty.) "Yes," (says his Lordship,) "you have been too kind indeed to them; but they know you will only trot, and they want a prince that will gallop." The Papists were well aware that, however Charles was of their religion at heart, yet he was not so strenuous for it as his brother James. They too often acted on the principle, that the end justifies the means.

The Elders of the Boston Lecture, continue their remarks. "Different apprehensions among ourselves about the subjects of baptism are alleged, some being for the immediate seed, some for the grand-children, and some no children."

"Our ministers have pressed for a well-bounded toleration." Answer. "This plea ought not to be used for all toleration. If bounded, it must not exceed; and what shall stop it, if scandal do not."

"Whereas it is intimated as if that extent of baptism, which is pleaded for in the late Synod-book, were a declension from the principles of our fathers, the contrary is sufficiently evinced in a book, printed three years ago, called the first principles of New England, concerning the subject of baptism and communion of churches."

"It is scandalous for any to say, men are fined for their judgments."

April. Among answers of our Agents, Bulkley and Stoughton, in London, to Royal authorities, is the following: "The doctrines of religion fully agree with the church of England; but the discipline and government are congregational."

Replies are given by William Jones and Francis Winnington to objections laid before them by the Lords of the Committee of trade and plantation.

1. "The people of Massachusetts Colony have not any legal

1678.]

charter at all." Answer. "Whether the case should not be truly stated" to his Majesty's two chief Justices, before whom it had been laid.

2. "That, by reason of several irregularities there was, about 1635, a quo-warranto brought for the dissolution of such charter as they had. That the prosecution thereof went far, and stopped only on account of the public troubles ensuing." Answer. That such a process did not dissolve the Charter.

3. If the Charter be good, yet has not the conduct of its possessors forfeited "the same, so as to be now in his Majesty's mercy and disposal." Answer. Were the misdemeanors, charged upon Massachusetts, committed since the act of oblivion and proved, they would be sufficient to vacate the charter through a quo-warranto.

The Committee of Plantations make various requisitions of Massachusetts, which, if enforced, must impair their Church as well as State liberties. Part of them follow. Though his Majesty may grant, on due application, a charter to the Colony, which shall allow the coining of money, "yet they must solicit his Majesty's pardon," for having done this thing. "The acts of navigation for the future, be rigidly observed. That no taxes should be raised but with his Majesty's approbation, in his name, and applied by his appointment to the use of the government. And above all, that the method of swearing all to be true to that government, should be abolished." The Committee propose, that for rendering the rulers of Massachusetts more obedient to the Crown, they must be under a "governor wholly supported by his Majesty."*

April 8. In his reply to the queries of the Lords of Plantations,† Andros says that Massachusetts tolerate only "Presbyterians and Independents," and that they had no Episcopal church among them.

9. The Agents of New England are required by the King's Council to answer the petition of Sir Edmund Andros,‡ making the following statement. In the late war, he subjugated the Eastern Indians at the cost of his Royal Highness, and strictly prohibited the sale of powder and other ammunition. Yet Massachusetts in their declaration, issued 1675, and in books printed since, asserted that Phillip and his followers were supplied with ammunition by people of Albany. Of this Andros complains and asks satisfaction, which he says Massachusetts will not render him. Still there is proof in the minutes and papers of Andros's New York Council, that, though he may not have tolerated such a supply, it was furnished by traders of that place.

27. The King writes to the Governor and Council.§ He forbids

* Chalmers, p. 436-41.
Easton's Philip's War.

† Plantation Rec.
§ Hutchinson's Coll. p. 515, 6.

‡ Royal Council Rec.

the continuance of an oath of fidelity to the country here, revived the last October, as disrespectful to him, and a snare to some of his subjects in the Colony. He commands them to have the oath of allegiance, as established by law in England, administered to all the inhabitants of Massachusetts.

May 8. A committee are appointed by General Court to inquire after the persons, who by word or writing, have slandered the Government here, in England.*

9. Joseph Brown dies. He was son of William Brown, of Salem. He graduated at Harvard, 1666, where he became a Fellow, 1672. This office he resigned September 15, 1673. He was made freeman the same year. After the decease of Mr. Symmes, of Charlestown, he assisted the surviving colleague, Mr. Shepard, in the ministry. He was dismissed February 19, 1675, from Salem church to the Charlestown church. He married Elizabeth Brenton, daughter to Gov. Brenton, of Rhode Island. She deceased September 14, 1676. Soon after the death of Mr. Shepard, December 22, 1677, Mr. Brown was renewedly and unanimously called to settle over the bereaved flock. On further consideration, he gave a negative answer and soon moved to Boston, where he closed his life. He was distinguished as a scholar, Christian and preacher.

June 3. The Artillery Election Sermon is preached by Samuel Nowell. It was printed from notes of an auditor, because the preacher's right hand had mostly lost its use. The text was from Genesis xiv. 14,—“Abraham in arms.” The author observed in a note, that he allowed the discourse to be published “to revive our military discipline, and the spirit of soldiery, which seems to be in its wane, in an age when never more need of it.” A passage seems to bear on the violent proceedings in England to take away the Colony from the rule of our fathers. “There is such a thing as liberty and property given to us, both by the laws of God and men. When these are invaded, we may defend ourselves. God hath not given great ones in the world, that absolute power over men, to devour them at pleasure. He hath set rulers their bounds, and by his law hath determined liberties and property. If we have that, that is our right and due; it is not another's being stronger can make our right null and void.” He remarks, that as nations were providentially left in Canaan to try Israel and keep them prepared for defence, so it was with the Indians left in New England for similar purposes relative to the Colonists. “The wall, the strength of this little Commonwealth,” under God, have been our soldiers. “Our readiness and expertness in military exercise, is that for which we have been famed abroad in other countries, both among Dutch and French. What the Governor of Manadus saw in that little time when he was here, gave us no small credit in Holland.”

* Gen. Ct. Rec.

1678.]

The preacher assigns reasons why the people should be prepared for war. "There are none of the Princes of note in Europe, that have any interest in America, but have long had their Espysals upon us. Rome will have no peace with you, and you ought to have no peace with it. That Rome's agents are abroad at work is plain. If their counsels should sway the world, it is a vain thing for us to promise ourselves peace." The continuance of Indians in the land, "as thorns in our sides," demands military discipline. The policy of intermarrying with them, as done by the French, "not far from us," is not likely to be exercised by the English. "So servile are some, that they will pay tribute to heathens, rather than endure a little difficulty. Low spirited men. Let them have Issachar's lot, that make his choice." "Put on the whole armor of God. That is the way to make a good soldier. If the breast-plate of righteousness be not on, if men have guilty consciences, they will find and feel the sad effects of it, when they come to be in danger."

27. In a communication of Mrs. Jane Hook, in England, she mentions that she had previously sent over second-hand clothes for poor ministers here, and that she now repeats the like kindness.*

July 28. Being the Lord's day, the congregation at Charlestown "were staid to desire their consent to the action of the church," who had recently given a call to Messrs. Daniel Russell and Thomas Shepard to settle in the ministry with them.†

August 4. Mrs. Baldwin, a French lady, from the Isle of Jersey, who had testimonials from French ministers, and had resided in Salem several years, reads a confession of faith, in her own language, to the church of this town, which was translated by Richard Croad and read by the pastor. After such a requisition, she is admitted as a member of the church.‡

9. Richard Blinman dates a letter§ to Increase Mather. He says: "I shall adventure to give you this hint under the rose, that I fear an inhabitant of your country would fain be Lord paramount over all the Colonies. *Sat. verb. sap.*" The writer probably intended Edmund Andros, then Governor of New York, in connection with Pemaquid, Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard.

22. An account is given by the Council, of contributions by towns in Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Maine, amounting to £345 1s. 4d., for charges in redeeming and bringing back the captives, who were taken at Hatfield, September 19, 1677, and carried to Canada. Other donations had been made in several western towns, which were not received.

Increase Mather dates an introduction to his discourse, entitled, "Pray for the rising generation." He observes: "Our fathers were, some of them, eminent confessors, and, in a degree, martyrs

* Mather MS. † Ch. Rec. ‡ First Ch. Rec. Salem. § Mather MS.

of Jesus, who left a pleasant land and fathers' houses, to follow the Lord into a wilderness, into a land which was not sown. Yea, and they came hither partly with respect to their offspring, that they might leave their children under the special blessing of God in Christ Jesus. Hath not the Lord peculiar blessings for such children? Let us pray them down from heaven." With regard to this sermon, the author made the subsequent remark: "Four years ago you set apart a day for no other cause, but only that so you might, by fasting and prayer, cry unto the Lord for converting grace to be poured down upon the souls of our poor children. You were told, that within seven years before, near eighty persons had presented themselves and declared before the church what God had done for their souls." "Since that day upwards of seventy persons, mostly young, have given evidence of piety, and a considerable number more are serious."

31. A Council assemble composed of Rev. John Woodbridge, Seaborn Cotton, John Richardson, Samuel Phillips, Thomas Cobbet, John Hale, Joseph Gerrish, and John Higginson. In their result, they say: "Hugh March, of Newbury, having proposed a question to us, as a case of conscience, desiring our resolution of it, we shall first state it, and then do our endeavor to resolve it. He married a wife, supposed to be a widow, which her friends confidently affirmed to him that she was, and coming to Mr. Symonds, the Deputy Governor, and being demanded after the usual manner, and charged, that if she knew any just impediment of their marriage, she should discover it, she answered none. Whereupon the said March completed the marriage, enjoyed her as his wife for some time, but hearing, not long since, that her former husband was alive, which when he fully understood, he abstained from her as his wife. Her former husband had lived away from her for some years, being employed in such affairs in Virginia and elsewhere, as pertained to his livelihood, but being very lately at Boston, the said March saw him, brought them together; they discoursed one with the other, whereby it is infallibly evidenced, that he is alive. Whence the question proposed is this: Whether the said March may in conscience accept and retain her as his wife?" In the course of their remarks, the Council do not seem to have understood that the absent husband willfully neglected his wife, or that any misconduct was imputed to either of them. Their conclusion was, that she was the lawful wife of him and not of March. In connection with this, they remark: "Though it should be alleged that the second (husband) may keep her with the consent of the first, we suppose, that wives are not such possessions as may be parted with at men's pleasure; they are one flesh." They state that no similar case had occurred among them.

September 30. John Higginson addresses a letter to Increase

1678.]

Mather.* He states that he has not read the law respecting the Sabbath, to his congregation, since the last September and March, because he thinks that such services tend to lessen the usefulness of ministers on account of the penalties which the act demands, and that it should be done by civil officers. He desires Mather, if looking at the case as he does, to consult with the Boston ministers about petitioning the Legislature for a corresponding alteration. He remarks that he has read his *First Principles on Baptism*, and that the churches are obligated to him for the work; that he had heard Mr. Bond ("who they say is coming") had answered it, and that its author had replied, and that he wished to peruse both of these productions.

October 2. A session of the General Court commences. The Governor reads to them his Majesty's letter and the oath of allegiance with which it was accompanied, and which he, the Deputy, Assistants, and Secretary, took in August. He also communicates letters to them from our agents in London. In view of their extraordinary trials in reference to the Government of England, the Court designate the 9th of the month to seek the face of the Lord. They desire Elders to conduct the services of the occasion, and Mr. Oakes to give them a word of exhortation. They order all his Majesty's subjects of the Colony, being sixteen years old and upwards, to take the oath of allegiance, as required by the law of his kingdom. A passage of this oath follows: "I do from my heart abhor, detest and abjure, as impious and heretical, this position, that Princes, who be excommunicated or deprived by the Pope, may be deposed or murdered by their subjects, or any other whatsoever: and I do believe, and in my conscience am resolved, that neither the Pope nor any person whatsoever hath power to absolve me of this my oath, or any part thereof, which I acknowledge, by good and full authority to be lawfully ministered unto me, and do renounce all pardons and dispensations to the contrary."

Having accepted the contract for the Province of Maine, they empower the Treasurer to pay the amount stipulated.

In compliance with the suggestion by Commissioners of the Confederacy, at Hartford, in September, the Court appoint a public Fast the 21st of November, for the subsequent purposes.† That the people may be humbled before God for the tokens of his displeasure against them; that they may be pardoned and reconciled with him; that he would be with them as with their fathers; that he would not remove the gospel from them, and would continue their civil and religious privileges; that "a spirit of conversion may be poured out upon" their "children, that they may give up themselves and their seed after them to be the Lord's, willingly subjecting themselves to all his holy rules and government in his house," and that he would be with them in their low estate.

* Mather MS.

† Gen. Ct. Rec.

16. The Court agree on an address* to the King. They speak of his having confirmed their Charter, forgiven the errors which he charged against them, and declared his disposition to promote the trade and happiness of the Colony. They engage to manifest their regard for him, and hope that he will cherish no evil impressions against them, through false representations. They had acted for accomplishing the ends of the Plantation, and had lately defended it at great expense of blood and treasure, at their own charge, which ends, they believe, cannot be advanced by any alteration in their present Government. They desire that their agents may be dismissed, and not be compelled to answer complaints "made by unquiet spirits." They engage to satisfy his Majesty, with regard to complaints against the Colony, since the act of oblivion. For mistakes of forty-eight years, especially of their infancy or of "the times of the late confusion," meaning, as we remember, the period between the deposition of Charles I., and the restoration of his son, they crave pardon of the latter. They mention to the King that they have repealed their oath of fidelity, which was offensive to him, and have taken the one of allegiance, as prescribed by a law of England, and ordered it to be administered to the rest of the Colonists.

The Court consider objections to them, made by the Crown Solicitor. As to applying the word, Commonwealth, to the Colony, they observe, that though it has not been thus used in contempt or opposition to royal authority, they have not lately applied it so, and intend to have it discontinued. Concerning the case of the Quakers, they remark as follows: When this denomination first came hither, they trampled on civil and ecclesiastical laws; denounced the authorities with fearful curses in the name of the Lord; insinuated their heresies, making divisions among the people. The Rulers, for the sake of preserving the Colony from ruin, were compelled to make a law, banishing them on pain of death, which they transgressed, and some suffered the penalty, "yet so that till the very last, it was offered them, that if they would quietly depart and promise not to return, they should be dismissed, which they refused." The individuals who were executed, were thus dealt with no more for their religion, than the Jesuits and Seminary Priests were in the reign of Queen Elizabeth or King James, who, as well known, suffered justly for contempt of the laws of the Realm.

With regard to allegations from the Lords of trade and plantations against them, the Court observe as follows: Laws accounted contrary to those of England, were not thought to be so when passed, and they shall be repealed, "except such as the repealing thereof will make us to renounce the professed cause of our first coming hither." This proviso, expressing the firm purpose of our

* Gen. Ct. Rec.

1678.]

fathers to keep their religious Commonwealth alive as long as possible, must have been offensive to the Court party, who had strong checks upon them, and meant to drive them at their pleasure. The Legislature add, No laws shall be enacted in the Colony without the King's "express and particular license."

The Court vote a communication for the Agents in England. They remark that however beneficial the occupation of New England by the fathers was, in keeping it from the hands of the French and Dutch, and however the Crown exchequer was much profited by the commerce of this country, yet such considerations were of far less importance than "the interest of the Lord Jesus and his churches in this wilderness." They hope the King will allow them to continue the coining of money, because useful to their trade, and that they will change the impress of it if he desire. They observe that the country is greatly impoverished by the late Indian war, sickness and mortality; that they owe many thousands of pounds, borrowed here and in England. They state that the King's arms are ordered "to be carved by an able artist and erected in the court house."

The Legislature designate a committee to meet other committees from the two confederates at Plymouth, to agree on the sale of lands conquered from the Indians, as proposed by Commissioners of the Union.

Thomas Thacher, first minister of the Old South church in Boston, dies. He was son of Rev. Peter Thacher, of Old Sarum, England, and was born May 1, 1620. He came to Boston, June 4, 1635, and was educated by Pres. Chauncy. He was ordained as successor of Mr. Newman, at Weymouth, January 2, 1645. He moved to Boston, where he was installed, February 16, 1670. He married a daughter of Rev. Ralph Partridge, May 11, 1643. She died June 2, 1664. He had three sons and one daughter. The last, named Elizabeth, was married to Capt. Nathaniel Davenport, killed while storming Narragansett fort, in 1675, and she was contracted to become the wife of Samuel Davis, in 1677, who belonged to Boston, and was commander of the ship Gabriel. His Fast Sermon, and Guide in the small pox and measles, have been mentioned. He was well skilled in the Hebrew and Arabic. In the former language he composed a lexicon of the principal words. He was noted as a scholar, physician and divine. The great end of his desires, prayers and labors, was to benefit his fellow-beings and honor the cause of God.

November 5. A Council meet at Charlestown to compromise difficulties there in the church, relative to the calling of Daniel Russell and Thomas Shepard, to settle in the ministry with them. It consisted of three Boston churches, and those of Cambridge and Watertown. The result is not known. One unintentional

cause of the trouble, Mr. Russell, was removed by death in a few weeks.

12. Thomas Cobbet, of Ipswich, writes to Increase Mather. "I know no other external means left to further our reformation, but a solemn renewing of covenant with God, by all and every of our respective churches; which, alas! I see little likelihood to be fully and freely yielded unto. For my own part, I did, in conscience to my duty, essay to persuade unto it here," but two leading men prevented.

December 18. Benanuel Bowers,* still neglecting lawful worship, continues to be fined.

The Old South church vote,† this year, that if any exhibit evidence of piety, and are indisposed to give a relation of their experience before the church, they may be excused in this particular, provided they do it to the elders, and these certify their approbation to the church, and they may be received as members thereof, with the proviso, "that in other cases the common and constant practice shall be attended." Mr. Wisner says that this rule was not complied with only in having the verbal or written relations made before the church, until about 1700, when it became common for the minister to hand in such relations.

The missionary, Eliot, publishes his "The Harmony of the Gospels in the holy history of the humiliation and sufferings of Jesus Christ, from his incarnation to his death and burial." A short description of this work is given as follows, by the supervisors of the press: "We having perused this pious discourse concerning the sufferings of Christ, and observed the diligence and prudence of the gracious and worthy author in compiling it, it having, in reading it, both affected and edified us: We are persuaded, through the blessing of Him that hath put it into the heart of the reverend author to lay himself this way, it will serve to promote the honor of Jesus Christ, and the good of souls, and do therefore affix our *Imprimature*."—Thomas Thacher, Urian Oakes, James Allen, Increase Mather.

The History of Baptism is published in London by J. St. N. He describes himself as having been "an adventurer in the first plantation. A sympathizer in their joys, fears and sorrows." He addresses the work to the governors and ministers of "the colonies and plantations in New England, especially such of the old planters as are yet living."

Benjamin Blackman, after preaching for the people of Malden four years, discontinues his labors among them and leaves the place. He was son of Rev. Adam Blackman, of Stratford, Ct., graduated at Harvard College, 1663, and married Sarah Scottow, April 1, 1675. He went to Scarborough, Maine, and preached

* Middlesex Ct. Rec.

† Wisner's Discourses, p. 58, 9.

1675.]

there. He was representative from Saco, 1683, where he was a large land-holder. In 1688, he presented his claim on Malden for arrears. When his stirring life closed, we are not informed.

 PLYMOUTH.

1675. March 1. Mary Atkinson, on petition of her father,* Edward Jenkins, is divorced from her husband, Marmaduke Atkinson, who had absented himself seven years from her and made no provision for her support.

On petition of proprietors of lands at Saconett and adjacent places, they are allowed to form a township there and establish orders for the well-being thereof, "especially for the settling of a society for the worship of God and matters in the Commonwealth."

April 1. By consent of the First church at Scituate,† their pastor, Nicholas Baker, "signed an instrument of reconciliation with the Second church" of the same town. This church now returned to the sprinkling of infants in baptism, from which they had been drawn by the arguments of President Dunster. Thus closed a controversy of thirty-three years standing.

May 26. William Blackstone dies. When coming to New England about fifty years before, he was an Episcopal clergyman. In 1634, he received from each inhabitant of Boston, 6/., and from some, more, for his claim as the first occupant of the place. With the amount so received, he bought cattle and moved to Pawtucket river, afterwards known by his own surname, a few miles northward from Providence, Rhode Island. He married the widow Sarah Stephenson, July 4, 1659, as the Boston record states. She died in the middle of June, 1673. He left a son-in-law, John Stephenson, who, in June of 1675, was granted land by Plymouth Colony, where probate was had on his estate. He lived a retired and studious life. His dissatisfaction with Congregationalism, as well as with Episcopacy, was a probable cause why his intercourse with the prominent men of his time, was so very limited. Still he enjoyed the privilege to know from Revelation, that right motives and life, whether hidden from, or exposed to the gaze of the world, were sure passports to heavenly glory.

In compliance with advice from the Commissioners of the Union, the General Court‡ of Plymouth appoint Thomas Hinckley to call and keep courts among the praying Indians of their juris-

* Plymouth Col. Rec. † History of Scituate. ‡ Plym. Rec. and Laws.

diction, and "with the chief" of them to make orders for their government.

They order that every town shall have a house "comfortably to meet in to worship God;" and if any such corporation neglect the duty, the Governor and magistrates are empowered to have it done "according to the ability and necessity of the people," and the charge thereof to be paid by the proprietors and inhabitants of the town. During the season of public danger, all who bear arms, shall bring them, with ammunition, to meeting on the Lord's day. William Wood, of Marshfield, for speaking contemptuously of the Rev. Mr. Arnold, on the Sabbath, is sentenced to sit two hours in the stocks, the next training day at that town.

John Arther, Matthew Boomer and John Leyton, charged with living in the Colony without leave, neglecting public worship, "living lonely and in a heathenish way from good society,"—are ordered to reform in these respects or depart from the jurisdiction.

June 1. Three Indians, charged with the murder of John Sassamon, preacher, on the 29th of January, at Assawamsett pond, "by striking him, or twitching his neck until he was dead, and did cast his body through a hole in the ice, into the said pond,"—are tried at Plymouth, brought in guilty and condemned to be executed. As well known, the cause of this crime was, that Sassamon, as his oath of fidelity required, informed Governor Winslow that Philip had planned an insurrection to destroy the Colonists of New England. The names of the three criminals are Tobias, Waumpassaum his son, and Mattushamama. The first and third were hung on the 8th of June. The son, being reprieved for a month, was shot within this time. Thus tragedy, commenced by hatred to the Christian religion, opens her dark scene to involve the whole of New England.

The person so murdered, as Increase Mather informs us, had parents who dwelt at Dorchester, and died Christians. He was educated, and in part of his course, at the College, under the patronage of the Missionary Society in England. He was afterwards schoolmaster with the Indians of Natick. For some offense he left that place and went to live with Philip, who made him his secretary and one of his counsellors. Remaining here several years, he was prevailed on by Eliot, his spiritual father, to change his situation. Mr. Mather, already named, relates that Sassamon became reconciled with "the praying Indians, was baptized and received as a member into one of their churches, yea and employed amongst them every Lord's day." This society dwelt at Middleborough, near Assawamsett pond, where he lost his life. He had married the daughter of Tuspequin, a sachem, one of his hearers, who had given him land there for his own use. From Philip and other conspirators, who called on him, he learned their design, and he felt bound to give the information to Plymouth authorities,

1675.]

"that not only the Wampanoags, but Narragansetts, yea and the Mohegans were involving themselves in this conspiracy." He desired the Governor to keep the discovery secret, or else he should perish. His prediction was sadly verified. Being soon missed, his remains were sought and found, as previously stated, and left to a jury, who confirmed the suspicion. An Indian, named Patuckson, standing on a hill, saw the deed committed. For some time, fear kept him silent; but at length, he testified that he beheld Tobias, a counsellor of Philip, and the two others killing Sassamon. Gookin remarked: "Thus much I may say, that this John Sassamon was the first Christian martyr of the Indians; for it is evident he suffered death on account of his Christian profession and fidelity to the English."

Morton in his MS. speaks of Samuel Hicks as dying about the time of the Indian war; that as a deacon of Plymouth church, he had embraced "the error of anabaptistry;" absented himself from worship at times; become a Quaker and was excommunicated. Hicks expected Apostles would appear; doubted government of the church; singing psalms in a book; ordination of church officers; administration of the seal of baptism; preaching; support of ministers by parishioners; the settlement of a church and ordinances without a ministry sent from God.

July 4. Governor Winslow writes* to Governor Leverett. "We know not any thing from us, that might put Philip upon these motions, nor have heard that he pretends to have suffered any wrong from us, save only that we had killed some Indians and intended to send for himself for the murder of John Sassamon. The last that was executed this week, confessed that he saw the other two do the murder. Neither had we any thoughts to command him about it."

26. Another letter of Winslow is addressed to the same correspondent. "My person, I hear, has been much threatened by Indians. I have about twenty men at my house; have sent my wife and children to Salem, that I may be less incumbered; have flanked my house, and resolve to maintain it as long as a man will stand by me."

September 9. The Plymouth Commissioners make a report† before those of the other two Colonies, in session at Boston, deeply involving the interest of both Church and State.

Last winter, John Sassamon, a faithful Indian, informed that Philip was exerting himself to "engage all the Sachems round about in a war against us." Some of the English, living near Philip, expressed their fears of like import. Sassamon was killed about a week after he had made such a communication. Having heard that the Governor of Plymouth had received information

* Hutchinson's MS.

† Hazard's Coll. p. 532-4.

against him, and intended to have him arraigned at the next Court, Philip came to Plymouth shortly before the session of the Court, in the beginning of March. "The Council, upon a large debate with him, had great reason to believe that the information against him might be in substance true." They stated to him, that if further proof should appear, they might require him to deliver up his arms for their security. Hoping that the discoveries unfavorable to him would make him desist from further attempts at insurrection, they dismissed him in a friendly manner.

Soon after this interview, when many Indians were examined as to the death of Sassamon, but gave no positive testimony, an Indian appeared who saw three men kill him. These persons were secured for trial at the next Court in June. A short time before the session in this month, Philip began to keep his men in arms, and collect strangers about him, and march them towards the upper part of the neck on which he lived, and near to English houses. In consequence, a military watch was kept in the adjacent towns, as Rehoboth and Swansey.

While the murderers were being tried, the authorities of Plymouth were told that Philip was in arms with his people. But they supposed that he did this in fear of being apprehended himself and brought to trial, and that if the Court closed, and he should be unmolested, he would lay aside his hostile appearance. But they were mistaken. John Brown, of Swansey, informed them that Philip and his men had sent their wives to Narragansett; were collecting strangers for a contest; alarmed the English in the night; "invaded their passage to Plymouth;" and that the young Indians were for war.

On June 7, Benjamin Church, being on Rhode Island, was told by Weetanno and some of her chiefs, that Philip meant to begin speedy hostilities; that some of them would assist him; and that he had granted them leave to kill the cattle and rob the houses of the English. On the 14th and 15th of June, Mr. James Brown went twice to Philip and endeavored to persuade him to give up his purpose, but in vain. At the former date the Council wrote by Mr. Brown to Philip, advising him to pursue a peaceful course, and not to be deceived by reports that they meant to injure him. He gave no reply. On the 17th, John Paine, of Rehoboth, and several other Colonists, went unarmed to find their horses at Mount Hope, as requested by Philip. His Indians presented guns at them and treated them otherwise roughly. On the 18th and 19th, the house of Job Winslow was robbed by Philip's men, who the next day, being Sabbath, alarmed the people of Swansey, robbed and burned two houses there. Being entreated to send help, the Council ordered a detachment, on the 21st, to that place. On the 23d, a dozen more houses in Swansey were robbed, and the day following, Thomas Layton was killed at Fall River. On the 25th, many

1675.]

houses were burnt, and eight or nine slain at Swansea. Up to this time, though forces from Plymouth and Massachusetts were there, yet no attack was made on the Indians, because it was hoped that forbearance would prevent a war with them." The Commissioners having heard the report, declare the war against Philip as "just and necessary." Of one thousand men to be raised, they put the quota of Plymouth at one hundred and fifty-eight.

October 4. James Cudworth is "re-established"* as General of the Plymouth forces. As before stated, he had been denied the privileges of a freeman for his opposition to the authorities in their measures to suppress the Quakers. . . . "The Court proclaim a solemn day of humiliation, to be observed by fasting and prayer (on the 14th) throughout this jurisdiction, to humble our souls and seek and beg the Lord's help in our present troubles, by reason of the Indians, their persisting in their hostility and barbarous cruelty and outrage against the English." . . . None shall build houses or cottages without proper leave, except they are conveniently near the place of public worship. . . . The principal men of the "Southern Indians" appear before the Court and renew their treaties of fidelity. They are from the following places: Paomett, Nausett, Saquatuckett, Nobscussett, Mannamoiett, Wequahutt, Mattacheesett, "South Sea" and Mannomett.

As the people of Dartmouth had lost most of their houses and suffered much by the Indians, they are ordered to build their houses nearer together, so that they may be better able to defend themselves. They are also required to be more dutiful in attendance on public worship, and make exertion to obtain a faithful minister, for the neglect of which the Court fear that they have been divinely chastised. Similar instructions are given to Middleborough, who were alike afflicted by the enemy.

December 2. A public fast, appointed by the Commissioners of the Union, is observed for divine aid in "repelling the rage of the enemy."

24. The Rev. John Holmes, of Duxbury, dies.† He was a student under the care of President Chauncy, in 1658. He succeeded, in 1663, Ralph Partridge, in the ministry here. One of his parishioners, being sentenced to stand in the stocks, 1668, for falsely accusing him, is released from this punishment at Mr. Holmes's request. The last person is granted land, June 1, 1675, in right of his father, at Pinguinhole, on condition of paying the Indian claim.

John Cotton, of Plymouth, in relating this decease to Increase Mather, remarked as follows: His "poor people are desolate. I have many serious thoughts what the meaning of the providence

* Plym. Col. Rec.
Gen. Reg.

† Baylies, vol. ii. p. 256. Plym. Col. Rec. Farmer's

of God is in his death. I mean especially as to the season of it, he being one of those who impute these dreadful frowns of Providence to our dealing with the Quakers; and the late public Fast, December 2, (which was his last public work, except the Sabbath after,) he said in his sermon he was of the same mind as to that matter as formerly."

1676. March 26. Thomas Tupper, sen., of Sandwich, dies the second month of his ninety-ninth year. Baylies' Memoir of Plymouth (2 v. 282) says that he and Richard Bourne, after Mr. Leveridge went to Long Island, officiated as ministers at Sandwich without ordination. Who of the two should preach on the Sabbath was decided by the majority. Such an arrangement, if continuing so long, was interrupted by the employment of Mr. Smith to preach, who became pastor of the town, and was there in 1675. The same author quoted above states that Mr. Smith had formerly preached at Barnstable, went to Long Island, then to New Jersey and returned. He adds that after Mr. Smith came to Sandwich, Tupper and Bourne labored as missionaries with the Indians; that the former gathered a church among them, who resided west and north of Sandwich, and had a meeting-house built for them at Herring river; that the latter moved to Marshpee and was ordained, 1670, over an Indian church here. Mr. Tupper left a wife, Anne, who died the next June 4th, in her ninetieth year. His great purpose was evidently to benefit his fellow-beings in their highest concerns. Though he moved not with the great of this world in such important action, it made no difference in his reception and station among the perfected servants of Christ.

April 20. A committee from the towns of Barnstable, Sandwich, Yarmouth and Eastham had invited the people of Taunton, Bridgewater and Rehoboth, who were much exposed to the enemy, to come and reside with them till the danger should pass away.* Such kindness was duly appreciated and acknowledged. But the population so treated in their peril declined the invitation with fit expressions of gratitude. The answer of Taunton follows: "We bless God that he hath given us so much room in your hearts, that you so freely tender to us a part with you in your houses, fields and provisions, at such a time, when the Lord is threatening us with the bereavement of our own. It much comforteth us in this day of darkness and distress, we shall want no succor you are able to afford us. We therefore return you all serious thanks for your sincere and abundant love, beseeching the Lord to continue and increase your peace and ability and promptness to relieve the distresses in this evil day. Nevertheless, upon our serious and mature deliberation upon, and consideration of, your great offer, we cannot at present comply with a motion to remove and quit our

* Hubbard's Indian War, p. 168.

1676.]

places, and leave our habitation to be a desolation, and that because we fear we should, in so doing, be wanting to the name of God and the interest of Christ, in this place, and bewray much diffidence and cowardice, and give the adversary occasion to triumph over us, to the reproach of that great and fearful name of God that is called on us." The replies of Rehoboth and of Bridgewater, the last by their minister, James Keith, was of the like resolute and Christian character.

May 1. In a letter written by Governor Winslow,* he relates that there was no cause for hostilities on the part of the Indians, in that Plymouth Colony had unlawfully taken any of their territory. His language is: "I think I can clearly say that before these present troubles broke out, the English did not possess one foot of land in this Colony but what was fairly obtained by honest purchase of the Indian proprietors. We first made a law that none should purchase or receive of gift any land of the Indians, without the knowledge and allowance of our Court. And lest yet they should be straitened, we ordered Mount Hope, Pocassett, and several other necks of the best land in the Colony, because most suitable and convenient for them, should never be bought out of their hands."

June 26. Hezekiah Willet, of Swansey, is shot dead by some lurking Indians, who cut off his head, and also carried away a negro of the family. He was grandson of Thomas Willet, Mayor of New York. He appears to have been a particular friend of the Rev. William Adams, settled at Dedham.

29. By recommendation of the General Court,† "All the churches of the Colony solemnly renewed their covenants with God and one another, on a day of humiliation, wherein, after confession of the prevailing evils of the times, they entered into strict engagements, through the assistance of divine grace, for personal and family reformation. The children of the church bore a part in this transaction."

July. Edward Randolph, agent of the Crown, visits Plymouth and calls on Governor Winslow. He represents the latter as saying,‡ that New England could not flourish unless brought under the immediate government of the King, or in other words, that the Colonial Charters should be taken away, and the whole country be subject to a general Governor. But he probably, as in other cases, mistook a civil treatment of his declared opinions by Winslow, as more favorable to them than he really was. He evidently committed a similar error in his conclusions about the prejudice of the majority in New Hampshire and Maine, against the Massachusetts authorities.

* P. S. Inc. Mather's Indian War, p. 1, 2. † Baylies' Plymouth, vol. ii. part 3, p. 165. ‡ Hutchinson's Coll. Papers, p. 508, 9.

22. The Council order that the children of Indian prisoners may be bound out to the English, who will treat them well until they shall be twenty-four or twenty-five years old. They allow that volunteer companies, at their own charge against the enemy, shall have one half of the captives whom they take.

26. The council of war* order, that male Indian captives above fourteen years old, shall be disposed of by their owners out of the Jurisdiction. The General Court, of November 4, confirm this rule, and require it to be fulfilled† by all who had not, by the first of December, on penalty of forfeiting to the Colony every such captive in their hands. An exception is allowed in favor of five or six Indians, who were promised by Capt. Benjamin Church, that they should abide in the Jurisdiction, if they behaved well, unless it should appear that some of them had killed any of the English, particularly one Crossman, accused of having a hand in the murder of Hezekiah Willet.

August 6. The squaw sachem of Pocasset, named Weetanno, fled and was drowned‡ in attempting to cross the river on a raft. She had united with Philip against the English. Her head was cut off and set upon a pole at Taunton.

9. Governor Winslow grants a license to Thomas Smith, Captain of the ship *Sea Flower*, to transport and sell seventy Indians, men, women and children, who had "been sentenced and condemned to perpetual servitude," for being concerned in the rebellion of Philip. On September 2, the council of war sentence fifty-seven more, and on the 28th, an order is given to ship one hundred and seventy-eight, so condemned, on board of a vessel, Capt. Sprague, bound to "Cales."

12. While Philip is in the act of relating to his attendants a dream of the last night, that he fell into the hands of his pursuers, these have entered the swamp and are upon him, and he attempts to escape on the opposite side. But here he is met by Caleb Cook and a Saconet Indian, called Alderman. Cook attempts to fire on the sachem, but his gun flashes in the pan. Alderman tries and kills the chief.

17. This being a day of public thanksgiving for success against the enemy, the head of Philip is triumphantly brought to Plymouth,‡ where it was exposed to public view for over twenty-four years. Alderman, who shot this sachem, preserved his right hand in rum, and exhibited it through the country. In a letter of the next year, June 26, written by Governor Winslow to Charles II., trophies are mentioned, "being the best of our spoils, the ornaments of sachem Philip, the grand rebel; the most of them were taken from him by Capt. Benjamin Church, when he was slain by him, being his

* Plym. Col. Rec.

† Inc. Mather's Ind. War, p. 44-7.

‡ Thacher's Plymouth, p. 389.

1676.]

crown, his gorge, and two belts of their own making, of their gold and silver."

October 30. As the authorities of Plymouth wished for advice from ministers on the question,* What should be done with the son of Philip? Increase Mather, of Boston, writes to John Cotton, as follows: "It is necessary that some effectual course should be taken about him. He makes me think of Hadad, who was but a little child when his father (the chief sachem of the Edomites) was killed by Joab; and had not others fled away with him, I am apt to think that David would have taken a course that Hadad should never have proved a scourge to the next generation."

The united opinion of Messrs. Cotton of Plymouth, and Arnold of Marshfield, was of the subsequent purport. "They humbly conceive, on serious consideration, that children of notorious traitors, rebels and murderers, especially such as have been principal leaders, and actors in such horrid villainies, and that against a whole nation, yea, the whole Israel of God, may be involved in the guilt of their parents, and may, *salva republica*, be adjudged to death, as to us seems evident by the Scripture instances of Saul, Achan, Haman, the children of whom were cut off by the sword of justice for the transgressions of their parents, although concerning some of those children, it be manifest that they were not capable of being co-actors therein."

James Keith, of Bridgewater, took a different view of this matter. His words to Mr. Cotton, follow: "I long to hear what became of Philip's wife and son. I know there is some difficulty in that cxxxvii. Psalm, 8 and 9, though I think it may be considered whether there be not specialties, and somewhat extraordinary in it. The law, Deuteronomy xxiv. 16, compared with the commended example of Amaziah, 2 Chronicles xxv. 4, doth sway much with me, in the case under consideration. I hope God will direct those whom it doth concern to a good issue. Let us join our prayers at the throne of grace with all our might, that the Lord would so dispose of all public motions and affairs, that his Jerusalem in this wilderness may be the habitation of justice, and the mountain of holiness, that so it may be also, a quiet habitation, a tabernacle that shall not be taken down."

Though there was much leaning in the Government, towards the practice of the Jews, in the treatment of their captives, especially, at times, of children whose parents had committed what they adjudged capital offenses, still it spared the life of Philip's boy, though it decided that he should be sold into perpetual servitude; and he was thus disposed of at Bermuda.

November 4. The Court order, that Shawamett neck shall be sold to relieve the wants of maimed soldiers and others, impover-

* Thacher's Hist. Plym. p. 396, 7.

ished by the recent war, and poor widows who have lost their husbands therein, and also to assist in discharging the debts of the Colony. A committee are appointed to make sale of conquered lands at Shawamett, Mount Hope and Pocassett.

1677. March 1. Edward Perry, of Sandwich, dates an address* to New England, well written as to chirography and expression of ideas, on the treatment of the Quakers. He takes the ground that the blood shed by the Indians, who fought for the cause of Philip, was a retribution for such treatment.

6. The Court distribute £117 10s. among sufferers† by the late war in their towns, which had been sent over to Plymouth Colony, as contributions by "divers Christians in Ireland."

Mary, wife of Thomas Ingham, of Scituate, is tried on the charge of witchcraft, but cleared by a jury of twelve men.

April 2. John Cotton writes‡ to Increase Mather: "Good Mr. Newman preaches our election sermon. It is not his turn, but because he is newly come out of the fire, ergo, he was chosen." The trial here alluded to, was probably the brave pursuit made by Mr. Newman and his people after Philip and his followers. The correspondent further observes: "Philip's boy goes to be sold." This lad and other prisoners were ordered to be transported and disposed of as slaves.

June 7. The Legislature desire the opinion of their churches§ on the following questions, viz: "What are those due bounds and limits which ought to be set to a toleration in matters of religion, as may consist with the honor of Christ, the good and welfare of the churches and of the civil government."

Capt. Church is appointed for the precincts of Saconett and Pocassett, to issue warrants against all who profane the Lord's day, or indulge themselves in other vicious practices there contrary to law, so that they may answer for them at the next Court. He is also authorized to terminate differences among Indians and see that they conduct themselves orderly.

As George Barlow, of Sandwich, threatens to make such further disturbance as will drive their minister (John Smith) away, the Court notify him to appear and answer the complaint. He apologized before the Court for trials, and promised to pay his share of Mr. Smith's salary, and encourage others to do likewise.||

June 19. John Cotton, in a letter to Increase Mather, mentions¶ that 10/. a Sabbath is asked by a candidate preaching at Plymouth. He desires advice about the renewal of their covenants by the churches of the Colony, and whether they (Baptists) should be tolerated, who declare it a sin for any of their number to commune with churches of another denomination.

* Hutchinson MS.
§ Plym. Col. Rec.

† Plym. Col. Rec.
|| Ibid.

‡ Mather MS.
¶ Mather MS.

1678.]

July 10. John Rauce, of Scituate,* for railing against Mr. Baker, the minister, and calling Major Cudworth a “false, hypocritical man,” and for “going up and down from house to house, to entice young persons to come to hear their false teachers;” is sentenced to be publicly whipped.

13. To prevent the growing intolerable abuse by wine and strong liquors, etc., amongst the Indians and English, the former law† against the sale thereof without license, shall apply to strangers as well as others. No ordinary keeper shall sell such liquids to any but strangers, except in manifest cases of sickness and necessity. No seller of these drinks, including cider, shall deliver any of them to persons who, he suspects, will abuse them, nor to children, unless they bring a note from some sober person, that they are needed for sickness, on penalty of 5/. for each trespass. No person shall let Indians have “silver money,” which tempts “some covetous or evil-minded English” to sell them liquors, “on pain of five times the value thereof.” Two men are appointed for every town, to see that these rules are executed.

Although measures have been taken, as the Legislature remark, for “the comfortable and certain maintenance‡ for ministers of the gospel,” still some plantations “remain destitute of the public preaching of the Word, unto the great prejudice of their own souls and continued grief of all well affected among us,” while others continue to support their ministers in an unfixed and difficult manner. The Court enact that, for these evils to be rectified, “all the ratable inhabitants of the several plantations” shall be assessed their due proportion and shall pay it to the constables, as they do their taxes for “ordinary country charges.”

October 30. The sum of £5 is allowed§ to Mr. Hinckley and Major Cudworth for their expenses in journeying to and fro, to comply with his Majesty’s command, “as to the business of William Harris, of Pawtucket, near Providence.”

November 1. The Court require|| that every town of fifty families or more, shall raise £12 towards the support of a grammar school, and the rest of its expenses shall be paid by those who send their children to it, except £5 to be allowed from the Cape fishing, and £5 besides, of this revenue, if the trustee of it see fit. This fund was devoted to one such institution in the Colony. “Each town of seventy families or upward, if failing to have a grammar school, shall pay £5 annually to the next town, which has one.”

1678. April 16. Noah, son of Samuel Newman, dies of a lingering complaint. He succeeded his father in the ministry of Rehoboth, where he was numbered among its freemen in 1670. He married Joanna, daughter of Rev. Henry Flint, December 3, 1669.

* Plym. Col. Rec. † Plym. Col. Laws. ‡ Ibid. § Ibid. || Ibid.

As stated, he preached the Election Sermon of the Spring preceding that of his decease. He seems to have been thus early noticed, particularly for exemplary courage and activity against hostile Indians, as well as for his pastoral qualifications. His wife was kindly treated by his parish. On the 29th of the month in which he departed, they voted that she "have £15 for the year, and a sufficiency of wood brought to her gate, and June 20th, the use of the pasture and teacher's lot of meadow and upon the plain, if she please to abide" with them. On the 5th of the month last named, the Legislature granted her £5. In reference to his death, Mr. Bradstreet, of New London, wrote in his Journal: "Mr. Newman, pastor of Rehoboth, a young man of very great worth, exchanged this life for a better." He honored the example of his worthy father.

June. The Quakers present a memorial to the General Court, against paying taxes for maintenance of ministers,* whom they call the "present established preachers." Extracts from the paper follow: "We suppose it well enough known, we have never been backward to contribute our assistance in our estates and persons, where we could act without scruple of conscience, nor in the particular case of the country rate, according to our just proportion and abilities, until this late continuance of mixing your preachers' maintenance therewith, by the which we are made incapable to bear any part of what just charge may necessarily be disbursed, for the maintenance of civil government, a thing we could always readily do until now." Reasons are given for not paying clerical taxes. 1. The Jews paid tithes to their Priests, the Levites. The Pope instituted such taxes, 786, in the reign of Offa, king of Mercia. (See Selden's History of Titles.) The former, Plymouth authorities considered as abolished, and the latter, as of no force. 2. The gospel ought to be freely preached. 3. Ministers should get their living as other men. 4. True ministers never received any thing, except from those whom they had spiritually profited. 5. They did not esteem the Congregational ministers of Plymouth Colony, as true ministers, and therefore they cannot conscientiously assist in supporting them. They remark: "You will please to consider whether you may not prejudice yourselves, in your public interests with your King, having your liberty but upon sufferance, if you should compel any to conform, in any respect, either by giving maintenance or otherwise to such a church government or ministry, as is repugnant to the Church of England. Desiring that you please to distinguish between the country rate and your preachers' maintenance, and that we may not be imposed upon against our consciences."

June 5. Transactions of the General Court. Wherever meeting-

* Hinckley Papers.

1678.]

houses, in town or village, need be erected, or enlarged, or repaired,* for public worship, they shall be; and if the inhabitants and proprietors neglect this duty, the Court will appoint persons to have it done, and the expense be collected by rate from such delinquents. If any towns are incompetent to pay "able and faithful" ministers sufficient salaries, the proprietors of such towns shall be taxed for this purpose, a just proportion, and the Government will pay the rest.

As "the voting of persons, that have not taken the oath of fidelity, doth much obstruct the carrying on of religion in the public weal," no person shall be allowed to vote in town meeting, who has not taken such an oath and refuses so to do.

To hinder "profaneness increasing in the Colony, which is so provoking to God and threatening to bring judgments upon us," intruders into any town without leave, as stated in a previous order, shall be warned to depart, and if not speedily obeying, each of them shall pay 5/. a week so long as they remain in the jurisdiction after being notified to be gone. Whatever inhabitant contravenes this regulation, by selling or letting accommodations to such intruders, or entertaining them, shall pay a fine of ten pounds, or more, at the discretion of the Court, it being hoped that the Government "will be careful, that whom they accept of," to be new residents, "are persons orthodox in their judgments."

8. Edward Wanton, for uniting himself in marriage with his present wife contrary to the legal form, is fined £10. •

August 22. Rev. Nicholas Baker, of the First church in Scituate, dies. He had a grant of land at Hingham, 1635. He was deputy to the General Court, 1636 and '38. He afterwards was a large landholder at Hull, where he resided. After the decease of President Dunster, he was invited to preach in his place, and was ordained 1660. He had two wives. The first died 1661, and the next year he married the other, whose name was Grace, and who survived him. He left children—Samuel, Elizabeth, Nicholas, Sarah, Deborah, and Mary, and a brother, Nathaniel Baker. Cotton Mather wrote of him: † "Honest Nicholas Baker, who, though he had but a private education, yet being a pious and zealous man, or (as Dr. Arrowsmith expresses it) so good a logician that he could offer up to God a reasonable service; so good an arithmetician, that he could wisely number his days; and so good an orator, that he persuaded himself to be a good Christian."

26. A letter from John Cotton to Increase Mather, says: ‡ "Mr. Thornton hath begun and practiced the Synod's fifth proposition in baptizing sundry. There are five or six dissenting brethren. Your book of the Eleven Principles and de Bap, I wish twenty of them

* Plym. Col. Rec. and Laws.

† Mather's *Magnalia*, vol. i. p. 542.

‡ Mather's MS.

in Yarmouth. They might be of great use to establish the unsettled."

The Thomas Thornton here named, was of the ministers who had been settled in England, were ejected on the restoration of Charles II., and obliged by persecution to seek a field of labor in our country. The mirror rightly exhibits the person, and action the character. The individuals who give up the endearments of home, who subject themselves to the severities of relentless law, and escape to a strange land, not knowing the trials which await them for the cause of their Redeemer, win from our judgment high approbation. Thus classed, and accompanied by his wife, more than a common helper in the ministrations of the gospel, and his children, he resumed his duties at Yarmouth, in Plymouth Colony, about 1663. Here, though a retired position, he was privileged to realize the consolations of his mission, and to participate in the promotion of its immortal blessings. Worn down with age, so that he needed rest from his calling, he withdrew about 1693, to the family of his son Timothy, in Boston, where he died, February 15, 1700, nearly ninety-three years old. Cotton Mather,* while speaking of Mr. Thornton's daughter, Priscilla, remarkable for her piety, who died when eleven years of age, gives his character in the few expressive words: "The faithful pastor."

October 30. The General Court approve of Samuel Fuller's being likely to settle as minister of Middlebury.

NOTE.—September 11.—Solomon Blackleish, commander of the ship *James Frigate*, seized on suspicion of being employed as a pirate at Plymouth, and about to die, gives the command of her to Robert Daniel. His will, made September 24, mentions his wife Sindeniah and child, in "*Catalina*." (Carolina?)

October 11. Three Indians, Canootus, Symon and Joel, having broken open the house of Zachariah Allin, at Sandwich, stolen from his chest £25, and squandered it away, are sentenced to be sold into perpetual servitude by the said Allin, and the price of them to be for his compensation.

MAINE.

1675. February 16. Robert Thomson writes to Governor Leverett concerning the purchase† of the Gorges claim. "For the business of Mr. Gorges, I should willingly have disbursed the money you mention, but they are now in the clouds, and expect as much a year, secured here, for their interest. The copy of this, with others their petition, I gave Mr. Collins to send you, and is here inclosed. The Council of Trade have done nothing, so it's remanded to his Majesty's Privy Council."

March 19. The Rev. John Collins, of London, informs Governor

* *Magnalia* vol. ii. p. 483.

† *Hutch. Coll.* p. 470, 2.

1676.]

Leverett that such is the high price for the Gorges territory, Major Thomson has no encouragement to bid for it, and that the King is petitioned to purchase it for the Duke of Monmouth.

May 12. Humphrey Davy, Capt. Thomas Lake, Richard Collicut, Capt. Thomas Gardner and George Mountjoy, are appointed * to keep the County Court in Devonshire.

Bryan Pendleton, Humphrey Warren and others, are granted a Plantation, six miles square, above Saco.

July 6. The Selectmen of Kittery are presented† “for not taking care that their children and youth be taught their catechism,” and educated as the law prescribes.

The Selectmen of Cape Porpus, Scarborough and Falmouth, are severally presented for a similar deficiency. The first of these three towns had been lately complained of for living without an orthodox minister. But they are cleared.

1676. January 11. A considerable number of persons had escaped from Maine.‡ Part of them sought refuge at Salem. The records of this place say, they “being driven from their habitations by the barbarous heathen, are added as inhabitants of the town, though most of them affirming they have provision for themselves and families a year.”

May 5. An additional cause of complaint made by the Indians§ living at Pemaquid and Kennebec was, that in this spring, agents commissioned by Major Waldron to arrest any Indians at the Eastward who had killed or spoiled English people there, had enticed some Cape Sable Indians on board of a vessel, carried them away and sold them as slaves. The last Indians, in consequence of such conduct, became hostile to the English. The agents so accused, were subsequently called to an account.

August 13. An extract of a letter from Bryan Pendleton, at Winter Harbor, to the Governor and Council of Massachusetts, after relating the disaster|| at Casco, follows: “How soon it will be our portion we know not. The Lord in mercy fit us for death, and direct the hearts and hands to act and do what is most needful in such a time of distress as this.”

September 6. The Massachusetts Legislature,¶ in their appeal to the King, with regard to their claims against those by the heirs of Gorges, state that a new enemy had sprung up at the Eastward, assisted by others who had fought for Philip. They proceed: “We are necessitated once again with the uttermost hazard of our person and great expense of our estate (so deeply exhausted before), to defend the lives of your Majesty’s subjects in those places, crying aloud for succor, and dispute your Majesty’s and our own possessions in the dismal deserts with a bloody and barbarous enemy.”

* Mass. Gen. Ct. Rec.

† Annals of Salem, p. 252.

|| Council Rec.

‡ York Rec. Willis’s Maine, p. 285.

§ Hubbard’s Ind. War, p. 302-4.

¶ Mass. Gen. Ct. Rec.

1677. June 1. The General Court of Massachusetts write to Connecticut for their quota of men to aid in reducing the Indians of Maine. They recount that these have killed people, burnt houses, depopulated a considerable part of the settlements, gotten supplies from the French, are insolent, threaten to spend the summer in ranging and laying waste the western borders of Massachusetts. They estimate the charges of defending Maine in the present war "some thousands of pounds."

September. Walter Gendall, having exposed himself to suspicion, while in captivity with the Indians, of having betrayed the English,* is tried at Boston and found guilty. He was sentenced to run the gantelope on the 10th inst., through the military companies of Boston, with a rope about his neck; to forfeit all his lands to the country, be banished from his jurisdiction, and be gone by the 6th of next October, on penalty of perpetual imprisonment if he come back again, discharging the costs of his prosecution. It is evident that he was falsely accused, for his sentence of banishment was soon revoked, his lands returned to him, and he was restored to public confidence, being elected to important public offices.

October 17. The Court of Massachusetts reply† to Governor Andros, that his purpose to make prizes of all vessels which fish at Pemaquid, unless they have entries and clearances at his custom house there, is contrary to their charter rights.

1678. March 13. John Usher, a merchant of Boston, having negotiated with Mr. Gorges, a grandson of Sir Ferdinando, for the province of Maine, and bought it of him the year before, by the request of Massachusetts, now conveys it to them for £1,250. For this transaction, the Bay authorities were much censured by the King, as if they purchased the province while knowing that he had thoughts of doing the same. The truth is, they were informed by Robert Thomson, of London, 1674, that they could buy Maine if they chose. At the same time, the King's project of buying it and New Hampshire for the Duke of Monmouth, whom Chalmers calls "the most beloved of all his sons," so that the latter personage might send over his governor and reap a great income from them, was exploded as a mere bubble of imagination by all sensible and practical men who looked at the matter. The rulers of Massachusetts purchased the patent, with all its liabilities, to be seized by the Crown or otherwise, not, as they subsequently say, with any "intention to infringe his Majesty's royal prerogative, or to prevent his Majesty's taking the same into his own hands, but upon real desire to accommodate his Majesty's subjects, the inhabitants of that province, and their own mutual peace and safety, and with good advice first had that they might do so,"

* Willis's Portland, vol. i. p. 153.

† Mass. Gen. Ct. Rec.

1675-6.]

Maine, so obtained, could no longer be retained under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, as a part of their territory, but required to be under the form of a proprietary government, which it had in due course.

April 12. Much to the relief of anxious fears entertained by the people of Maine,* a peace is made at Casco, with Squando and other Indian chiefs, who give up the rest of the captives in their hands. As a solution of the mystery where the hostile Indians had obtained the most of their arms and ammunition to carry on their destructive warfare, it was subsequently found that Baron de St. Castine, who had been a French officer, had a trading house at Penobscot, and been married to a daughter of Madokawando, supplied them in the way of barter.

October 2. The Legislature of Massachusetts hear the indenture† relative to the purchase of Maine read. They deliver it in a black box to the secretary, for safe keeping. They vote to accept such a contract made by their agents, and that money be raised to pay the amount stipulated. They desire the Governor and Council to take order for the improvement, government and disposal of Maine, by sale or otherwise, as may seem best to them.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

1675. Oyster River, part of Dover, is allowed by Massachusetts to be a parish. John Buss, who married Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Bradbury, of Salisbury, May 12, 1673, and freeman 1674, when he belonged to Concord, is stated by Lawrence's New Hampshire churches, to have been employed at the said river in the year last named, as preacher and physician, and that he so served them for thirty-three years. He lost a valuable library with his house, when burnt by Indians in 1694. His decease was here, 1736. Some have set his age at one hundred and eight, but he gave it himself in a petition, as represented by Farmer's Genealogy, so as to make it ninety-six. He appears to have been a worthy laborer for the bodily and spiritual welfare of his people.

1676. February 21. As several Indians had come in and submitted themselves to mercy,‡ and others are expected to do it, Majors Richard Waldron and Nicholas Shapleigh are appointed by the Bay Legislature to attend such business, and treat with the Eastern Indians for peace, and if they cannot effect this, they may ship off the enemy who come in, so that they may not do further damage.

* Williamson, vol. i. p. 552, 3. † Mass. Gen. Ct. Rec. ‡ Mass. Col. Rec.

July. The beginning of this month, Randolph visits New Hampshire.* He reads Mason's letter to the inhabitants. He speaks "of the whole country," (as mostly Episcopalians,) "complaining of the usurpation of the magistrates of Boston," (Massachusetts,) "imposing ministers upon them, not admitting them to the sacrament of the Lord's supper, denying baptism to their children, and liberty of choosing their own magistrates and officers because they were not members of their congregations. They have been for a long time earnestly expecting to be delivered from the Government of the Massachusetts Bay, and do now humbly hope your Majesty will not permit them any longer to be oppressed, but will be graciously pleased to give them relief." The writer undoubtedly had incorrect views as to the denominational character of the people of whom he here speaks, supposing their number to be much larger than they really were.

In connection with this, Belknap adds:† "Some, Randolph found ready to complain of the Bay authorities, but the body of the people were much dissatisfied with him, and the inhabitants of Dover, in public town meeting, protested against the claim of Mason; declared they had *bona fide* purchased their lands of the Indians; recognized their subjection to the Government of Massachusetts, under whom they had lived long and happily, and by whom they were now assisted in defending their estates and families against the savage enemy." The people of this town appointed Major Waldron to petition the King that they may not be disturbed by Mason or any other claimant, and be allowed to remain under the present government of their preference.

When Randolph returned to Boston,‡ Governor Leverett gave him a severe rebuke for publishing his errand and endeavoring to produce disaffection among the colonists here. To which he replied, if he had acted amiss, they might make it known to the King.

August 9. A special General Court assemble in Boston, to consider the King's letter about the claims of Mason's heirs to this Colony. A committee are appointed to obtain depositions on this subject. In their petition to his Majesty, the Court say of New Hampshire and Maine: "Sure we are, that no intention of wrong to the claimers, no unlawful design of enlargement of our borders, no profit or advantage thereby accruing, (the contrary whereof we have hitherto found,) but a grounded apprehension of our interest, real compassion to the inhabitants in an unsettled and ungoverned condition, together with a sense of duty incumbent to be faithful to our Patent trust, did cause us to receive them under the wing of your Majesty's Government in this Colony."

October 12. A letter of the Bay Legislature to Sir Joseph Wil-

* Hutch. Coll. p. 507, 8. † Farmer's Belknap, p. 86. ‡ Hutch. Coll. p. 510.

1677-8.]

liamson,* one of the King's principal secretaries, refers to this territory, claimed by the heir of Mason, as of no great value, and still less so now, infested with hostile Indians.

1677. July 20. The case between Mason and Massachusetts, as to the jurisdiction of New Hampshire, having been tried in England and the decision confirmed by the royal sanction, the result is as follows: "The right of soil, as claimed by Mason, remains unsettled, because the ter-tenants had not been summoned to defend their titles, but his jurisdiction over the territory cannot be sustained, and that the towns of Portsmouth, Dover, Exeter and Hampton are not comprised in Massachusetts, as their agent's claim is, according to their Charter, three miles northward of the river Merrimac." "All parties are ordered to acquiesce therein, and contribute what lies in them, to the punctual and due performance of the said report, as there shall be occasion."

1678. April 12. Francis Champernoon, and Nathaniel Fryer, of Portsmouth,† as commissioners with Major Shapleigh, of Kittery, make peace with Squando and other chiefs at Casco.

May 8. For the continuance of order in New Hampshire, Massachusetts still appoint Magistrates to administer the laws,‡ until instructions arrive from the Crown to the contrary.

October 16. The authorities of the Bay, referring to charges of the Lords for trade and plantations, remark that the people of New Hampshire were not constrained to come under their jurisdiction, as Randolph had declared, but did it voluntarily.

RHODE ISLAND.

1675. June. When the Wampanoags, under Philip, whose principal residence was at Montaup, or Mount Hope, near Bristol, Rhode Island, rebelled against the English, they sent part of their wives and children to the Narragansetts for protection. The chief, Canonchet,§ being required to surrender them to the English, said, "Not a Wampanoag, nor the paring of a Wampanoag's nail, shall be delivered up." However strong his purpose, the revolution of a few months showed its ultimate inefficacy.

17. John Easton, of the Quakers, says that three magistrates, another person and himself, crossed over from Rhode Island|| to persuade Philip to settle his difficulty with Plymouth; that they proposed it should be left to Governor Andros, of New York, and an Indian King; but that he would not comply. He observes that Philip remarked, "they had great fear to have any of their Indians

* Mass. Gen. Ct. Rec. † Adams's Portsmouth, p. 62, 3. ‡ Mass. Gen. Ct. Rec. § Staples's Prov. p. 159, '60. || Easton's Philip's War.

be called or forced to be Christians," assigning as one of the reasons, it made them less obedient to their kings.

As Rhode Island was not a member of the Union, they did not feel so much of an immediate concern in this outbreak of Philip, as the other Colonies of New England; still they could not but be anxious, lest, before brought to its last result, it might involve the question of their very existence.

July. Messrs. Joseph Torrey and Samuel Hubbard, alarmed lest their friends at Westerly should be injured, sent a boat and had them brought to Newport. These guests, so favored, remained on the Island during the war.

December 19. The strong fortification of the Narragansetts is attacked by the English forces. After a long battle, disastrous to both sides, the Indians are defeated.

The English, thus victorious, rested at the garrison house of Richard Smith, near Wickford, and their wounded were conveyed to Rhode Island. In the year 1679, Roger Williams testified of this Smith as son of Richard Smith, Sen., who for conscience "left fair possessions in Gloucestershire," came to Taunton, and thence to Narragansett. "In the late bloody pagan war, it pleased the Most High to make use of him in person, housing goods, corn, provisions and cattle, for a garrison and supply of the whole army of New England, for the service of his Majesty's honor and country of New England."

20. Habakkuk Glover writes from Newport, Rhode Island, to Increase Mather.* He speaks of something he had written and printed, which Mr. Mather had noticed. He observes: "Upon perusall of Mr. Norton's explication of the way of Redemption in his answer to Mr. Pinchon, I finde in his explication hee partly owne that Christ in fallen man's place and stead suffered and satisfied for them; but that Christ, and God in Christ, bought fallen mankind by his satisfying for them. Mr. Norton doth not owne, (in all his explication of the way of redemption,) and therefore hee and many others for the like reason have fallen into an opinion, that a discharge from suffering for sin and salvation is bought and merited, and a debt due unto all for whom Christ died, and that it would be injustice in God for to punish any of them for their sins for whom Christ died. Hence men are carried violently either to conclude that all must bee saved, or else to conclude that Christ did never die for all." This and other errors would "easily be avoided if men really owne that Christ, and God in Christ, bought mankind by satisfying for them. And so because God bought all fallen mankinde by satisfying for them, therefore hee may of his justice require of them the whole debt which was due from them unto God as their creditour at the first, or of his free grace, hee may forbear or forgive the debt."

* Mather Papers.

1676.]

1676. January 9. William Coddington, Governor of Rhode Island, writes* to the Governor and Council of Massachusetts. He mentions the thanks sent to him and his colleagues of the Government, by the Commissioners of the Confederation and the Governor and Council of Massachusetts, for transporting their provision and soldiers and wounded.

16. About this date, the scouts bring in an Indian, and Joshua Tift, who had gone from Providence† and united with the Indians, and married a squaw. Tift was charged with wounding Captain Sealy, tried and executed as a traitor.

February 5. Easton closes his pamphlet on the existing war,† with terms of strong prejudice against the Congregationalists. "I am persuaded of New England priests, they are so blinded by the spirit of persecution to maintain to have hire and to have name to be mere hirelings; that they have been the cause that the law of nations, and the law of arms have been violated in this war, and that the war had not been, if there had not been a hireling, and that for his money, giving what he called the Gospel, by violence to have it chargeable for his gain from his quarter, and if any magistracy be not so as their pack horses, they will be trumpeting for innovation or war."

28. Governor Walter Clark answers an application of Providence for defensive aid.‡ He remarks: "My advice is unto you, seek not help from other Colonies, lest it be your utter ruin. The Confederate Colonies cannot support themselves and friends." This opinion was more positive than correct.

March 13. The Assembly at Newport, in answer to petitions from Providence and Warwick for defense against the Indians, state that the Colony is unable to "maintain sufficient garrisons for" its "out plantations," and invite the people of them to come and reside on the Island, as the safest practical means. They add: "Newport and Portsmouth inhabitants have taken such care, that those of the Colony that come and cannot procure land to plant for themselves and families' relief, may be supplied with land by the towns, and each family so wanting ability, shall have a cow kept upon the commons." The Assembly remark, that if any decide to continue on the Main, it is their opinion that they and their property will become a prey to the enemy, "except more than ordinary providence prevent." Staples informs us that a large proportion of the Providence inhabitants complied with such a proposal, and that a considerable number of those, so changing their abode, did not return.§ Among the persons who remained to encounter the doubly increased perils, was Roger Williams. As the Government was in the hands of the Quakers, now as well as several years

* Easton's Philip's War, p. 132-5.

† Easton, p. 123.

‡ Hubbard's Ind. War, p. 59.

§ Staples's Prov. p. 162, 3.

before and after this, this time may account for the laxity of enterprise in defending the two towns on the Main.

18. Habakkuk Glover writes from Rhode Island to Increase Mather.* "Lest I should fall short of my duty, I must tell you plainly, that it is time for you to open and explain your dark doctrine and open your eyes, that you may see and understand, if so be that, which it is; for the land is under an anathema maranatha, for ministers' preaching principles, and people's embracing another gospel than that which is revealed in the scriptures." What Mr. Glover, who had resided in Boston, here refers to, he gives no clue.

29. Council of Massachusetts write to Council of Connecticut in relation to Providence: "One Wright was killed, that was neither Quaker nor Anabaptist, well versed in the scriptures, but opinionated; would not retire to any garrison, listless to meddle, nay, refused to have to do with any civil business." Roger Williams had had a long discourse with the hostile Indians.

April 20. John Clark closes his life in his 66th year. He was, by tradition, from Bedfordshire in England; † born October 8, 1609, and married Elizabeth, daughter of John Harges, Esq., of the same country. In a power of attorney, subscribed 1656, he signed himself as a physician of London, to receive a legacy given by his wife's father out of the manor of Wreslingworth, of the same shire. His wife died at Newport, without issue, February 1, 1671. He married Mrs. Jane Fletcher, February 14, 1672. She had a daughter, who died May 18, 1673, and she herself deceased the preceding April 19. He married the widow Sarah Davis, with children, who survived him. As related, he was sent in 1651, by the people of the Island, to obtain a new Charter in England. Here he spent twelve years in difficult and untiring effort to accomplish his mission. To meet the costs of obtaining the Charter, 1663, he mortgaged his estate at Newport. He returned the next year and resumed his pastoral labors. As previously stated, while abroad, he published his "Ill News from New England," 1652. Backus informs us that "after Mr. Clark's return, he was improved in various public offices; was elected deputy governor three years successively, in two of which he accepted the office, but all the concerns of the state did not prevail with him to neglect the affairs of religion." He said in his will, with regard to his burial, let "this frail body be decently interred, without any vain ostentation, between my loving wives, Elizabeth and Jane, already deceased, in hopeful expectation that the same Redeemer, who hath laid down a price both for my soul and body, will raise up at the last day a spiritual one, that they may together be singing hallelujah unto him to all eternity." After making various bequests, he secured the use of his house and farm to his wife while she lived,

* Mather MS. Papers. † Farmer's Gen. Reg. Potter's Narragansett, p. 313.

1676.]

and then to trustees, with power to fill vacancies in their number, and to pay the income of the property "for the relief of the poor or bringing up children unto learning." In this way, he provided for public usefulness to the end of time. The books of his library, given to Richard Bailey, who came with him from London, 1664, indicate that the donor was learned as well as that the legatee was a preacher. He left an exposition of his creed, which was decidedly evangelical. As he lived, so he died, the benefactor of his fellow beings, and the faithful servant of Jesus Christ. The hope of a blessed immortality, which consoled him in trials and bore him onward in the constant discharge of duty, we have cause to believe, has long been a glorious reality in his experience.

May. Mr. S. Hubbard writes to Boston: * "The Quakers are still uppermost in government among us—I mean in outward rule—though we have put out the chief, Mr. John Easton, from being Deputy, and now Major John Cranston is Deputy Governor."

June 14. The Assembly vote to have one of the garrisons at Providence, selected and kept in the King's name, at the Colonial expense. Each soldier of it to have 6/. a week in "money pay," and their commander to have 12/. of the like tenor. The latter is Capt. Arthur Fenner, of Providence. The Assembly order that the garrison have a great gun "belonging to the owners of the ship Newport." They mention Roger Williams as having the command of a train-band at Providence.

24. The Council of Connecticut state, that of the contributions by their churches, one hundred and ten bushels of corn are to be distributed in Rhode Island, Swansey, etc.

30. The clause of the law passed May 7, 1673,—“Persons declaring that it is against their conscience to bear arms in a military manner,” shall not be liable to such duty nor to any fines,—is repealed, because “several under pretence decline their duty, whereby great disturbance is in the several train-bands.”

August 7. The Assembly vote that Lt. Edward Richmond and company shall have one half of the produce of the seven Indians, whom they brought in; and Capt. Andrew Edmonds and his company shall have the same ratio of what the thirty-five Indians whom they brought shall bring. They order that Indian men and women, capable of service, shall be sold for nine years. They except Indians from such sale, who are notoriously guilty. They mention that the Act of Council for this, on July 24, and “other acts, orders, commissions, verbal orders,” etc., for the present war, shall be lawful, “as if the General Assembly or General Council of this Colony had been in lawful being to act the same.”

14. A town meeting is held by the men of Providence,† to dispose of Indian prisoners. Roger Williams, and twenty-four more,

* Backus, p. 465.

† Staples's Providence, p. 170, 1.

are to have a whole share a-piece ; two others, three-fourths of a share ; and five more, half a share each, in the amount of sales. If any inhabitant wishes to purchase one or more of the captives, he is allowed to do it at the prices on Rhode Island or elsewhere. The terms of service for which the prisoners were to be sold, follow : Those under 5 years old, for 30 years ; above 5 and under 10, till they were 20 years old, for 20 years ; above 10 to 15, till 27 ; above 15 to 20, till 26 years old ; from 20 to 30, they were to serve 8 years. There were thirty-six sold at a low rate. Five of them, great and small, were disposed of for £8, and two more for twenty-two bushels of corn. They were, most likely, women and children, because the warriors were sentenced to speedy death, or to perpetual servitude out of the country.

24. A Court Martial at Newport,* try the case of Quonopen, or Sowagonish, a Narragansett Sachem, second in power to Nenantennett. He confessed that he was at the swamp fight, the assault on William Carpenter's garrison house at Pawtuxet, the burning of Nashaway, and carrying off about twenty English captives. He is condemned to be shot the next day but one.

25. Sunkeejunasuck, brother of Quonopen, who was at the destruction of Warwick, receives a like sentence. Wenanaquabin, of Pawtuxet, and John Wecopeak, on a similar charge, are adjudged to the same punishment.

Chuff, a ring-leader of Indians† against the Colonists, being wounded by some men from Providence, had been brought in thither. "The inhabitants of the town cried out for justice against him, threatening themselves to kill him, if the authority did not. For which reason, Capt. Roger Williams caused the drum to beat, and the town council and council of war called." Sentence was passed and the prisoner was shot to death.

The captives who remained at Providence, and were to be shipped off, set sail on the 29th inst., in a sloop belonging to Providence Williams, son of Roger.

31. It is ordered, that Malosses, Mamaxuat and Quanachuagat, be transported and sold for slaves. The day after, the Governor orders these three to be placed in the hands of Captain Benjamin Church, and seven more to Captain Anthony Low, and another to Henry Lilly, so they may be carried out of the Colony. Though a plea, honestly presented, has been made, as though Rhode Island was more merciful to Indian prisoners than the Confederate Colonies, yet there was no essential difference in this respect. The stern usages of war, as then existing, were resorted to by all the Colonies who had suffered its desolating effects.

September 18. Elder Hiscox and Mr. Hubbard are carried in a boat from Newport to New London. Here the Elder baptized the father of the Rogers family, his wife and daughter.‡

* Gen. Ct. for Trials. † Staples's Prov. p. 171, 2. ‡ Backus, vol. i. p. 474.

1677.]

October 25. The Assembly writing to Connecticut say* that no Colony has received so much loss from the Indian war, in proportion to population, as Rhode Island. They expostulate against Connecticut taking possession of their frontier settlements in Narragansett country and holding them, because they were deserted by their inhabitants. They say that if not allowed to have such towns re-occupied by their proprietors, they shall apply to his Majesty for redress.

27. The Assembly order that Indians who come or are brought upon an island of Narragansett bay, without the legal authority, shall be "liable to be disposed of for the benefit of the Colony."

The Assembly perceiving that there has not been made the essential difference between those* who conscientiously refuse to bear arms in war and those who do not, as it should be, and that the former class "are fined and then inconsiderate persons are employed who enter into their houses and take some of their best things; and sometimes five times the value that they should by law take;" therefore the clause of the law, May 3, 1676, which infringeth liberty of conscience, is repealed, and the law of May 7, 1673, which promotes such liberty, is revived and in full force.

November 29. Samuel Hubbard, of Newport, writes to Dr. Stennet of London.† "As for the other side, over against us on the Main, many are killed by the Indians. The rest came to us with what they could bring. Connecticut army, Plymouth and Bay armies, being there, wasted very much. When they left it, the Indians burnt near all that was left."

December. In this month, Mark Luker, one of the first founders of the Baptist church at Newport, and a ruling elder thereof, dies. He adorned his profession as a follower of Christ.

During the current year, Williams's "George Fox Digged out of his Burrowes," is printed at Cambridge. It goes over the ground of controversy between the two parties, as previously described.

1677. January 22. The Governor and Council, considering‡ the perils to the inhabitants from drunken Indians, who have set up wigwams in different parts of the Island, order these dwellings to be torn down and no more to be erected. They empower the inhabitants to take away from Indians all "strong drink" found upon them, and break the vessels containing such liquor; and to bring Indians whom they meet with guns and ammunition before the Governor, or his deputy, for examination.

April 21. The Assembly write to Governor Leet, of Connecticut. They complain§ that "divers" of their people have been taken from their homes in the Narragansett and carried to prison

* R. I. Col. Rec.

‡ R. I. Col. Rec.

† Backus, vol. i. p. 433-5.

§ Ibid.

in Connecticut, for refusing to comply with the laws of the latter Colony. They assert that if such force is continued, they shall be constrained to retaliate. They hope that his Majesty's decision will soon terminate such inconveniences.

May 2. As some have petitioned the Assembly,* that the market day, kept on the seventh day, or Saturday, be changed, "it being consistent [inconsistent] to their opinion to be then kept," the Court decline compliance, but order that an additional market may be kept every Thursday in Newport.

The Quakers, who held the reins of government in Rhode Island from the election of 1675, are now left out of the prominent offices.† Roger Williams was chosen magistrate, but he excused himself. Yet he wrote to Providence, "desiring that the old custom of order be kept in our meetings, and those unruly be reprov'd, or, upon obstinacy, cast out from sober and freemen's company; that our ancient use of arbitration be brought into esteem again; that it being constantly reported, that Connecticut is upon gaining his Majesty's consent to enslave us to their parish worship, we consider what we ought to do." The writer was often called to experience the unruliness of which he speaks. Still he stood for regularity, against the reproaches of many who took their will as the rule of right. The enslavement alluded to by him, was the endeavor of Connecticut to have the towns in Narragansett, which they claimed counter to the protestations of Rhode Island, secured to them by royal permission. Of course, the former Colony, if successful in their purpose, would have parish taxes, as well as others, raised to support ministers in the places for which they were contending.

A military law is passed.‡ This subject had been much neglected by the Quakers, while they were at the head of Government, consistently with their profession. As a matter of necessity in the war of Philip, they granted commissions to arm vessels and garrisons for defense against the enemy.

The law says: "Some under pretence of conscience, have taken liberty to act contrary and make void the power and authority of the military, so necessary to be upheld and maintained, that the civil power, (in which the whole freedom and privileges of his Majesty's subjects are kept and preserved,) cannot without it be executed, and have so far acted therein, that this his Majesty's Colony at this time is in effect wholly destitute of the military forces for the preservation thereof, and inhabitants therein, and may thereby be made a prey unto the weakest and meanest of his Majesty's enemies."

The law proceeds to specify the means whereby the military art shall be more fully understood and practiced. It then expresses

* R. I. Col. Rec.

† Backus, vol. i. p. 466.

‡ Rec. of R. I.

1677.]

the subsequent clause: "Provided always, and this Assembly do hereby declare that it is their full and unanimous resolution to maintain full liberty in religious concerns relating to the worship of God, and that no person, inhabiting in this jurisdiction, shall be any wise molested, punished, disquieted, or called in question for any difference in opinion in matters of religion, who does not actually disturb the civil peace of this Colony." The last part of this sentence might be so construed by a majority, as to be called oppression or persecution by a minority. The other neighboring Colonies asserted that they arraigned no man for his faith, except it was manifested to the injury of the public peace. It is true that they made their definition of such peace cover more points than Rhode Island did.

10. Connecticut reply. They say to Rhode Island, you misrepresent "our loyal proceedings with your manner of forcible taking and accounting the lands, which so lie within the known and unknown limits of our charter, to be circumscribed in yours, because of a surreptitious procurement of a grant from our sovereign, upon an agreement by your agent pretended to be made with the Honorable John Winthrop, Esq., after he had done the business of his agency for this Colony, according to his commission. We have no cause to believe that your pretended *non obstante* will be countenanced, to prejudice our previous and positive firm charter of so just a prince."

June 28. Governor Coddington writes to George Fox about Williams's book against him. As a specimen of his style, we have the following extract: * "There is a lying, scandalous book of Roger Williams. I have known him about fifty years, a mere weathercock, constant only in inconstancy. Poor man! that doth not know what should become of his soul, if this night it should be taken from him." Bitter language, like this, was very prevalent among the Quakers, whenever expressing themselves against their opponents. They evidently imagined it to be in accordance with the gospel, though far from savoring of the mildness inculcated by such a divine dispensation, and from giving the best influence to their belief. As coming from the pen of its author, it may have had a deeper infusion of gall, from the probability that Williams's book had been a principal means of diminishing the numbers of his party, and recently ejecting him and them from political power.

August 16. William Coddington writes† to Ralph Fretwell of the proceedings against Margaret Brewster and other Quakers in Boston. John Easton, Jr., was one of her abettors.

September 1. Letters of this date are directed by Dr. Peter Chamberlain, of England, ‡ a Seventh-day Baptist, to the Newport

* Backus, vol. i. p. 445. † Besse, vol. ii. p. 261. ‡ Backus, vol. i. p. 475.

church, under Elder Hiscox. One of them was for the Governor of Massachusetts, on the subject of religious freedom.

15. In their instructions to James Richards,* bound to England, and commissioned to obtain the royal confirmation of the Narragansett territory to them if he could, Connecticut say of it: "The country was planted in such a dissolute, forlorn and heathenish manner, as was both to the dishonor of God, our King and nation, and so forlornly situate as exposed it to ruin by the heathen."

Between November 27 and December 1, Samuel Gorton closed his long career. He was born at Groton, England, 1600. His sons were Samuel, John and Benjamin, and daughters, Maher, Mary, Sarah, Ann, Elizabeth and Susanna, all of whom had husbands. Aside from the events of his life, coming to our notice in course, others present themselves. When his supporters at Warwick united with those of Providence, Newport and Portsmouth, in 1649, for guarding against the apprehended effects of Coddington's exertions in London to obtain the government of the Island for life in himself, they sent him and others to attend the General Court. So it was in 1652. In 1651, he was a commissioner or deputy from Warwick to the Assembly of members from this town and Providence, and was their moderator. To the like body he was appointed the next year. For the Legislature, of representatives from four towns, the people of Warwick chose him from 1655 to 1660, and 1662-3, being eight years; then deputy, 1664 to '66, three years, Block Island being added to the places represented there for the last two years. Besides the general duties here implied, he had others to discharge. In 1655, Mr. Gorton was on a committee to sign letters to the Lord President and Rev. John Clark, in London. It was so in 1658. In 1656, he was designated on a committee to treat with Pumham and company, and 1658, to write to Plymouth Colony, and the Commissioners of the United Colonies.

By this review, we perceive a marked difference between the former and latter Colonial conduct of Gorton,—in that he indulged his passions with perilous violence, as at Plymouth, Rhode Island and Providence; and Savage calls him "a most active religious disturber of several places." Dean says, "Indeed, he was a sort of fire-brand in the midst of the little communities into which he was here thrown." But such fault he wisely reformed. The change was profitable to his interests, and honorable to his reputation. To the question, in what particular school of divinity must we look for his religious principles, he has left us no explicit direction. Roger Williams charged him with "denying all visible and external ordinances, in depth of *familism*." Norton states, "that he discovered himself to be deeply leavened with blasphem-

* Conn. Col. Journal.

1678.]

ous and familistical opinions." The most careful analysis of his belief, which has come to us, is that of the Massachusetts General Court, in 1643, when Gorton was on trial before them for heresy. This body charged what he had written as proving him an enemy to the religion and ordinances of Christ and to civil authority. In the exercise of his privilege on trial, he denied the charge. Still the Court, composed of Puritan church members, decided that he was guilty. While their verdict would consistently harmonize with that of all who examined the case from the like stand-point, it would vary in the judgment of others, as they assumed a different position. Still, inspired truth is immutable, and its confirmation in judgment, everlasting.

1678. March 2. Elder Hiscox, of Newport,* baptizes Naomi Burdick, who had married Jonathan Rogers; also James Babcock, George Lamphere and two others, at Westerly.

April 8. Edmund Andros, Governor of New York, reports to the Lords of Trade and Plantations,† that Quakers are the most numerous denomination in Rhode Island, but "the government is now out of their hands."

May 5. Joseph Clarke writes,‡ from Westerly, to his father Hubbard, of Newport, that John and James Rogers, with their father, are imprisoned. The three latter persons, having persuaded themselves that it was their duty to oppose public worship on the first day of the week, and to work upon it, and having thus disturbed the public peace in Connecticut, the authorities here had them confined. The church under Hiscox informed of this, soon sent messengers to New London, so that they might learn the cause and particulars of the Rogers's imprisonment.

June 12. On petition of Rachel Address,§ that she may be divorced from her husband, Richard Address, who has been absent from the Colony several years, and she has heard nothing of him, and it being proved that he has a wife in England, the Assembly grant her request.

July 3. Petition of Richard Smith and others is laid before the Council at White Hall, London. It states that about seven years ago a like paper was presented to his Majesty by the hand of said Smith, signed by the principal inhabitants and proprietors, "setting forth the many irregularities in the proceedings of the Government of Rhode Island, and humbly praying your Majesty's relief therein; but the wars with Holland and other weighty affairs of state intervening, your petitioners were ordered to a more convenient time; by which means, your petitioners are without any settled Government; that in the time of the late Indian war, the petitioners sent to the Government of Rhode Island for their protection and

* Backus, vol. i. p. 475.

† Backus, vol. i. p. 475.

‡ Com'rs for N. E. papers.

§ R. I. Col. Rec.

defense, which was absolutely denied them, the then Governor of Rhode Island being a Quaker, and thought it perhaps not lawful either to give commission or take up arms; so that their towns, goods, corn and cattle, were by the savage natives burnt and totally destroyed; whereby the petitioners are become great sufferers in their estates and fortunes." They therefore desire his Majesty to order that Rhode Island cease from exercising authority over the inhabitants of the Narragansett country, and that they and other inhabitants of the Islands Quonanicutt, Hope, Patience, and Dutch Island, may be restored to Connecticut. This petition is referred to the Lords Committee of the Board for Trade and Plantations.

On December 13, the King orders that the Rhode Island magistrates exercise authority of Justices of the Peace over Narragansett country or King's province.

October 2. A copy of Randall Holden's and John Green's communication* to the Lords of Trade and Plantations, is laid before the Legislature of Massachusetts, having been sent to them by their agents in London. Holden and his associate call themselves deputies of Warwick. They mention the Bay agents as representing "your petitioners, together with Samuel Gorton, as vagabonds and fomenters of disquiet; it appears by their own confession, that the Government of the Massachusetts, together with those of Plymouth and Connecticut, were the persecutors of your petitioners and others, those loyal persons who could not submit to their new fangled inventions and rigid discipline." They proceed: "It is matter much to be wondered at, that these agents should make complaint to your Lordships against one Gorton, so opprobriously stigmatizing him for a grand heresiarch, when, in the mean time, it might easily be made to appear that none have been so great heretics and schismatics as themselves." They thus express themselves, evidently intending to make the most of the prejudice which the King had against Massachusetts, so that their purposes might be accomplished. They even charge the Colony, last named, with being the cause of all difficulties with the Indians, and propose the question whether, so far from having any proportionate claim to Narragansett or the King's Province, and Warwick, by right of conquest, they should not pay Rhode Island for all their damages, accruing from Philip's war! They petition in behalf of the latter plantation, that their Lordships would move "His Majesty to erect a Supreme Court of Judicature over all the Colonies in New England, and that his own royal authority may be there so established, that justice may be equally distributed to all; that the long disputes and differences about boundaries may be decided, and his Majesty's loyal subjects, who have too long groaned under the oppression of an insulting and tyrannical government, may

* Mass. Gen. Ct. Rec.

1678.]

be relieved, without which ruin and desolation will inevitably fall upon the plantations by a civil war." Though these accusers may have had some ground of complaint, from the long collisions of imperfect human nature, yet so loose had been their ideas of constitutional law and order, they had more cause to blame their own erroneous judgment than the Bay authorities. They go on to request that Connecticut may be commanded to restore Westerly, a town which they claimed as within their bounds; and that all sentences given by Massachusetts and others against inhabitants of Warwick may be repealed, and especially the sentence of banishment against Holden, in 1643.

October 8. Governor Leet, of Connecticut, dates a letter* to Elder William Hiscox and his church at Newport, relative to a communication from Dr. Chamberlain, of London, and to the imprisonment of John and James Rogers and their father, Seventh-day Baptists.

This year, "A New England Fire-brand Quenched," being an answer by George Fox and John Burnyeat, to "George Fox Digged out of his Burrows," by Roger Williams, is printed. The Appendix of the work is subscribed with the initials of the authors, July, 1677. It is principally a review of Williams's book. It states that on his visit to Rhode Island, Fox "did turn many to the Lord Jesus Christ, both at Providence and Newport." In reference to the name of his order, it remarks: "Thou sayest thou hast cause to judge, that the word Quaker was given us from that strange possession of our bodies of quaking and shaking. Answer. Gervase Bennet, Justice of Derby, gave us that name, because I and we bid him and his company tremble at the word of God." As a specimen of its manner, a few lines are given at the close of the Appendix. "Thou scoffingly sayest, I fear G. F. is so taken up with his sitting with Christ in heavenly places, with immediate dictates of his supposed Holy Spirit, I fear his case. And thou, that sittest not in the heavenly places in Christ Jesus, where dost thou sit, R. W., and ye New England priests and professors? In sin and death and old Adam? Thou, that sittest not here in this heavenly place, art yet dead in thy sins, unquickened; and read thy sitting, thy life and conversation: Ephes. ii. 2, 3. And neither R. W. nor ye New England priests can pluck us out of the heavenly places in Christ Jesus, where God hath raised us up by his Spirit above your sin and death, where thou and the New England priests sit, and rail and scoff and persecute them."

November 1. William Coddington dies, aged seventy-seven. He came from Boston, Lincolnshire, England, and settled as a merchant, 1630, in the town of the same name, in Massachusetts. He

* Backus, vol. i. p. 477.

was elected an Assistant for the Colony, before his emigration, March 18, 1630, and appeared at the Court in Charlestown the 7th of next September. Near this time he was called to mourn the decease of his wife. He was elected Assistant, 1632, and so continued six years to 1638. He was appointed Treasurer, May 14, 1634, and also the next year. On the 4th of March, 1635, he became member of the Board for military concerns of the Colony, and of a committee to license settlers at Cochiowicke. On May 25, 1636, he is united with others to hold courts for Boston, Roxbury, Dorchester, Weymouth and Hingham.

Shortly before the expedition from Massachusetts against Block Island and the Pequods in August, 1636, he was one of the Commissioners who made peace in behalf of this Colony with the Narragansetts, through Canonicus and Miantinomo, their chief sachems. On March 9, 1637, he is put on a committee to settle claims of soldiers in this expedition.

At sessions of the General Court, September 26 and November 2, the same year, he appears as Deputy from Boston. He takes a prominent part this year, in favor of Mrs. Ann Hutchinson's sentiments, which proves the occasion of his banishment. Winthrop recorded, "Mr. Coddington, being with his wife taken with the familistic opinions, removed to Aquidnay Island."

A constitution of government being formed at Portsmouth, Rhode Island, in 1638, William Coddington is its first signer. On the same occasion, eighteen freemen elect him the Judge of the Colony, and his council under the name of Elders. Such official titles were continued to March 12, 1640, when they were changed for Governor and Assistants. Their agreement is, that they "will submit their persons, lives and estates unto their Lord Jesus Christ, the King of Kings and Lord of Lords, and to all the perfect laws given in his holy word of truth, to be guided and judged thereby."

March 24, 1638, he receives a deed of Aquedneck Island, from Canonicus and Miantinomo, and also of other islands, except Chibbachuweset, called Prudence,* "for forty fathoms of white beads" or wampum. His previous acquaintance with these chiefs must have contributed to the convenience of this contract. He also paid gratuities for such a purchase in 1639, to several sachems.

April 28, 1639, Mr. Coddington is chosen Judge of the persons who agree to promote a settlement at Pocasset, or Newport, where they subscribe the constitution. Being continued Governor into 1642, he is elected on September 19, of this year, chairman of a committee to obtain a Patent for Rhode Island, and correspond with Sir Henry Vane on the subject.

* Sold to Governor Winthrop and Roger Williams, June 3, 1638.

1678.]

In May, 1647, he is appointed Assistant for Newport, and May 16, of next year, President of Providence plantations. The latter appointment appears to have been chiefly for political considerations. It is probable that he, having embarked for England the preceding January, had so begun to operate for a Charter of the Island, that its control might be vested in himself, the electors at home had heard of it and endeavored to win him from his purpose by such a choice.

A chief inducement for him to decline connection in government with the two towns on the Main, was his strong repugnance to being brought in immediate relation with Samuel Gorton. But about two months before he embarked for London, he expressed to Governor Winthrop his unyielding opposition to the allowance of the freedom of the Island to Gorton and his company.

Coddington remaining in England till the summer of 1651, when he brought home a Charter of Rhode Island, which empowered him as Governor for life, Providence and Warwick protest against this privilege. Forty-one persons of Portsmouth and sixty-five of Newport did not approve of his course, and therefore they unite in sending John Clark, one of their original proprietors, to solicit in London, a repeal of Coddington's commission. As this document was supposed to have vacated the Charter of Providence and Warwick, Roger Williams is chosen by them to go on a similar agency. Clark and Williams sailed from Boston in November.

April 14, 1652. As the eighteen associates who bought Rhode Island of the two sachems with Coddington, were very uneasy that he had not transferred to them such property, he now complies with their request. Seeing that he had obtained a Charter to govern the Island for life, he could not be surprised that they sought for a legal claim of their rights, so that they might enforce them if he endeavored to hold his grant from the Crown.

May 17, 1653. The General Assembly of freemen of Newport and Portsmouth, send two messengers to Coddington for the Records and Statutes. He replies, that he will advise with his council and then answer. He says that "he dare not lay down his commission, having no order thereto, nor has he seen any thing to show that his commission is annulled. On June 4, Providence and Warwick remonstrate against the government of Coddington and Council. On the 31st of August, 1654, the four towns unite in one Colonial government, under the Providence Charter, and thus practically nullify Coddington's commission.

March 11, 1656, he is a member from Newport, among the Commissioners. In their presence, he publicly agrees as follows: "I, William Coddington, do freely submit to the authority of His Highness in this Colony as it is now united, and that with all my

heart." On the 17th, the General Assembly, in reference to a complaint that, as some difficulties about Mr. Coddington were not settled by orders from England, it would be well for him not to sit among them for the present, expressing their wish that Mr. Clark may be written to, "declaring their good desires and apprehensions conceived from Mr. Coddington's demonstrations of good affection to the Government, as also of their own satisfaction generally in the Colony, in the matters of complaint premised." Thus the matter of his having obtained a charter to be Governor for life of the Island, is allowed to pass.

March 9, 1665, Coddington and others, who had become Quakers, write from Newport to the Royal Commissioners. These reply to them on the 13th, having on the 4th dated their "five proposals" to them. On the 3d of May, Governor Arnold sent for such Quakers, and delivered to them the two latter communications.

March 27, 1666, he appears in the Legislature as Deputy from Newport; May 2, September 4, and October 31, as an Assistant. 1673, he was Deputy Governor; the next two years, he was Governor. 1678, August 28, he is chosen to succeed Benedict Arnold, deceased, in this office, and so continues short of three months, till his own summons from earth.

He married, according to Savage, Mary, daughter to Richard Moseley, of Ousedon, Suffolk, England. She died a few weeks after his arrival in this Colony. He married for his second wife, Mary, and, being back in England, had a child, 1632, and soon returned to Boston, where he had Mary, born 2d March, 1634; Benajah, May, 1636. His second wife was buried at Newport, 30th September, 1647. While in England, whither he took his daughter, he got a third wife, Ann. He had children, William, born 18th January, 1651; Nathaniel, 23d May, 1653; Mary, 16th May, 1654; Thomas, 5th November, 1655; John, 24th November, 1656; Noah, 12th December, 1658; Ann, 6th June, 1660, and Ann, 20th July, 1663. He left widow Ann, who died 9th May, 1708, aged eighty.

Mr. Coddington was a highly intelligent and respectable merchant. His adoption of Mrs. Hutchinson's opinions drew him from the even tenor of his way, and brought him into the long troubled waters of Rhode Island. His embracing the doctrines of George Fox, according to their then too common influence, increased his zeal and severity towards those who opposed them. This led him to speak of Roger Williams in a vituperative style, painful to such as respect the founder of Providence, who, though subject to the common imperfections of humanity, had remarkable talents and attainments, and many distinguished virtues.

1675.]

CONNECTICUT.

1675. March. Elder Hiscox, Samuel Hubbard and his son-in-law, and Joseph Clark, of the Newport church,* visit the Rogers family at New London. Jonathan, another son, is baptized. He and the three previously mentioned, were admitted members of Elder Hiscox's church.

March 22. In compliance with instructions from the Connecticut rulers to the churches, these keep a day of fasting and prayer, confession of public sins and renewal of covenant. A condensation of the last,† as done by the church of Norwich, follows. An influential occasion for such services was the desolating war with Philip.

1. "All males who are eight or nine years of age, shall be presented before the Lord in his congregation every Lord's day to be catechised, until they be about thirteen in age.

2. "Those about thirteen years of age, both male and female, shall frequent the meetings appointed in private for their instruction, while they continue under family government, or until they are received to full communion in the church.

3. "Adults who do not endeavor to take hold of the covenant shall be excommunicated.

4. "Brethren shall be appointed to admonish those parents who are negligent of their children.

5. "The Lord's supper shall be celebrated once in every six weeks.

6. "Erring brethren are to be rebuked.

7. "Finally, seeing we feel by woful experience how prone we are soon to forget the works of the Lord and our vows, we do agree and determine that this writing or contents of it shall be once in every year read in a day of fasting and prayer before the Lord and his congregation; and shall leave it with our children, that they do the same in their solemn days of mourning before the Lord, that they may never forget how their fathers, ready to perish in a strange land, and with sore grief and trembling of heart, and yet hope in the tender mercy and good will of Him who dwelt in the burning bush, did thus solemnly renew their covenant with God; and that our children after us may not provoke the Lord and be cast off as a degenerate offspring, but may tremble at the commandment of God, and learn to place their hope in him, who although he hath given us a cup of astonishment to drink, yet will display his banner over them who fear him."

May 1. Andros, Governor of New York, desires the General Court of Connecticut to deliver up the territory contained in the patent of his Colony. On the 17th, they reply that they have no

* Backus, vol. i. p. 474.

† D. C. Gilman's Address, p. 30, 94.

more soil, under their authority, than they justly own.* They add, "Therefore, to our obliged duty, we are firmly resolved (as hitherto) by the gracious assistance of Almighty God to continue (in obedience to his Majesty) in the management of what we are be-trusted with." He soon answers them. He remarks that he had been informed that New Haven Colony had regretted, when too late, that they had agreed to merge themselves into Connecticut. He declares that if they refuse compliance with his wish, he shall protest against them as disobedient and refractory subjects of his Majesty. On June 16, the Governor and Council write to Andros. They say that they have no evidence of what he states concerning the union of New Haven with Connecticut; they do not understand the Duke of York's patent and their own as he interprets them; they expected a friendly conference about the points at issue, before a protest, and they still desire a neighborly correspondence.

13. A petition of Joseph Hawkins and John Hull is presented to the Assembly for a plantation at Pagawsett, a part of Milford, where are twelve families and eleven more preparing to join them; and it states "that they have engaged a minister to come and settle with them." It was allowed, and the place named Derby.

The Court grant the request of Wallingford to become a church, with the approval of neighbor churches. They "desire the Lord's gracious presence and blessing may crown their endeavors with such success as may advance the glory of God and their spiritual good and edification."

22. In view of blastings and mildews on the fruits of the field, unseasonable weather, great rains, and of threatened judgments, Fast is ordered on first Wednesday of June.

31. On the petition of Robin Causacinnamon,† overseer of the Pequods, the General Court, through their Committee, appoint laws for the government of these Indians. Among such laws are the following: "That whosoever shall oppose or speak against the only living and true God, the Creator and Ruler of all things, shall be brought to some English Court to be punished, as the nature of the offense may require. That whosoever shall powow, or use witchcraft, or any worship to the devil or any false god, shall be convented and punished." Whoever profanes the Sabbath shall be fined 10/., or "be sharply whipped."

"It is ordered that a ready and comely attendance be given to hear the word of God preached by Mr. Fitch, or any other minister sent amongst them."

July 1. Council of War write‡ to magistrates of New Haven, that the insurgents "are engaging the Indians round about by sending

* Conn. Col. Rec. App. xix.

† Conn. Gen. Ct. Rec.

‡ Conn. Council Journal, p. 332.

1675.]

locks of some English they have slain, from one place to another."

4. Andros, Governor of New York, replies* to Winthrop, Governor of Connecticut. "I received yours of the 1st inst., of the Indians being in arms in Plymouth Colony, and their having destroyed several Christians to the eastward of you, and apprehension of their trending further to you wards. I am very much troubled at the Christians' misfortunes and hard disasters in these parts, being so overpowered by such heathen." He states his coming with a force to "Connecticut River, his Royal Highness's bounds there." This was news unwelcome to Connecticut, because they suspected his intention to take possession of Saybrook, as he soon manifested, under the occasion of resistance to the Indians.

On the 10th, the Assembly protest against Andros's coming with force into their jurisdiction, to take the territory claimed by the Duke of York's Patent, especially "when the heathen rage against the English, and by fire and sword have destroyed many of his Majesty's good subjects, our neighbors of Plymouth Colony, and still are carrying their heads about the country as trophies of their good success."

11. Major Andros draws nearer to the fort of Saybrook, with several armed sloops, and displaying the King's flag, demands the surrender of the place. Captain Bull, who had arrived with his company as ordered, made preparations to resist, and also raised the royal colors.

12. The Major desires to come on shore and converse with the principal officers and ministers. He and his suite are allowed to do this. In the meanwhile, the protest of the Assembly had been handed to the Captain, who observed to the Major, that he was empowered by such a document to leave the matters in controversy with suitable Commissioners. The Major rejected the proposal, and commanded, in the name of the King, that the Duke's Patent and his own commission be read. The Captain as peremptorily ordered, by the same authority, that they should not be read. When the clerk of Andros attempted to read the documents, Bull forbade this with such a look and tone, that he stopped. The Captain then remarked that he had a protest to the Major and would read it, which he did. Andros said to him, "What's your name?" The reply was, "My name is Bull, sir." "Bull," said the Major, "It's a pity that your horns are not tipped with silver." Andros, perceiving that he could not prevail by force, went on board and soon sailed for Long Island. On hearing of this intrusion, the Assembly passed a resolution which censured it, and copies of which they forwarded "to the several plantations." Though Andros came to Connecticut under the plea of contending

* Easton's Philip's War, p. 46.

against Philip's forces, at the same time his purpose was, as he wrote to James, successor to Charles II., to surprise the territory he claimed, and keep possession of it, by a fort at Saybrook.

August 26. The Council,* in view of the "dispensation of the Most High against his wilderness people in sending forth his sword into the land, and blowing on the designs of the English so many ways," for "great neglect of the gospel of Christ," and other sins,—order that a Fast be observed throughout the Colony, "the same 4th day of the week monthly, till further orders."

27. The Council desire John Whiting "to go forth with our army, to assist them in preaching, prayer, counsel and exhortation."

30. Among the instructions of Major Treat, about marching to co-operate with the Massachusetts forces, is the subsequent order: "In all places of your travels, march or abode, you are to see well to the carriage and behaviour of all under your command, that it be sober, Christian and comely, both in words and deeds, according to gospel profession, before the heathen and in the sight of all men; that so the name of our God be not dishonoured by ourselves, while we are endeavouring to vindicate the same against the heathen's wickedness and blasphemies."

October 5. Rev. Thomas James, settled at Easthampton, writes to Governor Andros, of New York.† Having stated that he wrote a petition to him for the Montauk Indians, that they might have their arms restored to them,—he says that the English where he lives are much opposed to having such a request allowed, especially since the slaughter committed by Philip's followers. He then relates: "Your Honour's Predecessor wrote several letters to me to stir me up about instructing the Indians in the knowledge of God and his Religion, and that he would further and encourage the business, so far as lay in his power. I do think if your Honour be pleased to set in at this time, it may be a good promotion of that work, which, as I have seen in several writings of his most excellent Majesty, the King, his pious desires expressed for the putting forward the work." Mr. James settled at Easthampton, 1650. "He learned the Indian language and translated the catechism and parts of the Bible" into this tongue. He gained in a great degree, the confidence of the Indians. He died, June 16, 1696.

14. The Assembly take the following order: "Whereas reading the Scriptures, catechising of children, and daily prayer with giving thanks, is a part of God's worship and the homage due to him, to be attended conscientiously by every Christian family," the Court "solemnly recommend it to the ministry to look into the state of such families as neglect such duty; convince them of and instruct them in their duty, and by all means encourage them."

The townsmen are to aid the ministers "for the reformation and

* Council Rec. † Thompson's Long Is. Easton's Philip's War, p. 86, 7.

1676.]

education of the children in good literature and the knowledge of the Scriptures."

Heads of families, who will not reform, shall be presented by the Grand Jury to the County Courts, to be fined, or punished, or bound to good behavior, as the case may demand. Young persons are required to live in praying families. Excess in apparel is forbidden.

Israel Chauncy, of Stratford, is appointed chaplain of the forces under Major Robert Treat.

19. The Council reply to Governor Andros, of New York, who wrote them that there was a general confederacy among the Indians, and that they intended to attack Hartford and other places as far as Greenwich. They say: "Although we have all this summer been alarmed and greatly distressed, and charged by hostile appearances from almost every of the ports and parts of this Colony, wherein our God hath made us to be as a bush burning, yet not consumed, in the midst of these flames; notwithstanding which, we most thankfully accept your friendly lines of intelligence posted to us so seasonably."

20. Gershom Bulkley, of Wethersfield, is appointed chirurgion of the army, and he and Mr. Chauncy to be members of the council of war.

21. Any male person, over fourteen, or under seventy years old, who leaves the Colony without license from proper authority, while the war continues, and thus "led by inordinate fear to distrust of God's providence," shall forfeit £100, or be liable to corporal punishment according to his offense.

November 22. In compliance with the proposal of the Commissioners, the Council appoint December 2, "as a solemn day of public prayer and humiliation; to supplicate the Lord's pardoning mercy and compassion towards his poor people, and for success in our endeavors for repelling of the rage and insolence of the enemy."

December 11. As James Noyes could not attend to the duty of chaplain assigned to him, Nicholas Noyes is appointed to take his place.

17. The Council appoint a Convention of the ministers in Fairfield and New Haven Counties, with Messrs. Woodbridge and Buckingham, to meet, next week, at New Haven, "in the fear of God, to make diligent search for those evils amongst us which have stirred up the Lord's anger against us, that they, being discovered, may, by repentance and reformation, be thrown out of our camp and our hearts." They were, also, desired to send up their conclusions to the Council, the following week, by Mr. Wakeman and Mr. Eliot.

1676. January 10. The Council appoint* regulations for the forces under Robert Treat, ordered against the enemy. Some of

* Conn. Council Rec.

them are mentioned. "Whosoever shall presume to blaspheme the holy and blessed Trinity, God the Father, God the Son, or God the Holy Ghost, shall suffer the pains of having his tongue bored through with a red-hot iron. Unlawful oaths or execrations and scandalous acts in derogation of God's honor, shall be punished with loss of pay, and other punishments at discretion. All those who often and willfully absent themselves from the public worship of God and prayer, shall be proceeded against at discretion."

John Brackett, chirurgion, of Wallingford, is appointed to take care of the wounded, instead of Gershom Bulkley, who is engaged as chaplain of the army. Mr. John Wise, of Branford, is appointed chaplain of the same detachment.

19. The Council send a letter to Mr. Fitch, the minister, requesting him to visit New London and encourage the soldiers there concerning the expedition, and to accompany them, "if it may be," which he did.

23. Major Treat sends information from New London to the Council, that after much difficulty, he "intends, God willing," to begin his march on the morrow. He closes thus: "I beg your prayers to the God of wisdom, courage and strength, to be with me and all that turn the battle to the gate when the Lord shall thereto."

February 10. The Council answer the inquiry of Andros, dated the 4th instant, whether they would admit forces of New York, "Christians or Indians, particularly Maquas and Seneques to pursue Philip and his men into their Colony, and afford supplies to such allies." They say that they should like to have the two nations of Indians, whom he particularly designates, tried on this subject, before they would particularly engage. They mention a report that Philip had "saluted the Mohawks with a great present of £300, to engage them against the English," or remain neutral.

John Woodbridge, minister of Kenilworth, and freeman, 1669, going to the Bay with his wife, is allowed to transport forty or fifty bushels of grain thither.

12. The following order is passed by the Council. "The consideration of the goodness and mercy of God to us (in this day of trouble) in continuing of liberties and precious enjoyments, and so great a measure of health in our plantations, together with preservation of our provisions and habitations in time of such devastation; and for the special mercy of God to us, in answering the prayers of his people, (though by terrible things in righteousness,) in giving such an overthrow to the enemy at the fort, in the Narragansett fight; and also, for the mercy of God to us in the last expedition, in causing the enemy some to fall and the rest flee before us; and returning of the soldiers with so little loss; these things have moved us to appoint the 23d of this

1676.]

instant month, to be solemnly kept a day of public thanksgiving throughout this Colony, and to bless God for those his mercies, and to pray for his farther goodness and protection to be manifested to us, as the very matter may require."

Mr. Belcher has a permit to transport four hundred bushels of corn and pease to Boston for the praying Indians, and twenty bushels of wheat and fourteen pounds of leather for his own family.

18. Messrs. Bulkley and John Hull are requested to go forth as chaplains, with the forces. The latter person was presented as a freeman, May 13, 1669, then of Kenilworth.

25. A lot is cast to decide who of two persons,* Thomas Watts and John Stanley, should "go forth with the army, captain of the county of Hartford soldiers." It fell on Watts.

March 7. They order "that the collections drawn up by the ministers," with their own injunctions, "be sent forth and attended."

9. The Council desire that Samuel Hooker, minister, be notified to prepare himself for accompanying the forces under Major Treat to Northampton or Hadley.

11. They appoint Mr. Chauncy, minister, instead of Mr. Hooker, as one of the council of the army, and also as their surgeon.

13. James Fitch, minister at Norwich, writes to the Council in reply to their proclamation for a Fast. His words follow: "Blessed be the Lord, who hath moved your hearts in so necessary and seasonable a work. We intend, God willing, to take that very day, solemnly to renew our covenant in our church state, according to the example of Ezra's time, and as was sometimes practiced in Hartford congregation by Mr. Stone, not long after Mr. Hooker's death. If other churches do not see cause to do the same, yet we hope it will not be offensive; but do verily conclude if there be rule for that practice, this is a time wherein the providence of God does in a knocking and terrible manner call for it."

James Bishop and Roger Newton, of Milford, propose to the Governor and Council that the church children be called on to fulfill their covenant obligations.

For the encouragement of volunteers, whether English or Indians, who go forth under Captains Denison, Avery, Lieut. Minor and Ensign Thomas Leffingwell, they "shall have all such plunder as they shall seize, both of persons and corn or other estate, to be disposed by them in way of sale, so as they may best advantage themselves, provided authority have had the first tender of their dispose of captives, allowing them the market price."

25. Mr. Fitch has orders to accompany, as chaplain, the troops under Major Treat, in pursuit of the enemy who were in Narragansett.

April 5. Major Edward Palmes writes from New London to

the Council "of the good success God hath given our forces in this last expedition." This refers to what Captains Denison and Avery and their men had achieved.

Among the prisoners was Canonchet or Nanuntenoo, the principal surviving sachem of Narragansett, and the son of Miantonomo. He was condemned at Stonington to be shot to death. The sentence was executed by a young Mohegan sachem and two Pequod sachems. His head was cut off and sent to Hartford, and the remainder of his body was burnt.

Mr. Chauncy, chaplain, having heard that his child was dead and his wife dangerously ill, asks leave to visit her. He remarks: "I hope my brother Bulkley, provided he have an easy and able horse, will attend the army, upon their present motion." In the early part of the month, Mr. Bulkley was wounded by a shot from the enemy.

John Winthrop, the Governor, dies. He was son of the Governor of Massachusetts, born at Groton, Suffolk county, England, February 12, 1606, and studied at the universities of Cambridge and Dublin. After leaving his collegiate course, he traveled in France, Holland, Flanders, Italy, Germany and Turkey. He accompanied his wife to Massachusetts, 1631. She was Martha, daughter of Rev. Henry Painter, and died at Ipswich, 1634. His second wife was Elizabeth Read, daughter to Rev. Hugh Peters's first wife. By this marriage he had sons, Fitz-John, Waitstill, and three daughters. He was elected one of the Assistants for the Bay in 1632, and so continued till 1650. He was chosen, 1635, Governor of the plantation owned by Lords Say, Brook and others, at the mouth of Connecticut river. He was a Lieutenant Colonel of Essex Regiment, under John Endicott. The next year, his father writes to him as still Governor at Saybrook. As George Fenwick, a principal proprietor of that settlement, had emigrated thither the year in which Winthrop was appointed to take charge of it, and the latter resided at Ipswich of the Bay, 1638 and 1639, it appears that for these two last years, if not some time before, Fenwick had succeeded to the trust of Winthrop as chief magistrate.

In 1640, the General Court of Massachusetts grant Winthrop Fisher's Island, at the mouth of Pequod river. The following year, he sailed for England. He receives from the Bay authorities, 1644, a plantation at Pequod for iron works. Two years afterwards, he and others begin a settlement in the same country, at Southertown or Stonington. Here he was commissioned to rule the people, with the aid of Thomas Peters. This territory, Massachusetts considered as their portion by right of assisting to conquer the Pequods, its original occupants, though claimed by Connecticut at the same time. In 1647 and '48, the last colony authorize him to act as a Justice. He was nominated for one of the assist-

1676.]

ants or magistrates of Connecticut, 1649, but was not elected, probably because he was not one of their freemen, but he was made so the next year. He was chosen magistrate, 1651 to 1656, inclusive; Governor in 1657, the next year; Deputy Governor, and then Governor, 1659, to the year of his decease. He went to England, 1661, and obtained a charter for the union of Connecticut and New Haven, as one Colony. He was long a Commissioner of the union, and in the discharge of duties of that trust, he visited Boston, where he died and was buried in the tomb of his father. He was associated with Robert Boyle and Bishop Wilkins in constituting the Royal Society in London. He corresponded with Tycho Brahe, Galileo, Kepler, Milton, Lord Napier, Sir Isaac Newton, Sir Henry Wotton, and other distinguished characters of Europe. He was distinguished for his talents, science, usefulness and piety. He not only wished for the rest of immortality, but he conspicuously complied with its most reasonable conditions. A letter of condolence from the Council of Massachusetts to the like body of Connecticut, says of the deceased: "Who hath for so long a time been eminently a public ornament, honor and blessing, not only to your Colony in particular, but this whole country."

29. A letter from Mr. John Russell and others of Hadley to the Council, says of the people there, their "spirits (were) more than ever heightened with desire and earnestness to be going forth against the enemy."

May 15. The Council appoint Mr. Bulkley, surgeon, and Mr. Fitch, minister of forces now ordered. Trumbull says the former "was one of the greatest physicians and surgeons then in Connecticut."

16. They order that every person "found sporting in the streets or fields after sunset," of either Saturday or Sunday night, or drinking at a public house or elsewhere, "unless for necessity," shall pay 10/ for each of such offenses. They require that "no servile work shall be done on the Sabbath, viz., such as is not of piety, charity or necessity, and no profane discourse or talk, rude or unreverent behaviour shall be used on that holy day, upon penalty of 10/ for every transgression hereof."

Ministers and the "townsmen" are to use means for inducing heads of families who neglect reading the Scriptures, daily prayer, giving thanks, and catechising their children, to reform. They order that if such parents do not amend, they shall be presented by the grand jury and dealt with as their case requires.

26. Samuel Stone, as appointed by the Council, proposes to

NOTE.—May 24. Capt. Benjamin Newbury recounts his preparations to the Council, and "propounds whether it may not do well that Samuel Cross and those *dogs* he hath, may not be advantageous to the present motion, to be sent up." These animals were to pursue Indians.

preach for Mr. Bulkley while the latter is in public service. He was paid by the Council 20/. a Sabbath.

A letter being laid before the Council, from John Kingsley at Rehoboth, imploring help for the famishing, they desire that a contribution may be made. The secretary, under date of 30th, sends a notice to the people. This paper recites the distresses occasioned by the enemy in Plymouth Colony, and says: "We have thought fit to recommend it to your pious consideration to remember the poor and them that are in bonds, as bound with them. We desire that you would appoint one in each congregation to receive your liberality, and to take care for the speedy and effectual sending the same to Boston and Seaconck, to be distributed to those in necessities." It states that Deacon Walker, of Seaconck, would receive and distribute what was sent thither, and that Messrs. Thacher and Mather, of Boston, would see that the rest was divided among the needy of Massachusetts and Plymouth Colonies.

29. Mr. Fitch writes to the Council that his health and his "constant occasions with the Indians," will not allow his connection with the army as chaplain, and he desires that Mr. Noyes, of Stonington, may supply his place. Still he continued to go. He requests that his people and those of Stonington be protected, lest they be exposed to enemies, provoked with them for their late expeditions. He remarks: "The good will of Him who dwelt in the burning bush, dwell in the midst of his people, and the angel of his presence be our leader."

The Council, in their letter to Major Talbot, say: We "pray that the God of armies, the Lord of hosts, may go before you, encourage your hearts, strengthen your hands, fight your battles for you, dash the devices of the enemy, dismay, destroy and deliver them up into your hands, and return you with good success, in his own best time."

June 7. The Council write to Governor Leverett.* With respect to the decease of Mr. Winthrop, they say: "We request the continuance of your prayers to the Lord for us, that this solemn dispensation may be so sanctified to us, that we may thereby be brought to a deep humiliation for that which provokes the Lord against us, and to a true, unfeigned heart, returning to the Lord, from whom we have departed; and that the Lord would pour out a double portion of his Spirit upon those of us that do survive, that if it be his holy pleasure, his people may have some to go in and out before them." They express their obligation to him for having the corpse of Mr. Winthrop buried from his house. They sympathize with him in his bodily complaints, pray the Lord to rebuke his infirmities, long continue him a blessing to His "wilderness people," and carry him through all his difficulties.

* Conn. Council Rec.

1676.]

21. The Council order that Mr. John Hull attend the wounded men at Hartford, or Wethersfield.

24. They address a letter to James Richards and the Rev. Messrs. Thacher, Mather and Thomas Shepard, as to what was contributed by their churches. "The deep sense we would bear upon our hearts, of the great duty of fellow-feeling in the wants and distresses that, at this day of Jacob's trouble, are come upon our dear friends and brethren in some parts of the Massachusetts and Plymouth Colony, by reason of the rage and fury of the enemy, who have laid divers of their habitations and some places waste by fire, it hath moved the spirits of our people in this Colony, (though their estates are already exceedingly exhausted in aiding their neighbors in the wars with the Indians,) according to their present mean capacity, very willingly, through the mercy of God upon us, freely to contribute their benevolence for the succor of the poor." They observe that they shall appoint the collectors in the several churches, to send on what is designed for the gentlemen already named, as almoners of such charity.

July 1. They order that £8 of the late contribution be paid for forty bushels of wheat, at Hatfield, which Messrs. Russell, Stoddard and Mather are to dispose of, among the impoverished of that place.

10. They desire that the contributions made in Windsor be given to distressed persons who have fled thither, and to sufferers at Springfield and of the "upper towns."

They write to Mr. Fitch: "We are very thankful unto you for your great and good service you have done in marching along with our army these two last expeditions, and we find your service so acceptable not only to us, but to our soldiers, that we should much rejoice to find you willing to go forth again with them next week." They request him to encourage the "Moheags and Pequots" to march again against the enemy.

They desire Thomas Buckingham, of Saybrook, to serve as chaplain of the forces, in their next march, if Mr. Fitch declines.

This month, John, son of John Harriman, of New Haven, and a graduate from Harvard College, 1667, begins to preach for the church there. He taught the Hopkins grammar school there several years, and became the first minister of Elizabethtown, in New Jersey.

21. The Council, in view of late successes against the enemy, abatement of sickness, plentiful crop, "the yet preventing foreign designs against us, and continuance of our precious gospel liberties, do see cause to invert the next course of fasting days throughout this Colony into like solemn days of thanksgiving. With this thanksgiving it is therefore desired prayers may be joined for the melting of our hearts into more genuine humiliation and perfecting

reformation, that the Lord may proceed on in his saving mercies, to heal the land both of its breaches and declensions."

August 19. They require that the monthly stated Fasts be forborne, and that, for the overthrow of the enemy, the 30th inst. be kept as a day of public Thanksgiving.

September 18. John, James and Jonathan Rogers, and Japheth, members of Newport church of Seventh-day Baptists, but residents at New London, brought Elder Hiscox and Mr. Hubbard from the former to the latter place, and then James Rogers, Sen., his wife and daughter, were baptized and received as members of the said church. All these, for such a transaction, were forthwith arraigned before a magistrate, but were speedily released.* From this date, the Rogerses were continually imprisoned because they worked on the first day of the week, and otherwise disturbed the public peace.

October 19. The Assembly order, that as persons residing in a town where two separate churches existed, were legally required to be taxed for charges of one of them, it is now added, that if they do not elect the church to which they would be taxed, they shall be assessed one half to each church.

21. As John Rogers had adopted religious opinions which made his wife unhappy, she being "under great distress and hazard," the Assembly dissolve her conjugal bond to him. She was Elizabeth, daughter to Matthew Griswold, of Lyme. On October 18, of next year, she petitioned the Court that her children might be placed under her care, because her husband was "so heterodox in his opinion and practice." They, considering that he "utterly renounced all the visible worship of New England, and professedly declared against the Christian Sabbath," decide that she shall have the two children, and bring them up in the admonition of the Lord.

23. The Assembly grant leave to Sarah Towle, whose husband had deserted her and her child above six years, to marry another man, if she choose.

Considering the goodness of God in subduing the enemy and removing sickness, and continuing civil and ecclesiastical liberties, the Assembly appoint November 1, for a public Thanksgiving.

In view of the sad truth, that the Lord had delivered the people from judgments, but they had not suitably reformed, and "he is pleased to hold over us a threatening hand, by dark clouds impending afar off and near," the Court recommend that the ministers stir up their congregations to reform, and appoint a Fast Day on the 3d of November.

They order that Indians who surrender themselves before January, and cannot be proved murderers, shall not be sold out of the country, but in it, for ten years, if sixteen years old; and for twenty-six years, if under sixteen years old.

* Backus, vol. i. p. 474.

1677.]

1677. January 2. The Council prepare a letter for Massachusetts authorities. It gives information that they had received a communication from Nathaniel Mather, of Dublin, in Ireland, which said that a contribution of £1,000, collected there, was forwarded to Boston for the relief of distressed persons in the confederate Colonies.

They return their hearty thanks to Mr. Bulkley for his usefulness to the country, during the war, and order him £30 for what he had done, besides satisfying those who supplied his pulpit.

26. They agree to pay Samuel Stone for twenty-four Sabbaths, at 20/. each, on which he preached for ministers who were employed in the army.

February 3. They write to Mr. Fitch, desiring that he would influence Uncas to send a messenger to the Mohawks. This proposition was probably made with the purpose of reconciling the Indians, friendly to the Confederates, with the Mohawks, and thus prepare the way for the latter to contend more fully against the Eastern Indians.

March 2. The Discourses of Bacon* inform us that until the decease of Mr. Street, in 1674, the New Haven church paid their ministers for preaching from its treasury, which was supplied by voluntary contributions from the congregation; but that at the date heading this sentence, the town voted to discharge such an obligation by laying two rates and a half on the inhabitants for the ensuing year. Further action was taken to secure the collection of this tax, and "to prosecute such as fail in the payment." Thus was the support of the ministry transferred from the church to the town.

13. Two Indians, who surrendered and had been "accepted to mercy," but afterwards fled and were apprehended, are sentenced to be sold out of the Colony for slaves.

May 10. In view of the fact that the people injured by the war in Massachusetts and Plymouth, are far more so than in Connecticut, the Council relinquish their proportion of the Irish charity for the latter Colony, to the two others. The General Court pass a similar vote.

The General Assembly convene. They grant leave to Derby, for three years, to levy rates, one half on land within their bounds, and the rest on persons and estates, to meet expenses of the ministry as well as of the town. This is done because holders of land

/

* P. 489.

NOTE.—A surgeon's public service is set at 16s. a week.

NOTE.—March 2. In accordance with the King's instructions of the last November 3, the Council give notice, that Nathaniel Bacon, Jr., headed a rebellion in Virginia, and that if he or any of his adherents came into Connecticut, they should be seized and secured.

in the place did not assist towards such taxes, as it was supposed they should.

They allow Wallingford to raise their funds for liquidating the parish and municipal charges on land, until a majority shall see fit to have it altered.

14. They thank Mr. Hooker for his Election Sermon, and appoint the Treasurer to have it printed and distributed, "by proportion in the several towns."

15. Each town, legally bound to have a school, that "neglects the same above three months in the year, shall forfeit five pounds," which shall go towards the support of a Latin school in their county.

If any one of the enemy, who submitted at discretion, runs from his master, the latter shall have power to sell him out of the jurisdiction.

Simsbury have permission to "raise their rates for the ministry and town charges only upon lands for the next three years." In view of their loss, they are freed for the same period, from their country taxes.

18. As the law requires every county town to support a Latin school, any such corporation neglecting this duty, shall pay £10 to the next town in the county which conforms with the injunction, and the same sum annually till it obeys.

19. Volunteers having gone forth against the enemy and taken various captives, these are declared the lawful prize of those, and shall remain servants where their captors have disposed of them.

On a motion in favor of gentlemen owning lands in the Narragansett country, the Court declare that they will endeavor to settle them, "as may conduce to the honor of God and the public interest of the Colony and those concerned therein."

For this step they gave several reasons. They considered the act of the royal Commissioners in making Narragansett and Rhode Island a province for the King, as null, because they had no such power; the agreement of Mr. Winthrop with Mr. Clark was void, because when made, the former's agency had ceased, and he had already sent home the Connecticut Charter, and he had no instruction for such a contract. They also took the ground that the Rhode Island people forsook Narragansett in the war, and neglected to defend it; that Connecticut volunteers drove the enemy out of it and kept possession of the territory. This subject had been the source of much discussion and other trouble between Rhode Island and Connecticut, and so continued to be.

Considering the remarkable mercies which God has shown, and the needed reformation which they demand, together with signs of his displeasure, "still impending over us and our neighbors, not only by the heathen," but from other sources, the last day of May is appointed for a Fast, "to humble our souls before the Lord for

1677.]

all our many provocations, and to implore" his "gracious presence to be with us, as he hath been with our fathers, inclining our hearts to observe his statutes and commandments, and to make us a reformed people by raining down righteousness and mercy upon us, and graciously appear to give a good issue to all affairs depending in England, respecting this country, and the best welfare of his Majesty, and of all the people of God, both in England and elsewhere."

25. Rev. Abraham Pierson, Sen., and John Bishop, preachers, of Stamford, write to Increase Mather, of Boston, and Thomas Shepard, of Charlestown. They state that they had recently conversed with Governor Andros, of New York, and that he expressed a wish to have several plantations in that Colony supplied with "honest and able ministers," and that he would encourage such in their profession.

June. James Rogers, and wife Elizabeth, and his sons James and Jonathan, are fined for working on the Sabbath. John Rogers confessed that he had been hard at work on this day, and that he would have done so, had his shop stood under the meeting-house window. The Court ordered him to be called before them once a month, and fined £5. Bathsheba Rogers was charged with placing a scandalous paper on the meeting-house.

September 15. As James Richards is bound for England, the Council empower him to use endeavors for obtaining from the King a confirmation to them of the Narragansett country, as comprised in their Charter, and principally conquered by Connecticut forces in the late war.

October 15. Thomas Denham, declared to be a fit candidate for the ministry at Rye, by the preachers of Fairfield and Stamford, is allowed £10, "in regard of his late loss by the war," as an encouragement to settle in the first of these three towns.

As Patrick Murrain had purposely absented himself from his wife Mary, for six years, and afforded nothing towards her support for this period, the Court release her from her conjugal tie to him, and grant her leave "to dispose herself in marriage as God shall grant her opportunity."

16. The Court grant that a house and land at New Haven, left to Noadiah Russell, be sold to pay the charges of his education at college, judging that this will be better for him, because he is "likely to prove a useful instrument in the work of God."

18. Gershom Bulkley, employed as both doctor and minister, has license to transport two hundred deer-skins, which were among articles of currency, to Boston, for the purchase of medicines.

It is enacted, "that no bill of divorcement shall be granted to any man or woman lawfully married, but in case of adultery, fraudulent contract, or willful desertion for three years, with total neglect of duty, or seven years' providential absence, being not heard of

after due inquiry made and certified, such party shall be counted as legally dead to the other party."

The Court say, that whereas the providence of God, in the late war, seems to testify against having families settled far apart, being exposed to destruction from an enemy, and also, to have their children degenerate to "heathenish ignorance," they order future settlements to be made "in such nearness together, that they be a help each to the other against surprise of any common enemy."

Considering the inadequate improvement made by the people of their late afflictions, and "the hour of temptation already begun in other parts of the world, to God's people, and the great hazard our dear native country and his Majesty's other dominions, especially the churches and people of God in them," are exposed to by "a formidable and prevailing power of the enemy,"—the Court appoint the 21st of November for a day of fasting and prayer.

They further "recommend it to all the churches and ministers throughout this Colony, as often as they can, to engage themselves, and stir up their people to the work of solemn humiliation and prayer, with turning to the Lord, in this our day of Jacob's trouble."

The peril of Protestant churches, here and abroad, so referred to, was the success of the Romish cause through the triumphs of the French arms, and the conduct of Charles II., whose policy was more in favor of them, than of his own English subjects.

The Court set apart the last of the current month for Thanksgiving.

November 23. Elder Hiscox and Mr. Hubbard, from Newport, hold worship, being the seventh day, at New London, with the members of their church, two miles out of town. The next morning, the wife of Joseph Rogers having given a "satisfying account of her experiences," John, her brother, urged that they should go up to town and baptize her there. Mr. Hubbard thought it not best, because the authorities advised to the contrary. But they did as Rogers wished. While Mr. Hiscox was preaching, the constable appeared, and ordered him and his hearers to answer before the magistrate. Mr. Bradstreet was at the trial, and spoke of the good way established by their fathers. Mr. Hubbard replied: "You are a young man, but I am an old planter of about forty years, a beginner of Connecticut, and have been persecuted for my conscience from this Colony, and I can assure you, that the old beginners were not for persecution, but we had liberty at first." Finally, the accused were released and retired to the house of Samuel Rogers. Here "John put himself forward, prayed, and then went out to the water and baptized his sister." As Mr. Hiscox was supposed to have performed this ceremony, he was apprehended for it, but Rogers confessed that he did the service, and the remainder were suffered to depart.

* He was of Milford, in 1669.

1678.]

From this time, John Rogers, so doing, began to act conspicuously and draw off from the Sabbatarians. He preached, baptized, gained a few disciples, formed a church, viewed as a new sect, designated as Rogerenes, or Rogerene Quakers, or sometimes Rogerene Baptists. He and his followers resolved to pursue a course which they knew was a disturbance of the public peace, and must bring on them the penalties of the law. They interrupted others in their worship, and denounced what they counted sacred. They were strong advocates for salvation by faith in Christ, for the Trinity, regeneration, resurrection of the just and unjust, and eternal judgment. They taught that it was right to obey civil government, except wherein opposed to conscience and religion; to pay town rates, but not those for ministers; to resist all civil power in divine worship. Like Sabbatarians, they held to immersion and rejection of the first day, as Sabbath, but differed from them in other points. They considered all days alike, though they met on the first day for worship; still they worked freely when such service was over, at any part of the day. They had no meeting-houses, looking on a pulpit, steeple and salaried minister with abomination. They denied swearing by oath, and made no prayers in public worship or in the family. They believed that prayer should be mental, not vocal, except on special occasions, when prompted by the Holy Spirit. They used no means to recover health, except care, kindness and attention. They viewed all application to drugs, medicines and physicians, as sinful. Part of their practices were very distasteful to the Seventh-day Baptists.*

1678. May 5. Rev. James Fitch writes † from Norwich to the Assembly respecting Uncas: "I shall add no more, but only that which is so commonly known not only to myself, but any who have opportunity with him in the company of Indians with him, so reproachfully to villify our rulers, our laws and religion, and is the great opponent of any means of souls' good and concernment to his people, and abounding more and more in dancings and all manner of heathenish impieties since the wars; and villifying what hath been done by the English, and attributing the victory to their Indian helps."

John and James Rogers are in prison.‡ They had excommunicated their brother Jonathan, "because he did not retain their judgment of the unlawfulness of not using medicines, nor accuse himself before authority for working on the first day of the week." In consequence of such information, the church of Newport sent brethren to New London. These messengers report that those of their denomination, in the latter place, would not pray in their

* Backus, vol. i. p. 474. Caulkins's New London, p. 201-21.

† Conn. Col. Rec.

‡ Backus, vol. i. p. 475.

families, morning and evening, nor ask a blessing and return thanks before and after meals, as Christians did generally, "except led forth upon some special occasion," because they find no command for such observances in the Bible.

May 15. The Assembly grant "Mr. Roger Williams, of Providence, a gratuity* for his courtesy to our army, etc., the sum of ten pounds, and desire Major Talcot to take care for the conveyance of the corn to Mr. Williams."

October 8. The church of Seventh-day Baptists at Newport, having sent a letter inclosing one from Dr. Peter Chamberlain, in England, to Governor William Leete, he replies to them from Hartford. "To be minded of any parts of the Scriptures of truth, is gratefully received, and were it not for a seducing devil, and a deceitful heart, they would be a rule of life unto all that have senses exercised therein, and make due application of them. We have of late had to deal with Rogers and his of New London, towards whom the authority have shown all due condescension imaginable to us; that if they would forbear to offend our consciences, we should indulge them in their persuasion, and give them no offense in the seventh day, in worshiping God by themselves. We may doubt (if they were governors in our stead) they would tell us, that their consciences would not suffer them to give us so much liberty; but that they must bear witness to the truth, and beat down idolatry, as the good old kings did in Scripture: they judging so of our Lord's day worship.† It may be that your counsel may be more taking with them, to make them forbear than ours."

November 21. In compliance with the wish of the Commissioners‡ for the union, for a general Fast, Connecticut observe such an occasion to humble themselves before the Lord and seek his face, for the deliverance of the country from the great peril of losing their charter liberties, through the misrepresentation of enemies and the hard pressure of the prejudiced King.

23. Joseph, son of Thomas Rowlandson, of Ipswich, H. C., 1652, dies, aged forty-seven. On the Essex Court files for 1651, there was a satirical piece of poetry, written by him, for which he was prosecuted, with an apology of his to the Court for publishing so offensive a composition. He went to Lancaster in 1654, and was ordained there, 1660. Having been appointed by the Legislature a chaplain of forces, under Major Savage, 1675, he declined. While he was at Boston, soliciting the Colonial authorities for some soldiers to protect his people against the enemy, they, on February 10, 1676, destroyed their town. What made the relation of this event more afflictive to him, was that the Indians had

* Conn. Gen. Ct. Rec. † Backus, vol. i. p. 477, 8. ‡ Trumbull, vol. i. p. 373.

1678.]

carried off his wife Mary, daughter of John White, and children, who, except an infant killed by them, after much suffering were released from their captivity. Then they resided temporarily at Charlestown and Boston. After the destruction of Lancaster they moved to Wethersfield, where he preached. Trumbull calls him the fourth minister of the latter town. He left a sermon printed at the end of an edition of his wife's removals. Though visited with severe trials, he wrought faithfully in his Master's service.

INDEX OF NAMES,

COMPRISING PERSONS, PEOPLE, VESSELS, AND PLACES.

When the several pages referring to the same names are denoted by tens or hundreds, these figures will be expressed but once, except when intervened by words.

- Aberdeen, 383.
 Acadia, 74, 121, 299.
 Acushenett, 316.
 Adams, Robert, 199.
 Adderley, William, 2.
 Adrianople, 142.
 Ahaton, William, 518, 75.
 Ainsworth, Henry, 21, 418.
 Albany, 347, 73.
 Alcock, (John,) 420.
 Alden, John, 167, 233.
 Allen, Benjamin, 246, 313.
 Capt., 451.
 George, 72, 166, 235, 40, 2, 4, 5.
 Hope, 444.
 James, 297, 421, 32, 3, 7, 9, 46, 82, 95, 500, 86.
 John, 235, 42.
 Joseph, 240, 2, 4, 6.
 Matthew, 235, 8, 40, 2, 4, 5, 6.
 Ralph, 72, 3, 166, 70, 234, 5, 8, 40, 2, 4, 5, 77.
 Ralph, Jr., 234, 5, 40.
 Thomas, 3, 59, 60, 106, 207, 33, 72.
 William, 72, 168, 234, 5, 6, 8, 40, 2, 4, 6.
 Allin, Benjamin, 483.
 Daniel, 483.
 Eleazer, 483.
 John, 3, 5, 97, 113, 49, 60, 299, 304, 39, 40, 423, 81, 4.
 Katharine, 483.
 Allyn, John, 410, 68, 9.
 Almy, Martha, 511.
 Amanhunt, John, 488.
 Amboyna, black hole, 94.
 Ambrose, Alice, 320, 3, 45, 8, 62.
 Joshua, 99.
 Nehemiah, 99.
 Ames, William, 341.
 Ammapoo, 382.
 Amsterdam church, 25.
 Andover, 3, 103, 4, 305, 435.
 Andover, Eng., 47, 413.
 Andress, Rachel, 659.
 Richard, 659.
 Andros, Edmund, 512, 20, 35, 60, 7, 72, 80, 6, 8, 94, 609, 25, 49, 59, 65, 6, 70, 9.
 Angel, John, 181.
 Anglesey, Lord, 592.
 Apollonius, William, 2.
 Appledore, 323.
 Appleton, John, 364, 75, 418.
 Archdale, John, 389, 90, 1.
 Archer, Henry, 178.
 Arlington, Lord, 370, 401.
 Armine, Lady, 109, 485.
 Arnold, Benedict, 182, 396, 7.
 Samuel, 315, 86, 7, 531, 639.
 Stephen, 177.
 Thomas, 93.
 William, 21, 31, 79, 81, 5, 124, 77, 253.
 Arrousick Island, 249.
 Arther, John, 632.
 Ashley, Thomas, 121.
 Ashurst, Henry, 207, 21, 8, 32, 80, 6, 376, 445, 84, 5.
 William, 283, 90.
 Astwood, John, 266.
 Atherton, Hope, 412, 3, 76, 7, 593.
 Humphrey, 161, 98, 210, 84, 477.
 Atkins, Thomas, 251.
 Atkinson, Marmaduke, 631.
 Mary, 631.
 Atwater, Joshua, 432.
 Austin, Anne, 142.
 Avery, Elizabeth, 20.
 Awasunks, 528.
 Babcock, James, 659.
 Bache, Samuel, 558.
 Bachellor, Henry, 218, 77.
 Bacon, Nathaniel, 207.
 Badgerden, Eng., 415.
 Bahama Islands, 7, 17, 9.
 Ballie, or Bailey, Robert, 24.
 Baker, John, 118.
 Nathaniel, 643.
 Nicholas, 246, 631, 41, 3.
 Nicholas, children of, 643.
 William, 165.
 Baldwin, Mrs., 625.
 Ball, John, 483.
 Balstone, William, 29.
 Baltimore, Lord, 40.
 Banks, Lydia, 352.
 Barefoot, Walter, 323.
 Barker, Thomas, 270.
 Barlow, George, 119, 239, 40, 2, 5.
 Barnes, Jonathan, 386.
 John, 241.
 Barnstable, 23, 6, 73, 114, 5, 236, 41, 2, 7, 314, 5, 7, 82, 452, 3.
 Barstow, George, 114.
 William, 114.
 Bartholomew, Henry, 21, 76.
 Bartimeus, 498.
 Bartlett, Mr., 297.
 Robert, 243.
 Barton, Rufus, 29.
 Basset, Nathaniel, 73.
 Bassett, Goody, 88.
 Bass River, 415, 35.
 Bastar, Roger, 397, 539.
 Batchelor, Stephen, 3, 78.

- Bath, 249.
 Batter, Edmund, 375.
 Baxter, Benjamin and Josiah, (False,) 510.
 George, 329.
 Richard, 283, 308, 42, 7, 601.
 Baylies, Francis, 26.
 Bear, or Beer, Richard, 239, 41, 573.
 Beckom, Symon, 579.
 Belcher, Jeremy, 538.
 Mr., 671.
 Samuel, 538.
 Belknap, Jeremy, 461.
 Belleau, Eng., 123.
 Bellflower, Benjamin, 218.
 Bellingham, Elizabeth, 501.
 Richard, 118, 205, 11, 55, 371, 4, 9, 418, 40, 501, 2, 49.
 Bennet, Gervace, 140.
 Berkley, Lord, 35.
 Bermuda, 17, 309.
 Berry, Richard, Sen., 452.
 Beverly, 420, 523.
 Bewett, Hugh, 87.
 Biddeford, 392.
 Eng., 160.
 Biling, Eng., 160.
 Billerica, 350, 486.
 Bingham, Col., 159.
 Bishop, George, 142.
 James, 408, 9, 671.
 John, 266, 679.
 Bishop of Chester, 188, 257.
 Blackleech, John, 152, 471.
 Blackleish, Solomon, 644.
 Blackman, Adam, 411, 73, 523.
 Benjamin, 523, 630, 1.
 Black Point, 119, 73, 247, 317, 21, 2, 90.
 Blackstone, William, 179, 402, 63, 631.
 Bland, Mrs., 283.
 Bleigh, Thomas, 360.
 Blevin, John, 373, 432, 9.
 Blinman, Richard, 3, 50, 1, 90, 162, 91, 3, 4, 263, 4, 5, 612, 25.
 Family of, 265.
 Block Island, 396, 464, 549.
 Blue Point, 173.
 Boies, or Boyes, Antipas, 318.
 Bond, Robert, 553.
 Thomas, 252.
 Bonighton, or Bonython, John, 119, 247, 321.
 Bonner, Mary, 174.
 Boomer, Matthew, 632.
 Booth, Thomas, 321.
 Boothe, Robert, 119.
 Bo—, Samuel, 315.
 Boston, 3, 4, 7, 11, 6, 7, 21, 3, 6, 7, 9, 41, 7, 8, 51, 65, 9, 74, 5, 9, 80, 3, 93, 6, 8, 9, 113, 5, 7, 31, 5, 6, 8, 40, 2, 3, 9, 59, 60, 2, 4, 6, 8, 73, 4, 8, 80, 1, 2, 4, 6, 91, 5, 7, 208, 9, 11, 2, 3, 5, 8, 9, 22, 4, 7, 32, 41, 52, 6, 8, 63, 4, 70, 1, 3, 6, 8, 80, 1, 4, 5, 7, 8, 91, 7, 301, 3, 7, 9, 12, 9, 22, 3, 5, 9, 43, 8, 50, 1, 5, 60, 2, 3, 9, 71, 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 80, 3, 90, 3, 415, 7, 9, 21, 3, 7, 9, 31, 45, 6, 55, 62, 6, 70, 8, 80, 2, 8, 9, 91, 7, 502, 3, 5, 9, 11, 3, 4, 20, 3, 8, 38, 9, 70, 85, 601.
 Boston, Eng., 105, 291.
 Boulton, J., 73.
 Bourg, Gov. de, 459.
 Bourne, Mr., 73.
 Richard, 115, 62, 210, 46, 83, 308, 14, 48, 83, 7, 420, 50, 5, 98, 532.
 Bowen, Elizabeth, 610.
 Bower, George, 90.
 John, 90.
 Bowers, Benanuel, 309, 503, 11, 67, 601, 9, 16, 20.
 Elizabeth, 601, 9, 10, 20.
 Elizabeth, Sen. and Jr., 610.
 Boxford, 477.
 Boyle, Michael, 292, 3.
 Robert, 292, 307, 41, 9, 53, 4, 69, 405, 6, 45, 85, 506, 16, 80, 606, 18.
 Boys, Joanna, 186.
 Brackenbury, Samuel, 424, 39.
 William, 439.
 Brackett, John, 670.
 Peter, 441.
 Thomas, 199, 208.
 Bradbury, Catharine, 73.
 Thomas, 104, 647.
 Bradford, 477.
 Bradford, Alice, 169, 454.
 Dorothy, 169.
 Joseph, 169.
 William, 21, 4, 32, 73, 167, 9, 74, 243.
 Bradstreet, Dorothy, 252.
 Simon, 75, 7, 97, 100, 4, 29, 252, 72, 88, 90, 7, 8, 308, 57, 74, 5, 444, 74, 529, 49, 53, 60, 97, 610.
 Braintree, 3, 135, 60, 93, 424, 85, 99, 537, 74, 9.
 Branford, 129, 87, 267, 406, 10, 2, 68.
 Brattle, Thomas, 318, 75.
 Brea, Scot, 15.
 Bredan, or Breedan, Thos., 271, 99, 359, 60.
 Brend, William, 143, 6, 98, 9, 208, 33, 59.
 Brenton, William, 396, 7, 402, 61.
 Brewen, Obadiah, 553.
 Brewster, Elder, 530.
 Margaret, 657.
 — Rev., 404.
 Brez, Guy de, 433.
 Bridges, John, 205.
 Bridgewater, 8, 227, 383.
 Brigden, Zechariah, 267, 338.
 Brinley, 399.
 Briscoe, Nathaniel, 65, 6.
 Brock, John, 174, 248, 9, 91, 323, 437.
 Sarah, 291.
 Brookfield, 311, 517, 576.
 Brokesup, or Brooksup, Joan, 277, 87, 8, 325.
 Brown, Edmund, 3, 262, 413, 35, 7, 49, 81, 609.
 Edward, (Edmund?) 305.
 James, 317, 634.
 John, 217, 24, 46, 532, 634.
 John, Capt., 389.
 Joseph, 624.
 Judah, 277.
 Robert, 25.
 Wm., 364, 492, 624.
 Browne, Mr., 174.
 Bryant, John, 451.
 Stephen, 451.
 Buckinghamshire, 65.
 Buckingham, Thomas, 267, 675.
 Buffum, Joseph, 199.
 Joshua, 199, 204, 6, 7, 311, 432, 511.

- Buffum, Robert, 199, 217,
 23, 439.
 Tamison, 301, 439.
 Bulkley, Edward, 206,
 336, 88, 9, 437.
 Elizabeth, 389.
 Gershon, 331, 2, 412,
 67, 70, 3, 87, 669,
 70, 1, 3, 7, 9.
 Grace, 206, 435, 7.
 Peter, 3, 17, 22, 138,
 49, 206, 43, 331,
 435.
 Bull, Capt., 667.
 Bullock, Richard, 387.
 Buncar, Mary, 514.
 Bunker, Benjamin, 441.
 George, 441.
 Judith, 441.
 Burden, Ann, 46.
 Sarah, 277.
 Burdick, Naomi, 659.
 Ruth, 402.
 Burge, Elizabeth, 314.
 Thomas, Jr., 314.
 Burgis, (Thomas,) 170.
 Burnell, John, 218.
 William, 218.
 Burnet, Gilbert, 297.
 John, 540, 1.
 Burnyate, John, 543, 6.
 Thomas, 403.
 Burrough, Edward, 281,
 2.
 Burstow, John, 277.
 Burton, John, 195, 228,
 88.
 Bury, Eng., 139.
 Bushrod, John, 298.
 Bussaker, Peter, 34.
 Buss, Elizabeth, 647.
 John, 647.
 Butler, Daniel, 245.
 Dorothy, 244, 6.
 Henry, 42.
 Obadiah, 246.
 Thomas, 234, 42, 4, 5.
 Byfield, Nathaniel, 588.
 Calamy, Edmund, 13, 48,
 59, 99.
 Calawane, 352.
 Caleb, 519.
 Callender, John, 87.
 Callicot, Richard, 535.
 Cambridge, 3, 13, 5, 6, 9,
 33, 7, 51, 3, 62, 97,
 106, 14, 30, 43, 8,
 53, 210, 7, 24, 63,
 76, 7, 91, 309, 50,
 2, 7, 71, 80, 416,
 20, 3, 9, 51, 2, 82,
 6, 91, 509, 15, 7,
 9, 20, 3, 70, 5.
 Cambridge College, Eng.,
 13, 42, 105, 86.
 Cambridge Village, 346,
 430, 523.
 Canada, 71, 4, 5, 369, 73,
 5, 8, 412.
 Canonchet, 649, 72.
 Canootus, 644.
 Canterbury, Eng., 477.
 Cape Fear, 307, 417.
 Porpoise, 118, 247,
 390.
 Capen, John, 278, 92.
 Capuchin Friars, 27.
 Card, John, 402.
 Carehauge Indians, 193.
 Carey, James, 432.
 Carpenter, Alice, 169.
 William, 79, 177, 80,
 253, 462.
 Carr, Mr., 252.
 Sir Robert, 297, 342,
 3, 5, 52, 9, 60, 2,
 3, 4, 9, 77, 8, 9, 90,
 4, 400, 1, 14, 59.
 Carrill, or Caryl, Mr.,
 283, 307, 69, 434,
 552.
 Cartaret, Sir George, 553.
 Carter, Thomas, 3.
 Cartright, or Cartwright,
 George, 342, 3, 5,
 52, 5, 60, 92, 8, 9,
 John, 542, 3.
 Casco Bay, 119, 73, 247,
 317, 21, 91.
 Causacinnamon, Robin,
 666.
 Cawdrey, Daniel, 59, 160.
 Chabanakongkoman, or
 Chobone Konho-
 nom, 502, 18, 73, 7.
 Chalkley, Robert, 477.
 Chalmers, George, 394, 5.
 Chamberlain, Henry, Jr.,
 278.
 Henry, Sen., 278.
 John, 218, 72, 7, 8.
 Peter, 612, 57, 61,
 82.
 Champernoon, Francis,
 319, 22, 649.
 Chappequiddick, 448.
 Charles I., 2, 9, 150, 331,
 61, 5.
 Charles II., 9, 40, 99, 150,
 75, 205, 9, 217, 22,
 30, 2, 46, 56, 70,
 1, 3, 81, 2, 4, 7,
 96, 314, 27, 9, 31,
 2, 69, 72, 89, 98,
 411, 71, 509.
 Charles River, Fla., 307.
 Charles, (Ship,) 358, 9.
 Charlestown, 3, 4, 18, 38,
 53, 62, 71, 138, 42,
 98, 227, 63, 76, 80,
 301, 4, 9, 41, 5, 52,
 62, 8, 72, 415, 30,
 5, 77, 80, 9, 91,
 509, 13, 19, 41, 85.
 Charnizay, Mons., 74.
 Chase, William, 116.
 Chasmore, Richard, 178,
 80.
 Chatham, Catharine, 277,
 301.
 Chauncy, Catharine, 487.
 Charles, 47, 114, 5,
 7, 36, 47, 9, 210,
 46, 87, 91, 9, 300,
 17, 31, 40, 4, 452,
 83, 7, 8.
 Ichabod, 47.
 Isaac, 47.
 Israel, 409, 11, 67, 8,
 70, 1, 3, 669, 71, 2.
 Nathaniel, 412.
 Sarah, 331, 487.
 Cheberina, 602.
 Cheesbrooke, Wm., 87, 8.
 Cheever, Ezekiel, 35.
 Chelmsford, 140, 52, 350,
 499, 572, 5, 8, 9,
 90, 602, 5.
 Cheshire, Eng., 65, 509.
 Child, Dr., 4, 289.
 Chipman, John, 241.
 Christopherson, Wenlock,
 218, 45, 6, 72, 3,
 7, 343, 5, 8, 62.
 Church, Benjamin, 598,
 634, 8, 40.
 Clarendon, Edward Hyde,
 Earl of, 289, 90,
 343, 53, 4, 71, 98,
 403, 4.
 Clark, Henry, 73.
 John, 48, 60, 2, 3, 5,
 7, 72, 9, 80, 1, 3,
 7, 123, 7, 59, 76,
 9, 82, 253, 6, 325,
 7, 8, 95, 6, 7, 402,
 3, 24, 46, 62, 3, 5,
 97, 541, 2, 50, 88,
 652, 3.
 Joseph, 182, 659, 65.
 Mary and John, 161.
 Samuel, 17.
 Thomas, 347, 482, 9,
 535.
 Thurston, 73.
 Cleaves, George, 76, 119,
 72, 3, 249, 318, 19,
 21, 91.
 Clifton, Hope, 211, 6, 56.
 Cloyes, Thomas, 533.
 Coal, Josiah, 239.

- Cobbet, Thomas, 3, 9, 22,
 66, 7, 81, 5, 6, 105,
 13, 41, 9, 52, 3, 64,
 262, 79, 373, 420,
 3, 35, 6, 7, 43, 81,
 91, 5, 536, 86, 626.
 Cochanaquant, 461.
 Coddington, Anne, 256.
 William, 29, 30, 1,
 78, 81, 2, 3, 122, 6,
 7, 78, 80, 395, 9,
 502, 43, 9, 50, 610,
 57, 61, 4.
 Coe, John, 472.
 Coffin, Tristram, 482, 609.
 Coggeshall, John, 464.
 Joshua, 464.
 Colcort, Edward, 323.
 Cole, Eunice, 323.
 James, Sen., 452, 524.
 John, 309.
 Mary, 452.
 Cole, or Coale, Isaac, 304,
 497.
 Coleman, Ann, 288, 9,
 92, 312, 20, 3, 4.
 Goodwife, 241, 4.
 Sarah, 277, 309.
 Coles, Robert, 79.
 Collicut, Richard, 645.
 Collier, William, 530.
 Collins, Christopher,
 wife of, 57.
 Conanicut Island, 78.
 Concord, 3, 206, 43, 61,
 331, 50, 89, 435,
 585.
 Congleton, Eng., 65.
 Constantinople, 142.
 Converse, Edward, 304.
 Cook, John, 117, 241.
 Joseph, 575.
 Richard, 497.
 Cooper, Elizabeth, 455.
 Neighbor, 455.
 Copeland, John, 143, 61,
 2, 70, 200, 33, 6,
 9, 40.
 Copford, Hall, 131.
 Corbet, Abraham, 394.
 Corlett, Elijah, 210.
 Cornell, Rebecca, 549.
 Thomas, 549.
 Cornwall County, Me.,
 534.
 Corwin, Thos., and wife,
 572.
 Cotton, John, 2, 3, 4, 6,
 10, 2, 7, 8, 9, 20,
 4, 44, 7, 52, 8, 60,
 1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 70, 1,
 4, 85, 7, 93, 6, 7,
 105, 6, 37, 60, 204,
 5, 24, 35, 52, 91,
 306, 22, 44, 420,
 36, 51, 2, 7, 98,
 532, 607, 12, 35, 9,
 43.
 Seaborn, 184, 252,
 443, 81, 626.
 William, 343.
 Couell, Nathaniel, 388.
 Coventry, Jonathan, 73.
 Coveny, Thomas, 273.
 Coweset, 86.
 Cowland, or Courland,
 Alice, 211, 6.
 Coxall, Joshua, 325.
 Crandal, John, 48, 60, 2,
 7, 79, 80, 5, 399.
 Cranston, John, 394, 544.
 Cromwell, Oliver, 22, 3,
 38, 46, 7, 52, 5, 6,
 66, 95, 101, 7, 8,
 12, 6, 20, 1, 4, 5,
 7, 30, 1, 2, 8, 40,
 3, 51, 2, 9, 71, 2,
 3, 5, 7, 8, 9, 81, 6,
 7, 92, 200, 5, 24,
 47, 54, 6, 73, 307,
 29, 80, 1.
 Richard, 204, 8, 48,
 54.
 Cross, Samuel, 673.
 Crossman, John, 57, 545.
 Crown, John, 280.
 William, 172, 331.
 Cudworth, James, 170,
 234, 9, 41, 3, 4, 6,
 387, 635, 41.
 Mary, 313, 25.
 Mrs., 241, 4.
 Cullick, John, 208.
 Culpepper, Lord, 35.
 Cummins, R., 321.
 Cunnigrave, Mr., 255.
 Curtis, John, 586.
 Curwin, George, 364.
 J., 228.
 Cushing, Nehemiah, 227.
 Cushman, Thomas, 246,
 7, 387, 8, 453.
 Cutt, John and Richard,
 537.
 D'Aillebout, 74.
 Dalton, Philemon, 323.
 Ruth, 322.
 Samuel, 322.
 Timothy, 3, 322.
 Damman, John, 387.
 Dand, John, 4.
 Dane, Francis, 435.
 Danforth, John, 522.
 Nicholas, 520.
 Samuel, 60, 262, 418,
 23, 43, 520, 2.
 Thomas, 210, 308,
 61, 4, 79, 91, 444,
 68, 98, 519, 28, 82,
 620.
 Daniel, Mrs., 519.
 William, 101.
 Danson, George, 568, 9,
 610.
 Darby, Eng., 99.
 Darcy, Thomas, (Earl of
 Rivers,) 587.
 Dartmouth, 455, 528, 9.
 Eng., 362.
 D'Aulney, 27, 28, 74, 117.
 Davenport, John, 24, 90,
 130, 3, 74, 84, 7, 8,
 257, 62, 3, 5, 6, 90,
 3, 7, 300, 29, 30, 3,
 8, 40, 64, 410, 21,
 7, 32, 3, 5, 7, 8,
 66, 9, 82, 3, 96,
 557.
 Jr., 432.
 David, Indian, 570.
 the Jew, 265.
 Davis, John, 390.
 Margaret, 65.
 Nicholas, 209, 11, 41,
 2, 314.
 William, 65, 152, 528.
 Davy, Humphrey, 535,
 645.
 Day, Mr., 252.
 Deacon, Mr., 444.
 Dean, Richard, 402, 3.
 Deane, John, 414.
 Thomas, 358, 60, 1,
 5, 75.
 Deble, Jeremiah, 568, 610.
 Dedham, 3, 5, 18, 29, 69,
 113, 35, 60, 5, 95,
 200, 45, 63, 81,
 309, 12, 23, 50, 63,
 439, 80, 90, 576.
 Dedham, Eng., 48, 69.
 Deerfield, 506, 71, 73.
 Deer Island, 574, 6, 7, 8,
 9, 86.
 Delaware Bay, 35, 71, 89,
 132, 3, 84, 347.
 Denham, Thomas, 670.
 Denison, Daniel, 22, 75,
 7, 118, 200, 319,
 64, 75, 549, 602,
 13.
 Denmark, 257.
 Denton, Richard, 338.
 Derby, 90, 411, 666.
 Derby, Eng., 140.
 Derby, Lucretia, 615.
 Roger, 615.
 De Ruyter, 366.
 De St. Mas, Mons., 74.
 Deuell, Wm., and wife, 27.
 Devonshire, 159.

- Dewin, Andrew, 603.
 John, 602.
 Dewsbury, William, 252.
 Dexter, Gregory, 86, 7,
 181, 463.
 Dillingham, Edward, 170.
 Henry, 244, 6.
 Dixwell, John, 571.
 Doggett, Thomas, 520.
 Dominicans, 66.
 Dorchester, 3, 18, 57, 92,
 134, 5, 53, 60, 4,
 264, 78, 87, 91, 2,
 311, 46, 50, 418,
 35, 44, 73; 83, 553,
 74.
 Dorchester, Eng., 42, 298.
 Doublet, Tom, 590.
 Dover, N. H., 3, 28, 9,
 117, 66, 74, 307, 9,
 20, 3, 4, 93, 4, 415,
 60, 1, 537.
 Dowdney, Richard, 165,
 200.
 Downam, John, 17.
 Drake, —, 519.
 Draughtwich, Eng., 166.
 Dreuilletes, Father, 74, 5.
 Drinker, Edward, 362, 8,
 46, 465.
 Drue, Hester, 511.
 Nathaniel, 511.
 Patience, 511.
 Drury, Hugh, 415.
 Dublin, 21, 135, 59, 603,
 77.
 Dudley, 502, 18, 68.
 Dorothy, 97.
 Joseph, 483, 568, 613.
 Katharine, 97.
 Mary, 306.
 Roger, 97.
 Samuel, 28, 175, 394.
 Thomas, 28, 61, 97,
 175, 306, 74, 483,
 92.
 Duke of Buckingham,
 220.
 of Monmouth, 535, 8,
 64, 645.
 of Savoy, 185.
 of York, 347, 82, 3,
 404, 8, 9, 59, 510,
 12, 34, 5, 60.
 Dummer, Richard, 228,
 478, 534.
 Shubal, 221, 320,
 534.
 Dunbar, Scotland, 47.
 Dunham, Thomas, 46.
 Dunker, Edward, 438.
 Dunkirk, Eng., 47.
 Dunsborn, Eng., 415.
 Dunstable, Eng., 477.
- Dunster, David, 240.
 Henry, 3, 10, 51, 104,
 6, 13, 35, 6, 53,
 64, 240.
 Jonathan, 240.
 Dunton, Samuel and wife,
 511.
 Dury, John, 228, 99, 344.
 Dutch, 4, 7, 83, 6, 93,
 102, 4, 7, 12, 3, 4,
 6, 9, 20, 4, 8, 9,
 30, 1, 58, 337, 46,
 7, 56, 66, 7, 9, 80,
 412, 508, 12, 20,
 34, 49, 57.
 Duxbury, 73, 168, 70,
 235, 41, 4, 6, 314,
 6, 7, 449, 51, 3.
 Dyer, Mary, 209, 14, 9,
 20, 2, 42, 54, 6.
 William, 122, 3, 6,
 11, 255, 9.
- Earl of Clarendon, 287,
 398.
 of Manchester, 280,
 330, 1.
 of Sterling, 389, 534.
 of Strafford, 9.
 of Warwick, 4, 332.
 Eastham, 26, 138, 260,
 529.
 East Hampton, 38, 308,
 48, 559.
 East India Company, 606.
 East Indies, 94.
 Easton, John, 181, 2, 464,
 603, 10, 49, 57.
 Nicholas, 21, 31, 2,
 402, 542.
 Eaton, Daniel, 133.
 Hannah, 258.
 Mary, 258.
 Samuel, 258.
 Theophilus, 34, 5,
 131, 84, 8, 9, 257, 8.
 Thomas, 502.
 Eccles, Samuel, 502.
 Eddy, Elizabeth, 72.
 Edgartown, 382, 447, 96.
 Edgecomb, Vic., 321.
 Edgton, Eng., 186, 460.
 Edinburgh, 9, 14, 41, 209.
 Edmands, Robert, 568.
 Edmunds, Robert, 610.
 Edmundson, Wm., 546.
 Edson, Samuel, 383.
 Susannah, 383.
 Eggleston, James, 571.
 Eldred, Robert, 388.
 Eleutheria, Bahama
 Islands, 7.
 Eling, Eng., 509.
 Eliot, Benjamin, 405.
- Eliot, Elizabeth, 430.
 Francis, 147, 62, 3.
 Jacob, 433.
 John, 7, 9, 10, 2, 3,
 15, 6, 21, 2, 33, 41,
 9, 50, 1, 70, 81,
 101, 3, 5, 9, 10, 1,
 33, 40, 6, 7, 53, 60,
 2, 4, 92, 209, 10,
 9, 25, 33, 49, 73,
 6, 8, 84, 308, 12,
 41, 6, 8, 69, 87,
 400, 20, 30, 6, 40,
 3, 5, 6, 7, 84, 5, 91,
 8, 508, 18, 20, 2, 8,
 52, 9, 60, 3, 7, 9,
 73, 6, 9, 80, 6, 92,
 601, 15, 8.
 John, Jr., 210, 308,
 46, 87, 420, 30,
 523, 4.
 Joseph, 405, 70.
 Elizabeth, Queen, 81, 97,
 506.
 Elizabethtown, 392.
 Elmes, Rodolphus, 246.
 Elwell, Henry, 455.
 Emerson, John, 309.
 Joseph, 118, 320, 89.
 Thomas, 309, 89.
 Emery, Anthony, 216.
 John, 303.
 Endeavor, (Ship,) 83.
 Endicott, John, 56, 7, 68,
 74, 8, 81, 7, 151, 9,
 82, 201, 5, 9, 11,
 22, 4, 56, 70, 3, 84,
 90, 319, 45, 54, 61,
 2, 72, 95, 481, 500,
 49, 612, 72.
 England, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 9,
 10, 2, 3, 9, 23, 4,
 8, 40, 1, 2, 5, 8,
 51, 4, 6, 7, 9, 60,
 5, 9, 70, 3, 82, 5,
 6, 93, 7, 9, 104, 5,
 8, 12, 3, 4, 7, 9, 93,
 6, 8, 204, 5, 7, 9,
 10, 3, 5, 7, 9, 23,
 4, 7, 8, 35, 45, 8,
 50, 3, 5, 6, 69, 70,
 2, 87, 8, 90, 7, 309,
 23, 9, 50, 62, 4, 74,
 6, 7, 8, 84, 95, 6,
 7, 9, 420, 1, 3, 30,
 92, 7, 501, 2, 10, 9,
 20, 41, 3.
 English, 7, 82, 93, 4, 114.
 Enno, James, 407.
 Essex County, 149.
 Essex County, Eng., 63,
 131.
 Europe, 132, 207.
 Evelyn, (John?) 478.

- Ewer, Thomas, 235, 8,
 40, 2, 5.
 Exeter, 3, 28, 175, 393, 4,
 461, 537.
 Eyre, Robert, 487.
 F——, Isaac, 511.
 Fairfax, Sir Thomas, 23.
 Fairfield, 88, 130, 473, 4,
 559, 60.
 Falmouth, 249, 50, 318, 9,
 21, 390, 1, 459, 533.
 Farlow, Caleb, 567, 620.
 Farmington, 90, 188, 201,
 66, 470.
 Farnum, or Farnham,
 John, 372, 423, 8,
 32, 62.
 Faubord, —, 204.
 Felch, Henry, 93.
 Felix, Indian, 567.
 Fenwick, Dorothy, 192.
 Elizabeth, 192.
 George, 124, 92, 3,
 329, 30.
 Katharine, 192.
 Lady Mary, 35, 192.
 Fiennes, Nathaniel, 210.
 Finsbury, 434.
 Firman, or Fyrmin, Giles,
 48, 9, 63, 196.
 Fisher, Mary, 142.
 Fisk, 435.
 Anne, 605.
 Elizabeth, 605.
 John, 605.
 Moses, 485, 99.
 Fitch, James, 262, 7, 470,
 98, 9, 551, 2, 4, 7,
 8, 60, 6, 70, 1, 4, 5,
 81.
 Fitsrandall, 454.
 Fletcher, Edward, 414, 5.
 John, 537.
 Mary, 415.
 Nathaniel, 318, 22.
 Pendleton, 392.
 Seth, 173, 250, 392.
 William, 392.
 Flint, Dorothy, 424.
 Henry, 3, 160, 315,
 424, 641.
 Josiah, 444, 95.
 Margery, 424.
 Fogg, David, 511.
 Mrs., 153.
 Folger, Peter, 147, 201,
 10, 588.
 Forbes, James, 159.
 Ford, Robert, 572.
 William, Sen., 316.
 Fordham, Elizabeth, 559.
 Jonah, 559.
 Robert, 559.
 Fort Albany, 378.
 James, 378, 482.
 Orange, 347.
 Fosdick, Stephen, 341.
 Foster, Hopestill, 486,
 567, 620.
 John, 485.
 Thomas, 485, 6, 567.
 Fourbush, William, 323.
 Fowle, Thomas, 4.
 Fowler, Robert, 199.
 Fox, George, 20, 2, 140,
 68, 204, 12, 97,
 540, 8, 657.
 Jabez, 460.
 Foxwell, Martha, 73.
 Framingham, Eng., 520.
 France, 97, 172, 411, 23,
 30.
 King of, 27.
 Francis, Sachem, 451.
 Franco, Solomon, 11.
 Franklin, Benjamin, 588.
 Fraser, James, 15.
 Freeman, Edmund, Sen.,
 and wife, 72.
 French, 71, 5, 86, 105, 12,
 9, 21, 32, 72, 369,
 73, 4, 8, 412, 61,
 534, 94, 600.
 Fretwell, Ralph, 610, 57.
 Frontinac, Earl, 619.
 Fryer, James, 602.
 Nathaniel, 649.
 Fuller, Matthew, 238.
 Samuel, 644.
 Gage, Thomas, 115.
 Gardner, George, 199, 217,
 23, 335, 98.
 Henry, 223, 50.
 Horred, 197, 253.
 John, 609.
 Joseph, 592.
 Richard, 199, 381.
 Thomas, 535, 645.
 Gardyner, G., 57, 88.
 Garland, George, 172.
 Garland, (Ship,) 509.
 Garlick, Joseph, 260.
 Garret, James, 164, 260.
 Gaskin, or Gascoyne,
 Samuel, 199, 205,
 17.
 Gates, Mary, 153.
 Stephen, 153.
 Gaunt, Peter, 72, 166,
 234, 40, 6.
 Gendall, Walter, 646.
 George, John, 362, 8, 71.
 Gerrish, Joseph, 510, 86,
 626.
 William, 104, 375.
 Gibbins, G., 321.
 Gibbons, Edward, 11, 40.
 Gibbons, or Gibbens,
 Sarah, 143, 96, 200.
 Gifford, or Gifford, Wm.,
 235, 8, 40, 4, 6.
 Gifford, 271.
 Gilbert, Claudius, 153.
 Matthew, 332.
 Sarah, 280.
 Thomas, 280, 372,
 499, 509.
 William, 582.
 Gildersome, Eng., 460.
 Gillam, Ann, 152.
 Benjamin, 269, 92.
 Gloucester, 3, 62, 309, 11.
 Gloucester, Eng., 159.
 Glover, Elizabeth, 240.
 Habakkuk, 375, 650,
 2.
 Jose, 240.
 Pelatiah, 413.
 Godfrey, Edward, 75, 7,
 119, 248, 50, 1, 71,
 8.
 Goffe, William, 224, 32,
 66, 71, 2, 9, 80,
 302, 29, 30, 2, 58,
 80, 554, 71.
 Gog, 205.
 Gold, Daniel, 211.
 Goldsmith, Ralph, 284.
 Goodall, Mary, 362.
 Richard, 362.
 Goodin, Mehitable, 514.
 Goodwin, Christopher,
 304.
 Thomas, 2, 18, 297,
 307, 434, 8.
 William, 208.
 Goodwine, Adam, 28.
 Goodyear, Stephen, 90.
 Gookin, Daniel, 50, 140,
 51, 61, 2, 210, 84,
 99, 308, 20, 42, 73,
 80, 430, 40, 7, 85,
 98, 502, 17, 8, 9, 32,
 51, 4, 60, 70, 3, 4,
 6, 8, 87, 92, 7, 601,
 18, 20, 33.
 Gorgeana, or York, 27,
 77.
 Gorges, Ferdinando, 27,
 75, 6, 120, 251, 319,
 20, 1, 53, 89, 90,
 1, 534.
 Goring, Lord, 64.
 Gorton, Samuel, 17, 27,
 9, 83, 5, 7, 123, 4,
 77, 81, 253, 5, 89,
 397, 9, 461, 3, 658,
 9, 60.
 Family of, 658.
 Gortonists, 82, 289.

- Gosport, 323.
 Gott, Charles, 103.
 Gould, Daniel, 211, 6.
 Hannah, 514.
 John, 415.
 Major, 473.
 Mary, 514.
 Samuel, 514.
 Thomas, 138, 51, 3,
 98, 341, 62, 6, 7,
 8, 71, 2, 6, 423, 8,
 9, 32, 3, 8, 46, 62,
 86, 513.
 Zaccheus, 216, 20.
 Gourden, Robert, 372.
 Grafton, 485, 501.
 Graham, 204.
 Grand Vizier, 142.
 Graves, Thomas, 347, 566,
 601.
 Gravesend, Eng., 219.
 Gray, Edward, 451.
 John, 524.
 Robert, 439.
 Samuel, 524.
 Great Torrington, Eng.,
 159.
 Green, Henry, 3, 7.
 John, 138, 395, 7,
 465, 548, 9, 660.
 Samuel, 198, 225, 67,
 83, 451, 525.
 Mr., Jr., 395.
 Greene, John, Sen., 253.
 Greenfield, Thomas, 235,
 8, 40.
 Greenhall, Greenhill, or
 Greenill, William,
 59, 307, 503.
 Greenwich, 186, 333, 410.
 Groton, 306, 590.
 Groton, Eng., 10.
 Grub, Thomas, 432.
 Guernsey, Eng., 159.
 Guilford, 38, 90, 218, 66,
 333, 7, 405, 6, 10,
 2.
 Guppy, John, 113.
 Gutch, Robert, 249.
 Hackburn, Katharine, 97,
 483.
 Samuel, 97, 483.
 Hackney, Eng., 205.
 Hackwell, Eng., 205.
 Hadlock, Nathaniel, 432.
 Hale, John, 415, 20, 1,
 35, 7, 43, 95, 626.
 Robert and Rebekah,
 421.
 Halifax, Eng., 338, 429.
 Hall, Dorcas, 104.
 John, 104, 462.
 Rebecca, 300.
 Hallett, John, 314.
 Josiah, 115.
 Halloway, Timothy, 316.
 Halsey, William, 221.
 Ham, Mary, 207.
 Hamilton, Duchess, 404, 9.
 Duke, 64, 404, 9.
 Marquis, 404.
 Hamlet, or Hamlit, Wil-
 liam, 496, 507, 10.
 Hammond, William, 318.
 Hampton, 3, 28, 78, 103,
 4, 22, 74, 216, 51,
 2, 309, 23, 4, 93,
 536.
 Hanford, Thomas, 90, 337.
 Harding, George, 12.
 Harman, Sir John, 506.
 Harnden, Robert, 502.
 Harnet, Edward, 195, 9.
 Harper, Deborah, 233.
 Robert, 24, 6, 33, 5,
 8, 40, 2, 4, 6, 272,
 382, 455.
 Harriman, John, 675.
 Harris, Andrew, 182.
 Thomas, 197, 253.
 William, 176, 82, 403,
 61, 2, 3, 541, 2,
 641.
 Harrison, Dorothy, 7.
 John, 125.
 Thomas, 7.
 Hart, 546.
 Hartford, 38, 131, 2, 48,
 52, 85, 8, 9, 92,
 208, 9, 59, 65, 6,
 329, 33, 5, 404, 6,
 10, 1, 3, 9, 29, 66,
 72, 3, 4, 98.
 Hartly, William, 81.
 Harvard. See College, in
 Index of Subjects.
 Harvey, Ann, 492.
 Harwood, Jane, 292.
 John, 311, 503.
 Haselrig, Sir Arthur, 124.
 Hassanamesitt, (Graf-
 ton,) 485, 502, 8, 17,
 8, 9, 68, 73, 7, 84, 6.
 Hastings, 410.
 Hatfield, 413, 5.
 Hatherly, Timothy, 239.
 Hathorn, or Hawthorne,
 William, 21, 75, 7,
 100, 218, 24, 45,
 319, 20, 4, 59, 71,
 4, 9, 436, 549.
 Hattenanit, Job, 586.
 Haugh, or Hough, Ather-
 ton, 291.
 Samuel, Sen., and
 Jr., 291.
 Sarah, 291.
 Haverhill, 3, 103, 4, 43,
 63, 429, 35, 60.
 Hawkins, James, 79, 177.
 Jane, 31, 79, 177.
 Job, 79.
 Joseph, 666.
 Will, 576.
 Haynes, Hezekiah, 131.
 John, 130, 86.
 John, Children of,
 131.
 John, Jr., 131, 86.
 Joseph, 131, 467, 73,
 558.
 Samuel, 536, 7.
 Hayward, Nathaniel, 514.
 Hazell, John, 27.
 Heard, John, 216.
 Heathcot, George, 502.
 Hedge, Abraham, 386.
 William, 524.
 Hedges, Trustrum, 388.
 Hen, Bishop, 564.
 Hempstead, L. I., 115,
 338, 559.
 Henchman, Thomas, 572,
 3, 8, 9.
 Herle, Charles, 381, 436.
 Hiacommes, 13, 20, 56, 147,
 447, 8, 519.
 Hibbins, Ann, 140.
 Hicks, Deborah, 246.
 Horod, 398.
 John, 398.
 Lydia, 246.
 Samuel, 633.
 Hiferney, William, 314.
 Higginson, John, 51, 201,
 17, 8, 224, 8, 33,
 80, 303, 4, 6, 40,
 420, 3, 32, 3, 5, 7,
 8, 43, 60, 81, 90, 5,
 508, 10, 11, 16, 20,
 2, 63, 5, 77, 610,
 19, 26.
 Hildersham, Arthur, 97.
 Hill, Charles, 474.
 John, 199.
 Judge, 207, 21.
 R., 321.
 Hills, Joseph, 21.
 Hilton, Catharine, 538.
 Edward, 537.
 William, 537.
 Hinckley, Thomas, 240,
 7, 641.
 Hinckman, William, 453.
 Hingham, 3, 60, 246, 523.
 Hiscox, William, 397, 424,
 62, 97, 539, 88, 659,
 61, 5, 80.
 Hispaniola, 166.
 Hitchen, John, 301.
 Hitchcock, R., 321.

- Hitchcock, Widow, 172.
 Hoar, John, 580, 5.
 John, Family of, 580.
 Leonard, 424, 87, 90,
 6, 9, 509, 13, 6, 20,
 63, 5, 79.
 Margery, 424.
 Hobart, Jeremiah, 499,
 585.
 Nehemiah, 523.
 Peter, 3, 160, 443,
 523.
 Hobson, Henry, 325.
 Hodgden, Nicholas, 216.
 Hodges, Humphrey, 569,
 610.
 Hodson, William, 212.
 Hoggen, Robert, 200.
 Hoken, Indian, 532.
 Holden, or Houlden,
 Randal, 30, 1, 394,
 7, 462, 660.
 Holder, Christopher, 143,
 61, 2, 70, 81, 200,
 11, 5, 33, 6, 54, 6.
 Holgrave, Mrs., 62.
 Holland, 5, 7, 8, 47, 61,
 93, 4, 105, 7, 12,
 4, 6, 32, 364, 423,
 33, 92, 510.
 Josiah G., 43.
 Mr., 127.
 Hollanders, 68.
 Hollaway, John, 511.
 Holliman, Mr., 395.
 Hollister, Lt., 262, 3, 5.
 Holmes, John, 317, 87,
 451, 635.
 Obadiah, 25, 7, 48,
 60, 2, 3, 72, 3, 9,
 80, 1, 5, 159, 82,
 317, 539.
 William, 226.
 Holmes' Hole, 382.
 Holyoke, Edward, 21,
 205.
 Elizur, 65.
 John, 422, 3.
 Mary, 65.
 Homonequem, (Convert,) 57.
 Hooke, Francis, 322.
 Jane, 625.
 Mrs., 266.
 William, 48, 130, 87,
 8, 207, 21, 487.
 Hooker, Ellis, 273.
 Samuel, 671.
 Thomas, 14, 5, 49,
 58, 9, 131, 84, 8,
 94, 411, 37, 67.
 Thomas, Family of,
 131.
 Hoopon, Lord, 35.
 Hooton, Elizabeth, 277,
 8, 4, 87, 8, 301, 9,
 25, 62.
 Hopkins, Ann, 188.
 Edward, 34, 124, 32,
 9, 88, 9, 257, 66.
 Hopkinton, 189, 518.
 Horsmunden, Eng., 99.
 Houchin, Robert, 170, 1.
 House of Standish, 168.
 Howard, William, 432.
 Howe, John, 159.
 Howell, Morgan, 118.
 Howgill, Francis,
 Thomas, 211.
 Howland, Arthur, 171,
 234, 5, 41, 4.
 Arthur, Jr., 449.
 Elizabeth, 529.
 Henry, 234, 40, 1, 3,
 6.
 John, 453, 529.
 John, Jr., 171.
 Samuel, 316,
 Zoeth, 171, 234, 41, 4.
 Hubbard, Jeremiah, 443.
 Samuel, 397, 402, 24,
 62, 85, 6, 507, 10,
 39, 88, 650, 3, 5,
 65, 80.
 Tacy, 539.
 William, 7, 137, 41,
 443, 81, 95, 588,
 650, 3, 5, 65, 80.
 Hudson River, 500.
 William, 367.
 Huitt, Hannah, 474.
 Thomas, 474.
 Hull, Goody, 73.
 John, 142, 228, 54, 5,
 64, 354, 6, 430, 41,
 666.
 Humphrey, Michael, 407.
 Hunt, Edward, 26.
 Lt., 450.
 Hunter, John, 567.
 Huntington, L. I., 114,
 332.
 Hussey, John, 393.
 Rebecca, 393.
 Stephen, 511.
 Hutchinson, Ann, 64,
 222, 477, 611.
 Edward, 205, 69, 432,
 568.
 Richard, 12, 283.
 Samuel, 415.
 Thomas, 12, 4, 23,
 38, 146, 51.
 Ince, Jonathan, 78, 163.
 Independents, 74.
 Indians, 4, 5, 7, 8, 10, 2,
 3, 8, 9, 20, 3, 31,
 3, 4, 6, 8, 9, 50, 1,
 7, 69, 70, 2, 3, 83,
 90, 100, 5, 10, 1, 5,
 21, 8, 9, 31, 3, 40,
 6, 7, 51, 3, 61, 4,
 7, 76, 7, 84, 6, 7,
 93, 4, 201, 9, 10, 9,
 24, 5, 31, 2, 49, 54,
 60, 5, 7, 73, 8, 83,
 98, 307, 8, 11, 4, 5,
 25, 6, 8, 32, 3, 41,
 2, 7, 8, 80, 3, 6,
 92, 411, 22, 65, 6,
 501, 24, 6, 8, 32,
 3, 9, 41, 9, 50, 1,
 2, 4, 6, 7, 69, 99,
 604, 45, 7.
 Indians at College, 101, 10,
 47, 250, 98, 308, 48.
 Indian Catechism, 101.
 College, 133, 198,
 519.
 Ipswich, 3, 7, 15, 48, 63,
 92, 6, 104, 36, 41,
 3, 52, 64, 97, 200,
 4, 6, 21, 63, 76, 7,
 80, 309, 23, 4, 64,
 75, 6, 8, 89, 418,
 20, 2, 35, 78, 523,
 36, 8, 607, 18.
 Ireland, 7, 23, 45, 55, 6,
 104, 35, 53, 9, 205,
 10, 89, 495, 603,
 77.
 Irish Boy, (shot,) 570.
 Isle of Shoals, 28, 77,
 249, 323, 87, 90,
 538.
 Isle of Wight, 2.
 Italy, 165.
 Jackson, Edward, 350.
 Richard, 350.
 Jacob, Henry, 163.
 Jamaica, L. I., 470, 5.
 Jamaica, W. I., 140, 51,
 66, 86, 252, 72,
 502.
 James II., 47.
 Indian Teacher, 201,
 517.
 See Duke of York,
 389, 91.
 Thomas, 38, 267, 308,
 48, 77, 668.
 Japhet, (Indian,) 448.
 Japheth, (Indian,) 551.
 Jenkins, Edward, 631.
 John, 235, 8, 40, 2, 6.
 Jessy, Henry, 163.
 Jethro, (Indian,) 517, 76.
 Jews, 10, 2, 6, 205, 23.
 Job, (Indian,) 147, 308,
 518.

- Joel, (Indian,) 519.
 John, Sagamore, 140.
 Johnson, Edward, 7, 11,
 23, 58, 9, 78, 88,
 489, 91.
 Edward, Family of,
 489.
 Humphrey, 530.
 John, 2, 486, 567.
 Marmaduke, 219, 308,
 70, 433, 51, 98.
 Mary, 34.
 Matthew, 486.
 Thomas, 235.
 Jollie, Thomas, 607.
 Jones, John, 261, 337.
 Margaret, 4, 16.
 Ralph, 170.
 Jordan, Robert, 28, 119,
 21, 73, 247, 9, 50,
 1, 318, 9, 20, 2, 92.
 Joscelyn, Henry, 119, 73,
 4, 319, 22, 93, 457,
 8, 9.
 John, 352, 90, 459.
 Joseph, (Indian,) 502, 18,
 9.
 Juxon, William, Abp., 9.
 Kattenanit, Job, 577, 8.
 Keayne, Robert, 98.
 Keith, James, 383, 639.
 James, Family of,
 383, 4.
 Kellond, Thomas, 363.
 Kemp, Elizabeth, 235.
 Kempis, Thomas a, 438.
 Kempthorne, Simon, 142.
 Kendall, Francis, 486.
 Kenilworth, 468, 71.
 Kennebeck, 27, 115, 21,
 74, 249, 50, 390,
 459.
 Patent, 315, 8, 9.
 Kennebecks, 75, 249.
 Kent Co., Eng., 42.
 Kent, Joseph, 396.
 Kerbey, Richard, 72, 3,
 168, 240, 6, 77.
 Richard, Jr., 235, 8,
 42, 4, 5, 6.
 Sarah, 168.
 Kiffren, or Kiffen, Wil-
 liam, 73, 362.
 Killingworth, 413.
 King of Spain, 279.
 King, William, 211, 6, 8,
 77.
 Kingsley, John, 674.
 Stephen, 21.
 Kirby, Eng., 99.
 Kitchen, Elizabeth, 223,
 8, 362, 439.
 John, 217, 362.
 Kittery, 28, 77, 117, 8,
 247, 311, 9, 20, 2,
 3, 90, 3, 4, 459,
 538.
 Knapp, 88.
 Knight, Ezekiel, 318, 90.
 William, 3.
 Knott, Widow, 72.
 Knower, George, 165.
 Knowles, John, 3, 7, 22,
 3, 207, 513, 609.
 Lake, Thomas, 93, 645.
 Lambert, 408.
 John, 209, 24.
 Robert, 362.
 Lamphere, George, 659.
 Lancashire, 99, 139, 59.
 Lancaster, 153, 435, 512,
 17, 70, 585, 90.
 James, 502, 42, 3.
 Lane, Mr., 459.
 Langworthy, Rachel, 397,
 539.
 Lathrop, John, 477.
 La Tour, 28, 117, 72.
 Laud, William, Abp., 120,
 365, 490.
 Launder, or Lander, Jane,
 168.
 William, 168.
 Layton, Thomas, 634.
 Leader, Richard, 43.
 Lechford, Thomas, 3.
 Lechlade, Eng., 530.
 Leddra, William, 198, 9,
 212, 18, 42, 3, 72, 3.
 Leet, Abigail, 471.
 William, 329, 30, 2,
 7, 601, 82.
 Leffingwell, Thomas, 671.
 Legat, John, 28.
 Leland, Henry, 574.
 Lenard, Solomon, 227.
 Leonard, Phillip, 453.
 Leverett, John, 76, 7, 104,
 5, 6, 31, 8, 9, 51,
 9, 71, 2, 81, 2, 204,
 25, 7, 8, 32, 73, 80,
 6, 90, 311, 28, 64,
 7, 91, 3, 410, 4, 8,
 44, 56, 7, 8, 66, 7,
 82, 90, 4, 512, 3, 5,
 6, 28, 35, 6, 8, 63, 5,
 92, 6, 9, 609, 19,
 33, 44, 74.
 Leveridge, or Leverich,
 Caleb and Eleazer,
 114.
 William, 50, 1, 72,
 114, 5, 38, 62, 93,
 248.
 Leyden, 24, 166, 8, 243,
 532.
 Leyton, John, 632.
 Liddal, John, 312, 24.
 Lilburn, John, 252.
 Limerick, Ire., 153.
 Lincoln, Bishop, 289.
 Lincolnshire, 105.
 Ling, Mr., 245.
 Linnell, David, 73.
 Lisbon, 2.
 Lisle, Lord, 580.
 Little, Mr., 227.
 Littlefield, Edward, 318.
 Littleton, 518.
 Locke, Robert, 143, 5, 9.
 Loc, John, 529.
 London, 2, 3, 4, 8, 10, 3,
 20, 1, 3, 9, 39, 41,
 7, 51, 4, 8, 62, 3,
 5, 6, 73, 8, 84, 9,
 96, 105, 6, 20, 1,
 3, 30, 1, 8, 41, 3,
 52, 3, 61, 5, 77, 82,
 7, 8, 94, 200, 4, 5,
 8, 10, 7, 9, 22, 3, 4,
 8, 9, 45, 50, 1, 3,
 7, 80, 5, 9, 97, 301,
 11, 7, 29, 31, 5, 44,
 52, 62, 7, 9, 70, 5,
 6, 81, 96, 7, 415, 8,
 34, 60, 82, 90, 6,
 510, 2, 3, 5, 6, 35,
 7, 8, 87.
 Long, Horod, 398.
 Long Island, 88, 100, 14,
 43, 86, 99, 247, 67,
 332, 7, 62, 82, 404,
 6, 542, 92.
 Lord, Robert, 288.
 Lothrop, John, 115.
 Family of, 115.
 Louis, King of France,
 27.
 Loups, Indians, 534.
 Lovclace, Francis, 459,
 64, 82, 524, 34.
 Loveranne, Theodore, 372.
 Low Countries, 97, 105,
 66, 8.
 Ludlow, Roger, 36.
 Luker, Mark, 655.
 Lumbert, Benjamin, 452.
 Jedediah, 452.
 Lumkin, William, 449.
 Lusher, Eleazer, 196, 320,
 8, 91, 491.
 Lygonia, 391. See Index
 of Subjects.
 Lynde, Simon, 516.
 Lynde, or Line, Thomas,
 43, 60.
 Lyne, John, 579.
 Lynn, 3, 9, 23, 43, 6, 8,
 53, 62, 9, 79, 80,
 1, 152, 205, 25,

- 303, 23, 43, 5, 435,
44, 522, 3.
Lynn, Eng., 177.
- Maanexit, 518.
Maaz, William, 382.
Machin, John, 65.
Mackworth, Jane, 250.
Mc Sparran, Dr., 462.
Macy, Thomas, 216.
Maddockawanda, or Ma-
dockawando, 602,
47.
Magunkaquoq, 518, 68,
77, 8.
Magus, John, 586.
Maine. See Government
of, under Subjects.
Majascoe, 467.
Maker, James, 452.
Malden, 42, 3, 53, 60, 9,
136, 292, 309, 45.
Malins, Mary, 277.
Malory, Mr., 14.
Mamachegin, Joshua, 448.
Manchage, or Manchauge,
518, 68, 73.
Manchester, 3, 46.
Manhatoes, or Manha-
does, 116, 346, 7,
406, 624.
Mann, James, 27.
Mannamoiett, 387, 635.
Manomet, or Monument,
239, 40, 635.
Mantackett, 193.
Maquas, or Mohawks,
604.
Marbery, Mr., 205.
Marblehead, 3, 12, 273,
363, 422, 30.
March, Hugh, 626.
Marlborough, 164, 226,
515, 7, 8, 70, 86,
90, 4.
Marshall, Edmund, 46.
John, 235.
Thomas, 444.
Marshfield, 73, 171, 241,
2, 4, 43, 313, 82,
6, 455, 529.
Marston, William, 175,
252.
Martha's Vineyard, 7, 13,
20, 39, 51, 6, 7,
161, 2, 4, 70, 201,
10, 572, 604, 39.
Maryland, 40, 542.
Marty, Richard, 537.
Mascall, Robert, 434.
Mashippaug, or Marsh-
pee, 387, 455.
Mason, Anne, 552.
Arthur, 363, 481.
- Mason, Hugh, 613.
John, 89, 465, 553.
John, Sons of, 553.
Joseph, 78.
Mary, 302.
Robert, 534.
Robert T., 29, 252,
78.
Samuel, 557.
Masonia, 460.
Masquamicut, 399.
Massachusetts. See Gov-
ernment of, under
Subjects.
Masterson, Nathaniel,
271, 456.
Mather, Catharine, 436.
Cotton, 13, 59, 105,
12, 37, 88, 264, 42,
4, 65.
Eleazer, 198, 208, 91,
3, 7, 405, 36, 9, 86.
Increase, 112, 39, 59,
60, 287, 9, 91, 3,
8, 300, 41, 69, 73,
83, 92, 418, 33, 6,
7, 78, 83, 4, 6, 91,
509, 14, 5, 20, 4,
65, 71, 86, 603, 7,
12, 5, 20, 5, 9, 43,
50, 79.
Joseph, 436.
Nathaniel, 21, 159,
436, 96, 677.
Richard, 2, 3, 6, 12,
38, 45, 9, 70, 88,
92, 117, 36, 9, 49,
60, 233, 5, 79, 84,
99, 312, 41, 6, 81,
412, 35, 6, 9, 78,
83.
Richard, Family of,
436.
Samuel, 3, 21, 159,
436.
Sarah, 436.
Timothy, 436.
Mathews, John, 524
Marmaduke, 3, 18, 42,
3, 53, 4, 60, 2, 9,
136.
Samuel, 524.
Matoonas, 596.
Maud, Daniel, 3, 174.
Mary, 174.
Maule, Thomas, 437.
Maverick, Samuel, 228,
71, 343, 5, 6, 52, 3,
9, 60, 3, 4, 73, 8, 9,
93.
May, Dorothy, 169.
Maycomber, Wm., 532.
Mayhew, Experience, 165.
John, 308, 420, 53.
- Mayhew, Matthew, 283,
98, 308, 420, 99,
520.
Mrs., 3, 308, 48, 420.
Thomas, Jr., 13, 20,
39, 41, 50, 1, 6, 69,
101, 3, 9, 40, 6, 7,
61, 4, 5, 96, 200,
10, 9, 308, 499.
Thomas, Jr., Family
of, 200.
Thomas, Sen., 162,
200, 1, 10, 6, 25,
344, 8, 420.
Mayo, John, 26, 138, 61,
291, 300, 418.
Samuel, 73, 115.
Mead, Matthew, 503.
Medfield, or Meadfield,
160, 350.
Mendon, 389, 515, 74.
Merrimack River, 9, 42,
120.
Merry Meeting, 121.
Mesech, 205.
Mevis, (Somer Islands),
261.
Michelson, Edward,
Michimore, James, 459.
Middleborough, 8, 452.
Middlesex, 149, 51.
Middletown, Conn., 265,
7, 8, 335, 470.
Miles, or Myles, John,
317, 86, 7, 448, 9,
530, 66, 621.
Joseph, 218.
Sarah, 610.
Milford, 133, 86, 266, 330,
406, 10, 2, 71, 532.
Millard, Jane, 312, 24.
Miller, John, 71, 306, 15.
Joseph, 602.
Mehitable, 306.
Susannah, 306.
Millet, Mary, 311.
Thomas, 311, 20.
Milton, 574, 601.
John, 126.
Misquamuck, or Misqua-
macuck, 354, 463.
Mistick, or Mystick, 193,
411.
Mitchel, Jonathan, 14, 9,
149, 262, 79, 80,
99, 304, 12, 5, 24,
41, 7, 73, 6, 412, 3,
5, 23, 9.
Mohawks, 71, 5, 300, 402,
518, 604, 13, 6, 7,
70, 7.
Momonquason, 147.
Monhegans, 38, 552, 4, 6,
675.

- Monk, George, 14, 132, 59, 209, 17.
 Monument, see Manomet.
 Moody, Joshua, 251, 515, 36, 7, 63, 5.
 Samuel, 563.
 Sir Henry, 271.
 William, 251.
 Moore, Thomas, 273.
 Moqua, John, 518.
 Morefield, 434.
 Morgan, Sarah, 533.
 Mormons, 85.
 Morris, or Morrice, William, Sec'y, 353, 70, 1, 5, 6, 27, 97, 115, 7, 66, 8, 71, 4, 377, 8, 9, 86.
 Morton, Nathaniel, 27, 97, 115, 7, 66, 8, 71, 4, 246, 316, 52, 83, 7, 418, 31, 50, 1.
 William, 315.
 Mosely, Samuel, 570, 3.
 Moses, 218.
 John, 407.
 Moshier, John, 459.
 Mossup, (Indian,) 461.
 Motin, Jane, 74.
 Moulder, Christian, 511.
 Nicholas, 511.
 Mount Hope, 566, 8, 86.
 Mountjoy, George, 533, 645.
 Mouthe, Mr., 498, 554.
 Moxes, or Myoxes, (Indian,) 164, 447.
 Moxon, George, 43, 65.
 Martha, 43.
 Rebeckah, 43.
 Mugg, 602.
 Muggleton, Lodowick, 108, 494, 548.
 Mumanequem, 56.
 Mumford, Mary, 539.
 Stephen, 397, 539.
 Thomas, 397.
 William, 511.
 Munjoy, George, 391.
 Munkateesett, 116.
 Munster, 213.
 Murrain, Mary divorced from Patrick, 679.
 Muscongus River, 172.
 Mynor, or Minor, John, 132, 3.
 Thomas, 132, 3.
 Naamhok, 572.
 Nahant, 429.
 Nahaton, Wm. (Ind.) 586.
 Nahorth, Samuel, 378.
 Namaskett, 452.
 Nansemond, Va., 7.
 Nantasket, 269.
 Nantucket, 216, 348, 57, 81, 482, 98, 508, 10, 7, 9, 20, 67, 72, 88, 609.
 Narragansett Country, 659, 60, 78.
 Narragansetts, 57, 83, 6, 114, 28, 33, 255, 354, 7, 429, 65, 74, 543, 59, 81, 92, 601.
 Nashaway, 8, 18, 111, 617.
 Nashobah, 518, 70, 85.
 Nason, Richard, 216.
 Natick, 21, 42, 50, 6, 7, 69, 105, 99, 420, 45, 84, 508, 17, 9, 70, 4.
 Naylor, James, 163.
 Naylour, Edward, 500.
 Neal, Daniel, 15, 26, 97.
 William, 569, 610.
 Neander, 317.
 Needham, Anthony, 196, 9, 217, 22.
 Nenecunant, (Ind.) 128.
 Neponset, 518.
 New Amsterdam, 35, 89, 200, 347.
 Newark, 186, 412, 71, 5, 553.
 Newbury, 3, 58, 99, 103, 4, 65, 96, 8, 9, 221, 4, 50, 80, 93, 303, 5, 23, 4, 52, 75, 6, 8, 412, 8, 36, 77, 80, 7, 90, 2, 500, 1, 3, 22.
 Newbury, Benjamin, 673.
 New Cambridge, 404.
 New Castle, 324.
 Newcomb, Mr., 435.
 Neweacke, 184.
 Newell, Mary, 362.
 New England, 2, 3, 4, 6, 9, 12, 3, 5, 7, 9, 20, 2, 4, 6, 38, 41, 8, 52, 4, 5, 61, 2, 4, 6, 7, 84, 8, 93, 4, 6, 108, 19, 21, 36, 7, 9, 46, 51, 3, 60, 2, 6, 80, 6, 8, 90, 2, 204, 5, 8, 12, 20, 1, 2, 5, 8, 9, 32, 7, 9, 52, 6, 64, 6, 70, 4, 9, 88, 303, 4, 16, 31, 5, 54, 7, 9, 81, 409, 13, 5, 7, 24, 6, 31, 3, 43, 68, 78, 81, 95, 501, 2, 4, 6, 13, 4, 6, 7, 9, 20, 9.
 Newfoundland, 265, 366.
 New Hampshire. See Government of, under Subjects.
 New Haven, 386, 410, 2, 21, 37, 8, 9.
 See Government of, under Subjects.
 Town, 34, 47, 89, 90, 130, 1, 89.
 Newhouse, Thomas, 312.
 Newichawaneck, 320.
 New Jersey, 247, 392, 412.
 Newland, John, 168, 70, 234, 40, 2, 4, 5, 6.
 Rosc, 72.
 William, 234, 40, 2, 6.
 New London, 28, 90, 265, 7, 331, 2, 409, 12.
 Newman, 552.
 Antipas, 316, 81, 420, 95, 500.
 Hopestill, 316.
 Joanna, 641.
 Mrs., 317.
 Noah, 316, 415, 51, 526, d. 641.
 Robert, 33.
 Samuel, 25, 6, 162, 70, 316, 451, 641.
 Samuel, Children of, 316.
 New Netherland, 89, 171, 307. See Government of, under Subjects.
 Newport, R. I., 27, 9, 48, 80, 3, 6, 7, 122, 6, 7, 78, 80, 1, 97, 213, 53, 317, 25, 94, 7, 8, 9, 402, 24, 46, 62, 3, 5, 85, 96, 507, 10, 39, 40, 1, 3, 6, 659, 65.
 New Shoreham, 549.
 Newton, L. I., 114.
 Newton, Roger, 90, 133, 201, 66, 671.
 New York, 31, 347, 52, 70, 3, 8, 83, 91, 4, 482, 508, 10, 2, 20, 4, 32, 72, 665.
 Nicarson, Nicholas, 450.
 William, 387, 8.
 Nicholet, Charles, 490, 510, 1, 20, 2, 3, 63, 5, 6, 87.
 Mrs., 490.
 Nichols, J., 541.
 Randall, 432.
 Richard, 342, 3, 5, 53, 5, 9, 60, 1, 4, 6, 70, 3, 7, 8, 9, 83, 8, 91, 3, 6, 456, 8, 61, 3.

- Nicholson, Christopher, 273, 363.
 Edmund, 223, 73, 363.
 Elizabeth, 273, 363.
 Jane, 218, 20, 7, 362.
 Joseph, 218, 20, 7, 73, 312, 24, 63.
 Ninicraft, (Indian,) 461.
 Ninigret, (Indian,) 464.
 Nipmuck, 14, 422, 84, 518.
 Noble, Samuel, 585.
 Noddle's Island, 372, 446, 65, 97, 540.
 Nohnoso, John, (Ind.) 448.
 Nonantum, 346.
 Norcross, Nathaniel, 3.
 Norfolk County, 28, 367.
 Norkett, William, 453.
 Norman, Thomas, 523.
 William, 76.
 Norris, Edward, 3, 44, 94, 148, 9.
 Northampton, 198, 208, 91, 3, 352, 566.
 Northampton, Eng., 97.
 Northfield, 573.
 North Hampton, 323, 405.
 Norton, Col., 13.
 Humphrey, 170, 99, 235, 6, 58, 9, 421.
 John, 2, 3, 6, 15, 21, 8, 44, 6, 54, 64, 5, 6, 7, 8, 71, 96, 112, 3, 7, 36, 40, 9, 52, 92, 6, 9, 204, 7, 9, 12, 6, 7, 24, 33, 62, 74, 9, 80, 1, 7, 91, 7, 300, 2, 7, 44.
 Mary, 302.
 Nortowen, Mrs., 138.
 Norwalk, or Norwaake, 90.
 Norwich, Ct., 267, 553, 4, 665.
 Norwich, Eng., 207.
 Norwottuck, 208.
 Nova Scotia, 28, 74, 105, 6, 12, 21, 72, 299, 374, 5, 456, 9, 80.
 Nowell, Increase, 111.
 Samuel, 587, 624.
 Noyes, James, 3, 20, 99, d. 150, 96, 224, 338, 607, 69.
 James, Family of, 150.
 Nicholas, 104, 669.
 Numacke, Nanquit, 454.
 Nunphow, 518, 79.
 Nunpang, 447.
 Nye, Phillip, 2, 352, 434, 87.
 Oakes, Cornet, 575.
 Edward, 13, 350.
 Urian, 13, 490, 1, 6, 504, 7, 9, 65.
 Obed-Edom, 13.
 Okomonakamesit, (Marlborough,) 518.
 Old England. See England.
 Old Town Creek, 232.
 Oleron, Charles of, (Ship) 358.
 Oliver, James, 212, 432, 570.
 Thomas, 602.
 Olney, Thomas, 87, 253.
 Onomog, (Indian,) 518.
 Onondagoes, 140.
 Ordway, Aaron, 116.
 Oresby, Thomas, 205.
 Origen, 256.
 Osawan, (Indian,) 550.
 Osborn, Mrs., (wife of Thomas,) 310, 66.
 Sarah, 309.
 Thomas, 310, 41, 62, 5, 6, 8, 76, 423, 62, 507, 67.
 William, 309.
 Oxenbridge, John, 440, 3, 6, 79, 80, 2, 94, 500, 8, 33, 65.
 Oxford, (Manchage,) 518.
 Oxford College, Eng., 13, 297.
 Eng., 99.
 Oxfordshire, Eng., 257.
 Ousamequin, Wassamegin, or Matchippa, (Indian,) 273, 8.
 Owaneecoe, (Indian,) 551.
 Owen, John, 48, 160, 96, 307, 11, 44, 67, 73, 434, 87, 601.
 Oyster Bay, 114, 5, 362.
 Paboddy, or Peabody, William, 314.
 Pacquellant, (Ind.) 352.
 Page, Isaac, 199.
 Robert, 429.
 Paine, John, 634.
 William, 36.
 Pakachoog, 517, 9.
 Pakemitt, 518, 75.
 Palairret, 172.
 Palmer, —, 435.
 Geoffrey, 252.
 Josiah, 529.
 John, 455.
 Samuel, 48.
 Palmes, Edward, 671.
 Palmore, Abraham, 19.
 Park, Edmund, 512.
 Parker, Capt., 587.
 Dr., 510.
 Son of Rev. Robert, 606.
 Thomas, 3, 20, 99, 150, 65, 224, 93, 305, 35, 6, 441, 7, 80, 90, 2, 500, 606, 7.
 William, 241, 4, 6.
 William, wife of, 241.
 Parks, William, 2.
 Parris, Samuel, 490.
 Parsons, Hugh, 43.
 Hugh, wife Mary, 43.
 Joseph, 566.
 Mary, 566.
 Partridge, Alexander, 29, 30, 1.
 Ralph, 6, 23, d. 235, 317, 437, 635.
 Ralph, Family of, 235.
 Pasaconaway, 9, 518.
 Pattison, George, 543.
 Patucket Falls, Mer. R., 9, 42, 140, 447.
 Paugatuck, 411.
 Paule, William, 170, 234.
 Paumperang, 569.
 Pawcatuck, 327, 474.
 Pawtuxet, Patuxet, or Patuxit, 27, 32, 79.
 Payne, John, 500.
 Pearson, or Peirson, Peter. See Pierson.
 Peasley, Joseph, 215.
 Pecatuck, 88, 192, 3.
 Peck, Henry, 34.
 Jeremiah, 266.
 Joseph, 34.
 Peguatucke, or Pawkatuck, 193, 4, 354.
 Peirce, Capt., 367, 73, 5.
 John, 486.
 Robert, 486, 97.
 Pelham, Herbert, 12, 207, 90.
 Pemaquid, 389, 534.
 Pemberton, Sarah, 443.
 Pembroke, 227.
 Pendleton, Eng., 607.
 Bryan, 77, 118, 392, 645.
 James, 537.
 Mary, 392.
 Penguinhole, 454.
 Penn, James, 17, 9, 435, 7, 9, 82.
 Pennicocks, 573.
 Penobscot, 28, 74, 117, 459, 602.
 Penobscots, 74, 172.
 Pentagoet, 27.

- Pepin, James, Jr., (French Protestant,) 281.
- Pequet, or Pequot, 88, 90, 178, 92, 3, 325. See Pequods.
- Pequods, 83, 125, 32, 3, 84, 94, 267, 326, 8, 54, 5, 405, 11, 66, 98, 554, 675.
- Perada, Imanuel, 11.
- Perkins, William, 311.
- Perriott, Mr., 118.
- Perrott, 204.
- Perry, Edward, 116, 235, 8, 40, 2, 4, 5, 640. Seth, 590.
- Pessicus, (Indian,) 400.
- Peters, Deliverance, 106. Hugh, 3, 15, 6, 41, 59, 103, 6, 12, 222, 4, 610, 2.
- Pettaquamscott, Pattaquamscott, or Pet-tecombscot, 255, 355, 98, 462.
- Phelps, Hannah, 211, 6. Nicholas, 198, 9, 204, 6, 7, 11, 73, 80.
- Philip, Sachem, 315, 85, 9, 413, 50, 64, 519, 24, 8, 9, 39, 52, 65, 6, 70, 1, 5, 84, 91, 3, shot 597, 8, 602, 34, 8, 65, 70.
- Phillips, Bridget, 569, 610. George, 206. Henry, Dea., 489. John, 171. Samuel, 435, 7, 43, 78, 81, 7, 95, 586, 626. William, 8, 18. William, Major, 320.
- Phippen, Joseph, 322.
- Phips, Solomon, 432.
- Piambow, (Indian,) 518.
- Pierson, Abraham, 50, 1, 129, 33, 47, 62, 84, 6, 7, 94, 201, 9, 10, 60, 3, 6, 7, 98, 308, 48, 420, 66, 75, 553, 679. Abraham, Jr., 471, 553. Peter, 212, 42, 3, 77, 313, 412.
- Pike, Richard, 457. Robert, 99, 103, 4, 11, 64.
- Pinguin Hole, 247.
- Pinion, Robert, 449.
- Pipponcott, Richard, 46.
- Piscataquay, 77, 211, 23, 52, 346, 67, 91.
- Pittmece, Andrew, (Indian,) 586, 97.
- Pitkins, William, 407.
- Plymouth Colony. See Government of, under Subjects. Town, 71, 90, 166, 8, 74, 225, 7, 35, 9, 41, 2, 6, 51, 71, 317, 52, 84, 8, 450, 3, 91, 8, 508, 39, 41.
- Poagnett, (Indian,) 550.
- Pochasset, 383.
- Pokanoket, 524.
- Pollard, Sir Hugh, 159.
- Polly, George, 620.
- Pondunk Indians, 192.
- Poole, Elizabeth, 116, 557.
- Pope, Gertrude, 439. Joseph, 199. Thomas, 242, 455.
- Porter, Daniel, 552. John, 255, 397, 8. John, Jr., 355, 7, 60, 5, 97. Margaret, 398.
- Port Royal, 74, 106, 21.
- Portsmouth, R. I., 30, 83, 6, 122, 6, 7, 78, 346, 90, 463, 602. See Strawberry Bank, 251, 2, 324, 64, 93, 4, 460, 536, 7.
- Potock, (Indian,) 597.
- Poucomptock, 506.
- Pouning, Henry, 221.
- Powell, Michael, 69, 70, 99, 108, 9, 38, 161, 503.
- Pray, Mary, 549. Richard, 549.
- Prentice, Henry, 570.
- Prescott, John, 18.
- Preston, George, 320, 3, 43.
- Prince, Elizabeth, 449. Mary, 143, 5, 6. Thomas, 116, 21, 74, 235, 6, 8, 50, 315, 82, 7, 452, 524, 9, d. 530, 9. Thomas, Family of, 530.
- Prine, or Prinns, 255.
- Prior, Joseph, 73.
- Providence, 26, 9, 33, 79, 80, 2, 3, 6, 7, 122, 7, 75, 8, 80, 209, 11, 53, 5, 327, 461, 5, 543, 6.
- Prudden, John, 186, 474, 5. Peter, 88, d. 186, 9, 474.
- Prudden, Peter, Family of, 186. Samuel, 186.
- Pulling Point, 218.
- Pumham, or Pomham, (Indian,) 31, 2, 369, 400, 1, 591.
- Pummakummin, (Sachem,) 57.
- Puncapoag, or Punquapog, 153, 64, 98, 518, 70, 4, 92.
- Punean, (Indian,) 549.
- Punnuppaqua, 147.
- Purchase, Oliver, 360. Thomas, 121, 319.
- Pynchon, Anna, 65. John, 65, 165, 290, 347, 569, 604. William, 20, 1, 43, 5, 54, 60, 5, 8, 9, 105, 205, 87, 91.
- Quabacooke, 278.
- Quabagud, Quaboag, or Quabog, 16, 417, 517, 86.
- Quannapohit, James, (Indian,) 586.
- Quannassohutt, Thomas, (Indian,) 567.
- Quantissett, 519.
- Quatisicker, 422.
- Quebec, 140.
- Quincy, Edmund, 537. Judith, 537.
- Qunnubbagge, 57.
- Rainsford, Edw'd, 433, 44.
- Rance, John, 246, 502.
- Randall, William, Sen., 453, 5.
- Randolph, Edward, 596, 8, 600, 37, 48.
- Rauce, John, 641.
- Ravins, Christianus, 10.
- Rawlings, James, 216.
- Rawson, Edward, 51, 99, 118, 33, 281, 341, 79. Edward, Jr., 99.
- Reading, 3, 6, 53, 62, 218, 49, 91, 323, 50, 89, 415, 86, 511.
- Recap, William, 313.
- Rednap, Joseph, 46.
- Reeve, Robert, 407.
- Reeves, John, 108, 494, 548.
- Rehoboth, 25, 6, 7, 80, 7, 116, 67, 70, 245, 316, 7, 86, 8, 450, 1, 526, 66.
- Remor, Mr., 563.

- Reyner, John, 29, 117, 66,
 74, 86, 323, d. 460.
 John, Family of, 460.
 John, Jr., 460, d. 537.
 Reynolds, Dr., 283.
 Rhode Island. See Gov-
 ernment of, under
 Subjects.
 Rhodes, Zechariah, 177,
 80, 368.
 Richards, James, 679.
 John, 515.
 Richardson, James, 575, 8.
 John, 503, 22, 63, 7,
 626.
 Richmond's Island, 247.
 Richworth, Edward, 117.
 Ridgewell, Eng., 49.
 Ridlye, Robert, 19.
 Rigby, Alexander, d. 28.
 Edward, 76, 172.
 Rishworth, Edward, 390.
 Rising, Gov., 171.
 Roberts, Edward, 135.
 Robin, and his Company,
 194.
 Robinhood, 249.
 Robinson, Isaac, 241, 3.
 John, 2, 24, 166, 243,
 4, 596.
 William, 208, 11, 2,
 3, 6, 52, 4.
 Rochelle, Fr., 281, 99.
 Rochellers, 378.
 Rochester, 71.
 Rogers, Ezekiel, 3, 28,
 105, 49, 228, d. 269,
 70, 306, 418.
 Ezekiel, Family of,
 270.
 James, 550, 7, 659.
 James, John and
 James, Sons of,
 551, 659.
 John, 171, 620, 1, 73.
 John, Sons of, 171.
 Mr., of Dedham,
 Eng., 48.
 Nathaniel, 3, 28, 64,
 92, 136.
 Nathaniel, Children
 of, 137.
 Simon, 497.
 Rouse, John, 199, 200,
 35, 6.
 Lieut. Col., 199.
 Rowland, Joseph, 473.
 Rowlandson, Joseph, 153,
 435, 43, 584, 682.
 Mary, 584, 5, 603, 82.
 Rowley, 3, 14, 64, 143,
 270, 80, 306, 23, 4,
 424, 9, 35, 9, 77, 8,
 87, 99, 523, 36.
- Roxbury or Rocksberry,
 2, 3, 13, 8, 97, 105,
 9, 60, 93, 210, 27,
 76, 81, 306, 23, 50,
 62, 3, 405, 18, 20,
 30, 80, 91, 520, 86.
 Ruddock, John, 571.
 Rushworth, 601.
 Rusk, Mr., 516.
 Russell, Daniel, 625, 9,
 30.
 George, 73.
 John, 191, 261, 5, 6,
 446, 86, 96, 567,
 620, 1, 73.
 John, Jr., 567.
 Noadiah, 679.
 Richard, 367.
 Rutherford, Samuel, 122,
 437.
 Rye, 90, 410, 72, 4, 552, 9.
 Sabine, William, 245.
 Sackville, Dr., 405.
 Saco, 118, 9, 72, 3, 247,
 317, 8, 21, 2, 90, 2.
 Saconesett, 316.
 Saconett, 528, 631.
 Saconoco, (Indian,) 31, 2.
 Sagadahock, 391.
 Sagatea. See Eleutheria.
 Salem, 3, 25, 33, 41, 96,
 103, 59, 95, 9, 204,
 6, 8, 11, 8, 22, 8, 45,
 9, 72, 3, 6, 8, 82, 7,
 301, 6, 12, 8, 23, 4,
 43, 5, 52, 75, 6, 8,
 81, 415, 8, 20, 2, 3,
 5, 8, 44, 60, 89, 90,
 509, 20, 2, 3, 39,
 68, 76, 7, 87.
 Village, 501.
 Sam, (Sagamore,) 591.
 Salisbury, 3, 99, 103, 4,
 43, 63, 4, 75, 215,
 6, 21, 323, 4, 477.
 Old Town and New
 Town, 215.
 Salmon, Samuel, 223.
 Thomas, 2, 9.
 Salter, Prison-keeper, 287.
 Saltonstall, Richard, 60,
 2, 3, 85, 207, 21, 8,
 32, 80, 90, 612.
 Sampson, (Indian Teach-
 er,) 519.
 Mr., 267.
 Samuel, (Indian Teacher,)
 518.
 Sanders, E., 321.
 Sands, James, 396.
 Sandwich, 72, 114, 5, 68,
 70, 211, 34, 5, 6, 8,
 9, 40, 2, 4, 7, 72,
 83, 308, 13, 4, 6,
 82, 7, 420, 50, 5,
 98.
 Sanford, John, 182, 464.
 Sasoment, (Indian,) 517.
 Saunders, Edward, 136.
 Henry, 170, 238.
 Tobias, 325, 43.
 Sausaman, John, (Ind.,)
 563, 6, 632, 3, 4.
 Savage, Thomas, 375, 568,
 86, 613.
 Say and Brook, Lords,
 192, 330, 409.
 Say and Seal, Lord, 210,
 25, 80, 6, 329, 30.
 Saybrook, 6, 11, 35, 129,
 93, 217, 470, 1, 553,
 667, 8.
 Sayle, William, 19.
 Scarborough, 250, 318, 21,
 91, 524.
 Scituate, 114, 5, 7, 225,
 34, 41, 5, 6, 314,
 87, 455, 529, 30,
 631.
 Scone, Scotland, 40.
 Scotland, 14, 52, 104, 205,
 10, 383, 434, 516.
 Scots, 7, 9, 40, 7, 52, 5.
 Scott, Catharine, 205, 53,
 6.
 Christopher, 205.
 John, 382, 404, 610.
 Mary, 211, 6, 56.
 Patience, 209, 54, 6.
 Richard, 128, 256.
 Thomas, 15, 569.
 Scottow, Joshua, 281,
 359, 601.
 Scyll, Capt. Joseph, 585.
 Seabury, Samuel, 449.
 Seaconk, or Seekonk, 16.
 Seagar, Elizabeth, 335.
 Richard, 334.
 Sealey, Capt., 651.
 Searle, Mr., 427.
 Sedgwick, Robert, 104,
 5, 6, 12, 6, 31, 171.
 Seipican, (Rochester), 71.
 Sempsted, John, 511.
 Senecas, 670.
 Serjeant, Peter, 515.
 Ruth, 530.
 William, 530.
 Sewall, 210.
 Samuel, 22.
 Seymour, Sir Edward, 42.
 Shadbrook, 323.
 Shalford, Eng., 48, 63,
 196.
 Shapley, Abihail, 514.
 Shapleigh, Nicholas, 311,
 9, 20, 2, 538, 649.

- Shapleigh, Richard, 75, 647.
- Shattuck, Josiah, 273.
- Samuel, 162, 96, 9, 204, 6, 7, 17, 23, 73, 82, 4, 311, 432.
- Sarah, 381.
- William, 195.
- Shawanon, (Sachem,) 9, 111.
- Shawomet, 21, 7, 32. See Warwick.
- Shelly, Hannah, 73.
- Shelter Island, 206.
- Shepard, Margaret, 14, 429.
- Samuel, 14, 424.
- Thomas, 2, 3, 12, d. 14, 5, 429, 81, 3, 90, 521, 679.
- Thomas, Family of, 14.
- Thomas, Jr., 14, 233, 309, 423, 4, 35, 7, 52, 509, 606, 20, 9.
- Shepherd, Jeremiah, 617.
- Sheppard, George, 327.
- Sherburn, 588.
- Sherman, John, 78, 552. (John?), 149, 410, 3, 35, 7, 43, 81, 91, 5, 587.
- Ship Tavern, 363.
- Shippe, Sheppey or Shippen, Edward, 568, 610.
- Shirley, James, 12.
- Shove, George, 316, 86, 524.
- Hopestill, 386.
- Shrewsbury, Eng., 188.
- Shrimpton, Henry, 372.
- Silvester, Giles, 273.
- Simpson, Frances, 217.
- Sidrack, 2.
- Six Nations, 75.
- Skelborn, Samuel, 271.
- Skiffe, James, 239, 41.
- Skinner, Hannah, 514.
- Slocum, Giles, Sen., 550.
- Giles, Wife and Children, 550.
- Small, Francis, 321.
- John, 195, 6, 217, 23, 8, 362.
- Smith, Anna, 65.
- Edward and Wife, 27.
- Ensign, 450.
- George, 28.
- Henry, 33, 54, 65, 88.
- Henry, Family of, 33.
- James, 217, 23.
- John, 31, 116, 99, 217, 22, 4, 33, 41, 3, 7, 77, 315, 94, 640.
- John, Jr., 241, 3, 6.
- Margaret, 211, 6, 22, 6, 33, 77, 301.
- Marmaduke, 472.
- Matthew, 486, 97.
- of Manchester, 3.
- Ralph, 3, 271.
- Richard, 143, 4, 86, 255, 462, 568, 650.
- Thomas, Capt., 599.
- Society for N. E. Missions, 297.
- Solman, John and Wife, 397.
- Somersetshire, Eng., 42.
- Somes, John, 511, 68, 610.
- Sosaman, (Indian Teacher,) 147. See Sausaman.
- Soule, George, 241.
- John, 241, 4, 6.
- Nathaniel, 451, 524.
- Southampton, 559.
- Southertown, 325, 8, 411.
- South Hampton, 144, 86, 332.
- Southold, L. I., 258, 333, 556, 9.
- South Wales, 69.
- Southward, Alice, 169.
- Southwark, Eng., 163.
- Southwick, Cassandra, 159, 95, 6, 9, 204, 6, 8.
- Daniel, 199, 206, 17, 23, 73.
- John, 196, 9, 217, 8, 23.
- Josiah, 195, 6, 9, 204, 6, 81, 373, 422, 32, 596.
- Lawrence, 159, 95, 6, 9, 204, 6.
- Provided, 199, 206, 16, 7, 8.
- Southworth, Constant, 314.
- Thomas, 315, 87.
- Spaniards, 5, 178.
- Spanish Colonies, 312.
- Spear, James, 519.
- Speedwell, (Ship,) 143.
- Spencer, Thomas, 216.
- Spene, or Speen, Abraham, 570.
- James, 577, 86.
- Thomas, 597.
- Spilsbury, or Spilsbury, John, 9, 73.
- Spoonant, James, 570.
- Spooner, Thomas, 218.
- Spori, 326.
- Springfield, 6, 11, 20, 43, 54, 65, 102, 5, 65, 94, 205, 423, 587.
- Spurr, John, 46.
- Spurwink, 119, 319, 22.
- Squakeake, 500.
- Squamacuck, 469, 74.
- Squando, (Indian,) 647.
- St. Christopher's Island, 372, 418.
- St. Cloud, 121.
- St. Croix, 389.
- St. George, (River,) 172. (Ship,) 288.
- St. Germain, 121.
- St. John, Nephew of Bulkley, 18.
- St. John's, 132.
- St. Lawrence, 27.
- St. Mary, 40.
- St. Mas, 74.
- St. Paul, 87.
- Stallion, Edward, 557.
- Stamford, 36, 130, 266, 333, 8, 406.
- Standish, Miles, 167, 8, 553.
- Sons of, 168.
- Stanley, Martha, 218.
- Stanton, John, 133, 47, 62, 298, 308, 671.
- Robert, 398.
- Thomas, 37, 101, 9, 33, 47, 87.
- Staples, William R., 327.
- Starbuck, Edward, 28.
- Star Island, 323.
- Starr, Thomas, 386.
- Staunton, Mary, 197, 253.
- Stead, Rev. —, 362.
- Steadman, John, 407.
- Steele, Wm., 19, 20, 41, 50, 6, 7, 102, 33, 5.
- Stephenson, Andrew, 489.
- John, 631.
- Marmaduke, 208, 13, 6, 52, 4, 6.
- Sarah, 631.
- Stileman, Elias, 537.
- Stiles, Ezra, 181.
- Stoddard, Solomon, 439.
- Stone, Elizabeth, 335, 6.
- Gregory, 350.
- Robert, 228.
- Samuel, 38, 133, 91, 259, 64, 7, 335, 6, 673, 7.
- Stonington, 267, 98, 338.
- Stony Stratford, Eng. 257.
- Stoughton, 110.
- Stoughton, William, 374, 424, 35, 80.
- Stover, Sylvester and Wife, 172.

- Stow, Samuel, 26, 7, 8.
 Stradbrook, 249.
 Strafford, Earl of, 9.
 Straiton, Samuel and Wife, 16.
 Stratford, 88, 337, 411, 70, 1, 523, 59.
 Stratton, Eliphalet, 511, 610.
 Eliphaz, 511.
 Ephraim, 569.
 Strawberry Bank, 3, 78, 174, 5.
 Street, Nicholas, 262, 93, 300, 33, 86, 431, 557, 8, 61.
 Samuel, 262, 561.
 Samuel, Family of, 561.
 Stubs, John, 502, 42, 6.
 Sturgeon Creek, 459.
 Sturgeon, Mr., 245.
 Sturgis, Edward, 524.
 Stuyvesant, Peter, 34, 5, 95, 335.
 Suffolk, Mass., 32, 149.
 Sugar Hill, 573.
 Summers, Henry, 567.
 Swain, Richard, 216.
 Swallow, (Ship), 142.
 Swansea, South Wales, 69.
 Swanzey, or Swansea, 317, 448, 566.
 Swedes at Delaware, 132, 3, 347.
 Sweetser, Benjamin, 432, 85, 541.
 Seth, 362.
 Swift, Joan (?), 246.
 Thomas, 601.
 Sylvester, Dinah, 313.
 Joseph, 313.
 Symmes, Sarah, 288, 477.
 William, 477.
 Zechariah, 3, 45, 149, 212, 91, 9, 309, 17, 73, 86, 7, 437, 77, 509.
 Zechariah, Family of, 477.
 Zechariah, Jr., 477.
 Symonds, Richard, 13.
 Ruth, 309.
 Samuel, 7, 77, 163, 300, 9, 64, 510, 11, 65, 626.
 William, 436.
 Tabor, William, 541.
 Tackanash, John, (Indian,) 447, 8.
 Tackuppawillin, Joseph, (Ind.) 518, 77, 86.
 Tackuppawillin, Naos, (Indian,) 586.
 Talbot, Major, 674.
 Tallcott, John, 557.
 Tanner, Mr., 449.
 Tarrantines, 602.
 Taunton, 4, 26, 116, 70, 234, 88, 316, 82, 4, 5, 524, 41, 58, 636, 7.
 Tawanquatyeck, (Indian,) 447.
 Taylor, Edward, 587.
 Temple, Thomas, 172, 3, 228, 81, 90, 1, 300, 2, 11, 29, 45, 74, 5, 412, d. 512.
 Tenterdon, Eng., 218.
 Terry, Thomas, 464.
 Teticut, 8.
 Teunise, Lieut., 586.
 Tewksbury, 518.
 Thacher, Anthony, 315, 86.
 Elizabeth, 235, 441.
 Peter, 523.
 Theodora, 523.
 Thomas, 3, 149, 60, 238, 315, 435, 41, 95, 508, 86, 629.
 Thomas, (Indian Teacher,) 201.
 John, (Indian Teacher,) 518, 91.
 Nathaniel, 455.
 Robert, 515.
 William, 386, 540.
 Thompson, John, 337.
 Robert, 12, 535, 44.
 William, 3, 45, 160, 2, 93, 4, 210, 65, 73, 83, 314, 32, 42, 81.
 Thornton, Thomas, 316, 450, 643.
 Thorowgood, Thomas, 22.
 Thorpe, John, (Preacher,) 250, 318.
 W., 35.
 Throgmorton, John, 545.
 Thurloe, John, 263.
 Thurston, Thomas, 143.
 Tichfield, Eng., 13.
 Tift, Joshua, 651.
 Tilton, Peter, 496.
 Titus, Robert, 116.
 Tompson, Abigail, 381.
 Ann, 381.
 Mary, 320, 3, 45, 8, 62.
 Topsfield. See New Meadows, 3, 280, 372, 499, 509.
 Torrey, Joseph, 26, 7, 327, 424, 53, 62, 565, 650.
 Torrey, Samuel, 435, 7, 81, 95, 514, 5.
 Touton, John, 299.
 Trask, Henry, 199, 217.
 Mary, 211, 6, 8, 26, 33, 77.
 William, 460.
 Treat, Catharine, 194.
 Richard, 194.
 Robert, 266, 411, 529, 668, 9, 70, 1.
 Samuel, 529.
 Tring, (in Herfordshire,) 362.
 Trip, John, 253.
 Trumbel, Brother, 507.
 Trumbull, Benjamin, 188, 90, 410.
 Mr., 228.
 Trustram, R., 321.
 Tubal, 205.
 Tubbs, Marcy, 451.
 William, 451.
 Tuckanuckett, 482.
 Tuckappowill, or Tuck-apawillin, Joseph, (Indian,) 577.
 Tucker, John, 537.
 Tuckney, Anthony, 105.
 Tupper, Thomas, 636.
 Turner, Goodwife, 72.
 Joseph, 451.
 Mary, 593.
 Michael, 240.
 Robert, 150.
 William, 362, 8, 428, 32, 3, 46, 86, k. 593.
 Tuttle, John, 22.
 Tweed, 217.
 Tyn, Jonathan, 460.
 Tyng, Edward, 209, 318, 457.
 Tysoe, John, 502.
 Uncas, (Sachem,) 38, 273, 8, 498, 551, 2, 6, 7.
 Underhill, John, 131.
 Upshall, or Upsall, Dorothy, 149, 98, 278.
 Nicholas, 46, 142, 9, 68, 209, 78, 92.
 Ure, Thomas. See Ewer.
 Uselton, Francis, 540.
 Usher, Hezekiah, 283, 91, 308, 484, 98, 585, 646, 7.
 John, 492.
 Utah, 286.
 Uxbridge, 517.
 Vane, Henry, 60, 8, 123, 7, 78, 224, 51, 6, 611.

- Vassal, John, 417.
 William, 4.
 Vaughan, George, 382.
 William, 464.
 Venner, Thomas, 281.
 Veren, Joshua, 33.
 Philip, 311.
 Vincent, Gudwife, 62, 223.
 William, 223.
 Vineyard, Martha's or
 Martin's. See Mar-
 tha's.
 Virginia, 205, 6, 12, 79,
 87, 8, 345, 490, 510,
 43, 6.
 Mission, 7, 306, 32.
 Virginias, 27.
 Vyal, John, 414.
 Waabesktamin, 518.
 Waban, (Indian,) 420, 98,
 518, 9, 65, 91, 602,
 18.
 Wabquissit, 519.
 Wachusett, 591.
 Waddock, H., 321.
 Wade, Joane, 193.
 Robert, 193.
 Wadleigh, John, 318.
 Wadsworth, Samuel, 590.
 Waetung, (Uxbridge),
 517.
 Wait, Richard, 360.
 Wakeman, Samuel, 337,
 470, 1.
 Waldron, Richard, 319,
 23, 457, 647.
 Wales, 13, 297.
 Mr., 318.
 Walford, Jane, 175.
 Thomas, 175.
 Walker, Dr., 99.
 George, 588.
 Richard, 21.
 Robert, 470.
 William, 524.
 Zechariah, 411, 70, 2,
 3.
 Walley, Thomas, 317, 82,
 452, 3, 5.
 Wallingford, 666, 70.
 Wallis, Nathaniel, 250.
 Waltham, 270.
 Walton, William, 422, 30.
 Wamesits, 518, 70, 5, 8, 9.
 Wampanoags, 565, 87.
 Wannalancet, (Indian),
 447, 518, 72, 3, 9,
 619.
 Wannamanhut, (Indian),
 488.
 Wannamoiset, 317.
 Ward, 519.
 John, 3, 437, 81.
 Ward, Nathaniel, 48, 344.
 Susan, 48.
 Wardell, or Wardwell,
 Eliakim, 323, 4, 93.
 Wardwell, William, 118.
 Ware, Peter, 390.
 Warham, John, 38, 191,
 267, 404, 12, 3, 39,
 67, 9, d. 473, 553.
 Warner, John, 30, 85, 575.
 Warren, Elizabeth, 530.
 Humphrey, 645.
 John, 93.
 Richard, 530.
 Warwick, 29, 31, 3, 72, 9,
 82, 3, 5, 8, 123, 6,
 7, 77, 9, 253, 369,
 94, 6, 401, 63, 548.
 Warwick, Earl of, Robert,
 429.
 Wasamegin, or Ousame-
 quin, (Sachem),
 273, 8.
 Wassakenoldquen, (Sa-
 chem,) 591.
 Watertown, 3, 7, 23, 206,
 64, 309, 435, 86,
 587, 97.
 Watson, John, Sen., 570.
 Watts, Isaac, 48.
 Thomas, 671.
 Waugh, Dorothy, 143, 5,
 96, 200.
 Way, Lieut., 523.
 Richard, 432.
 Weatherhead, or Wither-
 head, Mary, 143,
 59, 200.
 Weathersfield, 33, 4, 184,
 94, 208, 52, 9, 65,
 7.
 Weaver, Mr., 523.
 Webb, George, 235.
 John, 222.
 Webster, Elizabeth, 312.
 John, 441.
 Weeks, John, 181.
 Weetanno, (Indian,) 634.
 Welburn, Eng., 460.
 Weld, Daniel, 210.
 Thomas, 3, 41, 59,
 122, 47, 225, 348,
 436, 521.
 Wells, 28, 118, 73, 247,
 50, 318, 9, 21, 89,
 90, 2.
 Mr., 110.
 Thomas, 122, 31.
 Wenham, 3, 18, 103, 316,
 23, 4, 420, 500, 10,
 23.
 Wequapauge, 184.
 Weshakim, 517.
 Wessamomeks, 502.
 West Indians, 4.
 West Indies, 166, 272, 9,
 366, 506, 95.
 West Springfield, 413.
 Westeustogo, 390.
 Westerly, 399, 402, 63, 5,
 539, 41, 659.
 Western Islands, 2, 3.
 Westfield, 587.
 Westgate, 93.
 John, 607, 8.
 Westover, Jonas, 407.
 Wethersfield, 332, 8, 412,
 13, 23, 473.
 Weymouth, 3, 160, 97,
 253, 398, 435, 53,
 590.
 Whalley, Edward, 224,
 66, 71, 2, 9, 80,
 302, 29, 30, 58, 80,
 554, 71.
 Wharton, Edward, 199,
 205, 16, 7, 52, 72,
 7, 88, 307, 12, 7, 8,
 20, 3, 4, 43, 5, 62,
 429.
 Mary, 429.
 Philip, 429.
 Wheeler, Thomas, 576.
 Wheelwright, John, 122,
 75, 248, 51, 2, 393,
 536, 611, 3, 4.
 Whetcomb, Robert, 313,
 25.
 Witchcott, Benjamin, 446,
 537.
 Rebeckah, 537.
 White, Emanuel, 71.
 John, 602.
 Mr., 435.
 Nathaniel, 19.
 Peregrine, 386.
 Susannah, 167.
 William, 167.
 Whitehall, 9, 95.
 Whitfield, Henry, 12, 6,
 21, 38, 51, 2, 6, 89,
 218.
 Whiting, John, 148, 9,
 467, 72, 3, 558, 668.
 Samuel, 3, 22, 113,
 52, 267, 303, 73,
 435, 7, 43, 81, 91,
 5, 615.
 Samuel, Jr., 437, 81.
 Sybil, 148.
 William, 148, 94.
 Whitman, Zechariah, 266.
 Wiatt, James, 238.
 Wickendon, William, 87,
 463.
 Wickes, John, 397.
 Wickford, 404, 62, 74,
 550.

- Widders, Robert, 543.
 Wigglesworth, Edward, 33.
 Michael, 441.
 Wigin, James, 321.
 Thomas, 28, 77, 104, 18, 324.
 Wilbare, Samuel, 397.
 Wilbore, (Samuel?), 255.
 Wild, Nicholas and Wife, 397.
 Wilkinson, Thomas, 520.
 Willard, Samuel, 116, 473, 587, 603.
 Simon, 78, 579, 87.
 Willet, Hezekiah, 637.
 Joannah, 532.
 Mary, 532.
 Thomas, 174, 383, 448, 9, d. 532, 637.
 Williams, James, 388.
 John, 243, 439, 529.
 Mary, 383.
 Mr., 321.
 Robert, 87, 123, 256, 547.
 Roger, 26, 30, 3, 49, 50, 78, 9, 80, 1, 7, 106, 23, 7, 8, 40, 68, 75, 82, 256, 329, 33, 95, 401, 3, 62, 5, 98, 538, 41, 3, 9, 51, 650, 1, 5, 7, 82.
 Thomas, 384.
 Warham, 439.
 Williamson, Hugh, 307.
 Joseph, Sir, 648, 9.
 William, 249.
 Willis, Richard, 382.
 Samuel, 267, 326, 553.
 Willoughby, Francis, 4, 289, 374, 5, 429.
 Lord, 378, 419.
 William, 418, 9.
 Wilson, Edmund, 165, 6, 418.
 George, 277.
 John, 3, 6, 12, 20, 45, 57, 60, 3, 7, 72, 85, 165, 209, 22, 33, 99, 303, 68, 9, 73, 412, 7, 8, 9, 21, 37, 43, 92, 5, 521, 67.
 John, Jr., 160, 233, 418, 567, 620.
 Mrs., 188, 418, 620.
 Wilson, Robert, 301.
 Samuel, 397.
 Wiltshire, Eng., 47.
 Wiman, Francis, 486, 620.
 John, 486.
 Winchester, Eng., 39.
 Wincoll, John, 117.
 Windsor, 265, 403, 9, 13, 67, 9, 70, 3, 553.
 Wing, Daniel, 234, 5, 8, 40, 2, 4, 5.
 Stephen, 234, 8, 42.
 Winsley, Mr., 104.
 Winslow, Edward, 3, 4, 8, 10, 3, 6, 7, 20, 41, 50, 4, 78, 89, 96, 107, 24, 39, d. 166, 380, 464, 633, 8.
 Edward, Family of, 166, 7.
 Job, 634.
 John, 318.
 Jonathan, 530.
 Josiah, 167, 529, 30, 82.
 Kenelme, Jr., 316.
 Margaret, 530.
 Winsor, Walter, 524.
 Winter, Christopher, 236.
 John, 28.
 Winthrop, Adam, 10.
 Elizabeth, 500.
 John, 4, 6, d. 10, 28, 9, 34, 5, 48, 71, 4, 86, 92.
 John, Jr., 28, 30, 80, 2, 9, 103, 4, 6, 25, 78, 93, 4, 256, 62, 5, 7, 87, 91, 329, 33, 5, 74, 5, 404, 5, 528, 37, 53, 657, 67, d. 672, 3, 4.
 Mary, 28.
 Wait, 568.
 Wise, John, 617, 70.
 Wiswall, Ichabod, 382.
 Thomas, 346.
 Wiswell, John, 443, 82.
 Withamfray, Eng., 42.
 Witherell, William, 115, 529.
 Withers, Thomas, 533.
 Witter, William, 46, 79.
 Woburn, 3, 98, 304, 50, 446, 60, 86, 9, 576.
 Wolstenholme, Sir John, 341.
 Wonemytonian's Hill, 461.
 Wood, Anthony, 114.
 Woodborough, Eng., 47.
 Woodbridge, Benjamin, 473.
 John, 3, 305, 6, 413, 35, 68, 9, 71, 87, 92, 563, 626, 70.
 Woodbury, Ct., 470, 559.
 Woodgreene, Mr., 297.
 Woodhouse, (Vessel), 199.
 Woodman, Edward, 435, 6, 41, 3, 77, 8, 92, 500.
 Woodstock, 518, 9.
 Woodward, Nathaniel, 524.
 Peter, 439.
 William, 439.
 Worcester, William, 3, 164, 75, 215, 21, d. 300, 519.
 Worden, Peter, 449.
 Woronoke, (Hadley,) 263.
 Wraisbury, Eng., 65, 287.
 Wright, Dea., 165.
 Hannah, 277, 362.
 John, 486, 97.
 Joseph, 486.
 Lydia, 610.
 Wunnauhkomum, (Indian preacher,) 604.
 Wuttasacomponom, Tom, (Indian,) 577.
 Wuttowhan, (Ind.,) 352.
 Wyborn, Capt., 509.
 Yale, Ann, 188, 257.
 Children of, 257.
 Yarmouth, 71, 116, 236, 40, 8, 306, 16, 449, 50, 2, 524.
 York, 77, 117, 8, 73, 4, 247, 9, 319, 20, 1, 67, 90, 1, 459.
 Yorkshire, 77, 118, 72, 3, 318, 9, 20, 89, 90, 1.
 Young, Dr., 222.
 Youngs, John, 556.
 Family of, 556.
 Zurich, 326.

INDEX

TO THE SETTLEMENTS, GOVERNMENTS, COMPANIES, PUBLICATIONS,
RELIGIOUS DENOMINATIONS, AND OTHER SUBJECTS CONTAINED
IN THIS VOLUME,

When the several pages referring to the same things are denoted by tens or hundreds, these figures will be expressed but once, except when intervened by words.

- Abuse of liberty, 127, 8.
Act of Parliament to promote gospel among Indians, 12; conformity, 298, 311, 6.
Additions to the church, 71.
Address to Parliament, 4; to Peters, 15; to Cromwell, 130; to Swedish Governor, 132; to King, 230, 3, 81, 7, 8, 329, 30, 4, 5, 49, 50, 66, 98, 628; to Earl Clarendon, 398.
Admission to the church, 3, 6.
Admonition, for fashionable follies, 141; absence from worship, 159; denying baptism to child, 151, 3.
Adoption, 5.
Advice, 34, 139.
Adultery, punishment, 237, 8.
Advocates for N. E. in England, 227.
Afflictions, 340.
Agency abroad, 343.
Agents to England, Williams, 82, 5; Clark, 83; Bradstreet and Norton, 284, 5, 9; Leverett, 232; Clark 254, 325, 652; Clark and Williams, 663.
Alarm as to the Dutch and Indians, 93.
Allegiance to the Commonwealth, 209.
Anabaptists. See Baptists.
Anarchy. See Disorder.
Anchor Tavern, committee hold session at, 289.
Animadversions on the Antisynodalia Americana, 6.
Annexation of Maine to Mass., 75.
Ansiberers, 340.
Answer of Dudley, 61.
Antichrist, 3, 23, 72, 299.
Antidote against "the plague of the world," 181.
Antinomians, 50, 61.
Antisynodalia, 291, 9, 312, 41, 478.
Anti-Synodists, 505.
Annuity, renewed to Gov. Endicott's widow, 481.
Apology, 4, 16, 8, 25, 34, 43; of Matthews, 53, 62; of Howland, 235; for Lieut. Pike, 103; of Malden, 136; for treatment of Quakers, 230, 31, 85, 628; for treatment of Roger Williams, 286; of Eliot, 276, 7; of John Davenport, 330; of Hathorne, 359; of L. Rhodes, 368; for Samuel Newman, 25; of H. and J. Peck, 34; of Thomas Brackett, 208; for Massachusetts, 516.
Apologetical preface, 294, 300.
Apostasy of Anti-Christ, 63.
Apostolic function not ceased, 3; office, 50; commission interrupted, 84.
Apparel, excess of, prohibited, 52, 141, 285, 91, 577.
Application from England for recruits for Dutch war, 104.
Apprehensions of Baptists, 79.
Apprenticeship of Indians, 225.
Approval of J. Norton, 64.
Arabic at Harvard, 10.
Arms at public worship, 34, 6, 114, 244.
Arms, King's, 629.
Arraignment of Pynchon, 21, 43, 5.
Articles of confederation, 384; of war, 573, 82.
Artillery election sermon. See Election Sermons.
Assembly's confession of faith, 4, 5, 8, 9, 45, 6.
Assistance to weak congregations by General Court, 316.
Association of churches, 291; of ministers, 98, 491, 3.
Assumption of civil power, 585.
Assurance of salvation, 5.
Attend worship, all required to, 37.
Bacon, Nath., Jr., rebel in Virginia, 677.
Bakers, fraud in bread, 35.

- Banishment, 31, 3, 57, 61; for bigamy, 76, 81, 5, 161, 85, 202, 4, 6, 8, 11, 6, 20, 2, 41, 55, 6, 9, 61, 2, 73, 85, 92; from other colonies repealed by charter of Rhode Island, 327; 8, 76, 525.
 Baptism, 3, 5; of children, 9, 10, 2, 24, 33, 8, 46, 85, 8, 92, 3, 135, 8, 41, 52, 65, 90, 1, 8, 250, 64, 5, 280, 4, 5; interrupted, 106; who subjects of, 290, 1, 301, 4, 10, 40, 1, 416, 7, 68, 78, 507.
 Baptists, 12, 6, 25, 7, 8, 46; trial of, 48, 9, 60, 1, 3, 72, 3, 9, 81, 4, 5, 7; Long Island, 88, 93, 103; Dunster, 106; Chauncy, 117, 35, 8, 53, 65, 77, 80, 1, 98, 223, 5, 69, 97, 304, 10, 7, 41; church, 362, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 71, 2, 97, 9, 402, 15, 7, 23, 7; ordered to depart, 428, 32, 3, 4, 8, 46, 7, 9, 65, 85, 6, 96, 7, 507, 9, 10, 4, 6, 40, 1, 65, 7, 8, 9, 603, 6, 8, 20, 31, 40.
 Bason of water thrown down in worship, 304.
 Batteries of Boston to be repaired, 364.
 Baxter's Call, 342, 7.
 Bear arms, 653.
 Beaver. See Peltry.
 Beer, retail of, 127; to Indians, 131.
 Beneficence of Hopkins, 266.
 Bible, Indian, 209, 19, 25, 74, 82, 3, 9, 98, 308; dedicated to the King, 312, 41.
 Bigamy, 76, 85, 172.
 Bishop of New England, 297.
 Bishop's authority, 3.
 Black coats, 201.
 Black hole, no apology for cruelties at, 94.
 Blasphemy, 57, 108, 85, 494, 515, 26.
 Blastings, 376, 73.
 Blessing, parental, 137.
 Blood shed on R. I., 123.
 Bloody tenet, 87, 538.
 Board a week, 12.
 Boarders by lone women, 515.
 Body of liberties, 480.
 Bonds for appearance, 43, 111, 376.
 Bone setter, 552.
 Books, 2; for Harvard Coll., 10; for Mr. Eliot, 209; at Harv. Coll., 601.
 Bound to a post, 73.
 Boundaries of Massachusetts, 75, 78; of Me., 533.
 Branding, 57, 259, 60, 76.
 Breach of the confederacy, 104.
 Broken heart causes death, 512.
 Brotherhood, rights of, 264.
 Brownists, 24, 5.
 Building for education of Indians at Cambridge, 101, 10.
 Bulls, (edicts,) 114.
 Burglary, death, 540.
 Burial of suicides, 226.
 Burning of London, 415.
 Cages, 244, 381, 96, 608, 16.
 Call of ministers, 190, 1; Davenport to Boston, 421, 69; of J. Bailey, 501.
 Capital letters worn as a punishment, 237, 8, 493.
 Captives arrive, 372, 678.
 Cards and dice, 167, 207, 444.
 Care for neglected children, 509, 11, 2.
 Catechism, 15; not taught at Kittery, 28, 36, 109; Pierson's and Eliot's, 133; Noyes's, 150; Fisk's, 153; Pierson's, 187, 94, 209, 10; Cotton's, 224, 60, 7, 82; Eliot's, 283; from house to house, 434, 527, 77, 645.
 Catechumens of Kennebecs beaten for professing Christianity, 75.
 Caterpillars strip the trees, 27, 376.
 Catholic church, 6; religion, supplanters of, 3, 26, 8, 42, 71, 4, 5, 81, 105, 21, 40, 65, 6, 72, 8, 224, 8, 56, 304, 57; in R. I., 394, 6, 426, 30, 59, 80, 512, 33, 4, 64, 605, 22, 5.
 Censure of Mrs. Hutchinson's sons, 64.
 Censures, 4, 6.
 Chaldee, 10.
 Charge of disloyalty against New England, 271, 4.
 Charity. See Contribution.
 Charles II. declared by Virginia, 205; proclaimed in Edinburg, 9; do. in Boston, 280.
 Charter, for mission among the Indians, 12, 3, 292; of Conn., 329, 32, 3; of Mass., 296; secreted, 343; gives full power to govern, 357, 61, 5, 6; violated by commissioners, 370; for Duke of York, 389, 494, 5; of Rhode Island, 325, 8, 9.
 Children baptized, 88, 603, 4; born on Sabbath not baptized, 226; of the covenant, 671; duties to, from the church, 671; of the church, 6, 12; disciplined, 73, 138, 52; rebellious, 494.
 Christian commonwealth, 15, 210, 73, 6, 7; deportment, 87, 8; liberty, 5.
 Christmas forbidden, 207; required, 361, 80.
 Christ's humanity denied, 242; prayer for believers, 194.
 Church discipline. See Discipline.
 Church government. See Discipline.
 Churches and number of professors, 447, 502.
 Church and state, 53, 4, 73, 232, 56, 75, 493.
 Church, controversies settled by civil magistrates, 500, 1.
 depends on college, 513.

- Church, divisions in, 28, 238, 9, 59, 60, 4, 5, 467, 72, 92, 500, 15.
duties of officers of, 57, 8.
general court and ministers, 259.
matter and form, 473.
may keep days of fasting, etc., 492.
membership, 264.
not to be formed without consent of rulers, 26, 185, 91.
opposed to having the parish engaged in their affairs, 561.
power to choose its officers, 53, 191.
rights endangered by judicial power, 303.
Wethersfield, standing of the, 266, 7.
what is a true, 189, 90.
- Church of, pastor and salary of the, Andover, Boston, Braintree, Cambridge, Charlestown, Concord, Dedham, Dorchester, Dover, Exeter, Gloucester, Hampton, Haverhill, Hingham, Hull, Ipswich, Lynn, Manchester, Newbury, New Meadows, Reading, Rowley, Roxbury, Salem, Salisbury, Strawberry Bank, Sudbury, Wattertown, Wenham, Weymouth, Woburn, 3; report in the Legislature of the salary, etc., 160, 1; Salem, 501; Newbury, 503.
- Churches, or Church, 2, 6; at Bermuda persecuted, 17, 9; of Dedham, 18; Wenham, 19; Boston and Taunton, 26; Malden and Lynn, 53; questioned, 53, 4; officers, 57; Newbury, 58; Malden, 62; Boston and Ipswich, 64; new, of Boston, 69, 70; national and parishional, 84; Providence and Newport, 87; Farmington and Norwalk, 90; Boston and others, 93; Boston, Ipswich and Salem, 96, 8; Woburn, 98; Boston, 99; Indian, 105; Boston, new, 108, 9; Scituate, 115; Wells, Cape Porpoise, 118; Hampton, 122; Baptist, of Providence, 126; New Haven, 133; Boston, Braintree, Dedham, Dorchester, Roxbury, 134, 5; Boston, Ipswich, 136; Charlestown, 138; Ipswich, 141; Boston, Cambridge, Haverhill, Ipswich, Rowley, Salisbury, Sudbury, 143; Boston, 149; Ipswich, Chelmsford, Boston and Hartford, 152; Salisbury, Haverhill, 163; Plymouth, 166; Sandwich, 168; Wells, 173; Portsmouth, 174; Baptist, at Newport, 181; trouble in Hartford, 185, 7, 92; divisions, 203, 8, 9; Indian, formed, 210; Hartford, 211, 7; Salisbury, 221; Malden, 223; Plymouth, 246; freemen without church membership, 247; Hartford, Wethersfield, Fairfield, Middletown, Stamford, 258, 68; Boston, 258; Salem, 291, 301; Charlestown, 301; Lynn complains, 303; Charlestown, denial, 310; Boston, 311; Charlestown, 341; Salem, London, Charlestown, 352, 62; Charlestown, 365, 6, 7; Boston, 367, 9; Indian, 387; Middletown, Conn., 410, 3; Ipswich and Marblehead, 422; Boston, 432; South Boston formed; Newbury in trouble, 435, 6; who for old church, and who for new, 3d, of Boston, 1st, of Salem, 444; New Haven, Windsor, Kenilworth, Brandford, Stratford, Rye, Saybrook, Hartford, 466, 74; Boston, South, 481; 1st, Boston, 482; Rowley, Newbury, 487, 92; gathered by approbation, 492; Malden, 497; Newbury, 500; Boston, 505, 7, 8; Salem, 510, 11, 20, 2, 3; Scituate, 529; formation of, 555; Salem, 563, 5, 6; Bay Psalm-book adopted, 468; Salisbury, 609; Pagawsett and Wallingford, 666.
- Cider, 131.
- City, Boston petitions to be a, 208.
- Civil and ecclesiastical relations, 38, 53, 73.
- Civil liberties, 358.
- Civil magistrates, power of, 6, 66, 7.
- Civil order, 176, 82.
- Civilization of Indians. See Mission.
- Clergy, 601.
- Clerical propositions, 233.
- Coat for Indians, every year, 225.
- Coining of money, 279, 629.
- Collection for Indian mission, 13.
- College, Harvard, 3, 10, 3, 5; gifts, corporation, 18; corn, 33; scholars, 37; enlargement, 50, 1; assistance, 62, 7, 70; New Haven, 90; Cambridge, 103, 4; colonists taxed £100 a year, 111; President Chauncy, 117; fellowship, 130, 3; New Haven, 133; Harvard, 136, 7; students whipped and fined, 149, 64; Trinity, Ireland, 159; New Haven and Cambridge, 184, 9; Indian, 198; learning, 207; three years' study changed to four, 226, 7; New Haven, 280; Har-

- vard, 298, 308, 9, 323, 31; land, 344; Indian, 348; fabric for Indian scholars, 357; described by commissioners, 380, 1; New Haven, 408, 61; encouragement of Cambridge, 482, 7, 8, 91, 9, 508, 9; church depends on it, 513; a student punished, 515; difficulties, 520; contribution, 529, 63, 4; president, edifice, 565; library, 601, 20.
 Colonies. See New England.
 Colors, Eng., 42, 360.
 Comet, 352, 83.
 Commentary on John, 205.
 Commerce. See Maritime.
 Commissioners of United Colonies, 19, 29. See Government of Upper Canada, 114, 24, 70, 201; letter to missionary corpora., 298, 302, 7, 8, 12; to R. I., 325, 6, 33; decision as to New Haven and Conn., 336; letter to them, 341, 2, 7; advice, 348; confederation illegal, 361, 82, 96, 419, 44, 5, 6, 9, 50, 5, 66, 72, 4, 529, 54, 7, 71; to council of Conn., 582.
 Commissioners, Royal, 302, 22; salaries, 342; arrival, 345; feared, 348; letters, 354; judicial cognizance, 355; slandered, 356; claim to be court, demand, 359; rupture, 360, 1; trouble with constables, 363, 4; faulted by Davenport, 365, 6, 8, 71, 3, 5; refuse a conference, 377; write, 378, 81; their communications to Plymouth, 384, 5, 6, 92, 3, 4, 6, 400, 1, 4, 6, 8, 9, 13, 4, 91, 507; interview, 346.
 Commissions against the Dutch, 124.
 Committee of foreign plantations, 4.
 Common Prayer Book cited, 306, 413.
 Commonwealth of Eng., 255.
 Communion between Indians and English, 508.
 church, 5, 6, 141, 52, 90.
 of churches, 58, 478.
 of pres. and cong., 10, 191.
 withheld from sisters of Boston church, 442, 3.
 Complaint against Rhode Island, 79; against W. Cheesbrook, 87; Mass., 279, 85; of R. I., 465; of Conn., 469.
 Compliment to Mass. from R. Williams, 177.
 Concord lands to pay public debts, 639, 40.
 Concordance of the Bible, 316.
 Condition of N.E. churches, 21, 2.
 Conduct of commissioners, 373.
 Confederation, purpose, 6, 35, 335, 57; suspected, 384, 419, 22, 66, 72, 97.
 Conference meetings, 454, 555, 98.
 Confession of faith, 4, 6, 45, 304. See Assembly. Of J. Dand, 4; S. Straiton, 16; W. Barstow, 114, 5; J. Gould, 415.
 Conflagration of London, 415.
 Congregational churches, 2, 3, 58, 106, 91.
 Congregational way approved, 505.
 Congregationalism, influence on Eng., 3, 22, 64, 5; benefits, 74, 137; commissioners in error, 394.
 Congregationalists, 40, 106, 20; in Eng., 343, 496.
 Conquest of Canada, 369, 73, 5.
 Conscience, liberty of, 82, 4, 126, 255, 85, 410.
 Conscientious scruples against bearing arms, 550, 653, 5.
 Consociation of churches. See Communion. 19, 285, 9, 91, 2, 5, 6, 301, 40.
 Conspiracy, 461, 4.
 Contribution of money for the church at Segotea, 17, 9; for scholars, 33, 6, 62, 7, 8, 70; for New Haven church, 89; for salaries, 160, 7; of strangers, 331; for Cape Fear, 417; for Harvard, 488; for fraud, 533, 52; sufferers by war, 573, 640, 53, 74, 5, 7; for poor, 619, 25.
 Controversy, Massachusetts and other colonies, 6; Scots and English, 7, 11; with Pynchon as to redemption, 20, 1; north line of Massachusetts, Lyconia, Maine, 391; with the Dutch, 89; between Massachusetts and other colonies, 93, 5. See Church divisions, as to Mr. Davenport, 438, 62, 3.
 Conversational terms, 222.
 Conversion of Quakers, attempt, result, 241, 4.
 Converts, 558.
 Corahism, 417.
 Corn. See Grain.
 Corruption of church begins in families, 514.
 Cotton's Keys, 160; discourse on government, 184.
 Council—Case of Matthews, 60, 2; Ipswich and Boston, 136; at Whitehall, 137; Haverhill, Salisbury, and Rowley, 143; at Hartford, 152, 89, 93, 209, 11, 59, 63, 4, 5; Barnstable, 315; called disorganizers, 481; as to Col. Pike, 599; as to sins, 669, 70.
 Council of state, England, 82, 4, 6, 121, 3; war, 114, 524.
 Councils approved of by Synod, 5.

- County Court to see that ministers' dues are paid, 107, 493; of Devonshire, Maine, named by Court, 535.
- Course of Cromwell justified by Cotton, 46.
- Court Com'rs, 535, 59; General, Plymouth, may send back unfit members, 237.
- Court may settle a minister, 474.
- Courts for Indians, 287.
- Covenant changed, 118; divine, 5; renew, 585; renewed, 665; half-way. See Half-way Covenant. Of grace, 106; of nature with Adam, by Pynchon, 291; renewal of, 272.
- Covenanters, 47.
- Creation, 5.
- Creed, 285.
- Crimes, Adultery, 33, 237, 8.
- Bigamy, 76.
- Burglary, 540.
- Cromwell refuses the crown, 152.
- Cromwellites, 380.
- Crops damaged, 4.
- Currency, 89, 99.
- Cursing or smiting parents, 526.
- Customs, (in commerce,) freed from, 232.
- Dancing, mixed, 42, 453, 508.
- Danger of tolerating levelers, 17.
- Day-doom, 309.
- Days of recreation, 127.
- Deaconesses, 25, 57.
- Deacons, 6, 25; exempt from training, 35, 57, 8, 89.
- Dealing with church-members, 555.
- Death penalty for Quakers, 201, 4, 76.
- Deaths—Henry Green, 7; Charles I., 9; J. Winthrop, 10; T. Shepard, 14; A. Rigby and D'Aulney, 28; H. Smith, 33, 4; Mary Fenwick, 35; J. Cotton, 70; T. Dudley, 97; J. Lothrop, 115; E. Poole, 116; J. Haynes, 130; N. Rogers, 136; Mrs. C. Mather, 139; Noyes, 150; Mayhew, Jr., 164, 5; E. Winslow, 166; Miles Standish, 168; William Bradford, 169; D. Maud, 174; P. Prudden, 186; E. Hopkins, 188, 9; Fenwick, 192, 3; Cromwell, 200, 5; P. Bulkley, 206; L. and C. Southwick, 206; R. Partridge, 235; H. Dunster, 240; Theophilus Eaton, 257, 8; R. Blinman, 265; E. Rogers, 269, 70; R. Smith, 271; S. Haugh, 291; W. Worcester, 300; J. Miller, 315; S. Newman, 316; T. Dalton, 322; S. Stone, Sen. and Jr., 335; Z. Bridgen, 338; R. Denton, 338; Endicott, 354; W. Tompson Cheeshaumuck, 381, 2; A. Blackman, 411; I. and N. Chauncy, 411; J. Woodbridge, 413; E. Fletcher, 411, 5; J. Wilson, 418, 9; S. Shepard, 424; H. Flint, 424; J. Mitchell, 429; W. Walton, 430; J. Eliot, Jr., 430, 31; R. Mather, 436, 7; W. Brackenbury, 439; W. Woodward, 439; E. Mather, 439; J. Davenport, 442; J. Reyner, 460; W. Wickendon, 463; N. Collins, 470; Z. Walker, 470; J. Warham, 473; P. Pruden, 474, 5; Z. Symmes, 477; J. Allen, 482, 4; C. Chauncy, 487, 8; J. Amannut, 488; Edward Johnson, 489; A. Newman, 500; R. Bellingham, 501; M. Powell, 503; J. Gilbert, 509; T. Gould, 513, 4; S. Danforth, 520; J. Oxenbridge, 523; J. Howland, 529; T. Prince, 530; E. Warren, 530; T. Willet, 532; E. Hilton, 537; L. Hoar, 579; E. Brown, 609; T. Shepard, 620; J. Brown, 624; T. Thacher, 629; J. Holmes, 635; N. Baker, 643; J. Clark, 652, 3; S. Gorton, 658, 9; W. Coddington, 661, 4; T. James, 668.
- Debt of Mass., 629.
- Declaration of commis'srs, 93, 4.
- of General Court, 284, 5; to commissioners, 359, 60; against Baptists, 368.
- of war against French and Dutch, 369; ag. French, 411.
- Decline of religion, 365.
- Decrees of God, 5.
- Defamation, 95.
- Defeat in Maine, 612.
- Defense of Cotton against Cawdrey, 160; of the country, 549.
- Defender of the faith, 279.
- Deficiency of ministers, 316, 8.
- Deliverance of New England, 340.
- Denial of a plot by the Dutch Government, 94, 5.
- Denial of baptism, etc., in England, 9; of the Scriptures, 61; of Christ, 242, 55.
- Denominations — Independent, 2; Papist, Episcopalians, Anti-Christian, Congregational, Presbyterians, 3, Presbyterians, Indep., 9; Episcopal, Congregational, 10; Jew, 11; Baptists, 12, 6; Jew, 16; Gortonists, Levelers, 17; Quakers, 20; Jews, Cong., 22; Antichrist., Presbyterian, 23; Epis., Brownists, Separatists, Puritan, Huguenot, Ind. Baptist, Papal, 24, 7; Gort., 29, 30; Lutherans, 58; Anabaptists, Seekers, Antinomians, 61, 3; Presb., Ind., 64, 5;

- Antichr., Seeker, 72; Papists, Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Ind., 74; Epis., 75; Papists, 81; Gort. 82; Presb., 95; Papal, Anabap., Prelatical, Enthusiastical, Familistical, 98; Epis., Cong., 120; Presb., Ind., 124; Quakers, 128; Baptists, 138; Ranters or Quakers, Anti-christ., 140, 6, 9, 61, 3, 6; Seek., Rant., 168, 70, 80, 1, 3; Adamites, 187, 91, 3; Quakers, 195, 7; Baptists, 198; Quakers, 198, 219, 20, 3, 5, 33, 4, 46; Epis., Fifth Monarchy-men, 251, 2; Quakers, 253, 6; Deny Christ, Universalist, 255, 6; Quakers, 260, 2, 5, 9, 72, 82, 4, 9, 91, 2, 6, 301, 3, 7, 9, 17, 8, 20, 2, 4, 35; Baptists, 341; Quakers, 343, 5, 8; Presb., Quakers, 352, 61; Baptists, Quakers, 363; Baptists, 368, 9; Quakers, Epis., Jews, 369; Baptists presented, 371, 3, 6; Quakers, 381, 6, 7; Epis., Cong., Roman Catholic, Genevalists, 392, 400, 2, 7, 13, 5, 7, 8, 22, 9, 42, 59; Gort., Bapt., Cong., Epis., 462, 5, 8; Quakers, Ranters, Adam., 469; Cong., Epis., 482, 5, 6; Familism, 507; Baptists, 513; Quakers, 514, 6; Catholics, 533, 5; Qua., Presb., 538; Seventh-day Baptists, 539, 40; Quakers, 542; Ranters, 543, 50; Rogerens, 551; Quakers, Ranters, Adamites, 555; Prelatical, 566; Baptists, 567; Quakers, 568, 72, 3; Baptists, 577; Quakers, 582; Baptists, 588, 608, 9; Cong., 651, 7, 8, 60.
- Designs of Indians, hostile, 147; of the court against New England, 279. See Purpose.
- Dialects, Indian, 225.
- Dialogue, from Bradford, 24, 73, 4.
- Dice. See Cards.
- Difficulties in England, 3, 7, 9; United Colonies, 6, 11, 23; at Dover and Exeter, 28; with the Gortonists, 29, 30; in England, 220, 3.
- Dipped over head and ears, 495.
- Discipline, church, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 18, 20, 1, 35, 42, 3, 6, 53, 60, 2, 73, 138, 49, 51; of children, 152, 3, 9, 90, 1, 235, 75, 489, 534.
- Discussion, 6, 11, 20, 1, 6, 7, 9, 30, 43, 5; baptism, 80, 1; Powell's case, 99, 100; on a declaration of war with the Dutch, 100, 1, 462, 543, 9; between Williams and Throgmorton, 545, 6.
- Diseases, 4, 26, 68, 89, 136, 88, 239, 42, 62, 72, 88, 92, 334, 5, 499, 500, 22.
- Disfranchisements, 99, 124, 80, 241, 334, 44, 94; forgiven, 482, 530.
- Dismissal, church, Hurwood, 503.
- Disorder at Greenwich, Maine, 247, 9; d. not creed punished, 285.
- Dissenters, case of Matthews, 43; as to confession of faith, 46; synod, 340; in Eng., 345; Bradstreet dissents from letter to Secretary, 6, 507.
- Dissolution of Plymouth Court desired, 25; of Parliament, 95; of the Union, 102, 3, 30.
- Disturbance of preachers, 37; public, 321.
- Disturbers of worship, 228, 449.
- Disunion, 288.
- Divine law, 5; providence, 491, 9.
- Divinity, 66.
- Divisions in U. Colonies, duties at Saybrook, 6, 7, 11; R. I., 87, 123, 6; U. Coll., 130; R. I., 175, 81; Hartford, 186, 7; in churches and colonies, 239, 92; Mass., 379, 441, 44; R. I., 462, 74, 515.
- Divorce for adultery, 33; bigamy, 76; absence, 104, 93; allowance, 314, 451, 74, 549, 659, 76, 9, 80.
- Doctrines, 4, 5, 18, 23, 33, 43, 7, 8, 60, 5, 6, 145, 6; general redemption, 181; justification, 210; of the Quakers, 214, 30, 42; Gorton denies Christ, Universalism, 255, 6; of the Quakers, 286, 92, 386; agree with church of Eng., 622.
- Dress. See Apparel.
- Drinking at public houses, 7, 111, 203; health, 281, 315.
- Drought, 4, 292, 334, 76.
- Drunkenness. See Intemperance.
- Duplicity of T. Harrison, 7.
- Ears cropped, 163, 200, 2.
- Earthquake, 316.
- East India breakfast, threat of the Dutch, 94.
- Education. See Instruction, 645.
- Efficacious calling, 5.
- Ejected ministers, 552.
- Ejection of ministers in Eng., 298.
- Elders, 95, 8; address to the king, 232, 3, 87, 373, 6; concerning patent line, 596.
- Election of officers, 6, 296, 7.
- Election sermons, 274, 303, 4, 5, 416, 24, 38, 43, 79, 90, 6, 504, 14, 5, 33, 58, 65, 7, 88, 613, 40, 2, 78.
- Embargo, 131, 2, 378.
- Embassy, fears of, 287.

- Emigration to Ireland, 22; to Delaware, 35; to Ireland, 55; to Eng., 59; to Delaware, 71; prevented by the Dutch, 89, 138; Jamaica, 140, 51; to Delaware, 184, 6; to N. E., 298.
- End. See Purpose.
- English names scarce in Boston, 380.
- Entailment, 530.
- Enthusiasts, 119.
- Episcopacy, 2, 3, 296, 8, 311, 8, 20.
- Episcopalians, 24, 120, 226, 8, 50, 1, 322, 61; society formed in Boston, 369; in R. I., 397; in Conn., 407, 25, 59, 509.
- Erastianism, 303.
- Errors, Mar. Matthews, 8, 42, 3; Pynchon, 54; are rife in England, 93; preached, 95; renounced in Keayne's will, 98; fast for, 140; of the Quakers, 142; of Humphrey Norton, 170; whoever introduces, to be punished, 525.
- Evangelist, Eliot declines to be called an, 16.
- Evangelization of Indians. See Mission.
- Every town to provide a house for its minister, 493.
- Evil speaking, 86.
- Evils to be reformed, 571, 2, 4, 7.
- Examination of Quakers, 145.
- Excommunication of Cheever, 35, 46; A. Hutchinson, 64; Ann Gillam, 152; sister Fogg, 153, 9, 98; Hollister, 262, 3; of a church, 315; Forsdick, 341; Baptists, 366, 72; Sarah Shattuck, 381, 550.
- Executions, Mrs. Jones, 4; Charles 1st, 9; Peters, 16; Robinson and Stevenson, 212, 45; Mary Dyer, 221; Leddra, 272, 3; Cornell, 549; Peters, 610.
- Exemptions from training, 35.
- Exiles, 17, 9.
- Experience, relation of, 630.
- Experiments of spiritual life, 84.
- Exposition of Ecclesiastes, 105.
- Factions in R. I., 29, 31.
- Faith, 5, 34; not questioned, except injuring the public peace, 657.
- Fall of man, 5.
- False gods of Indians, 326.
- False oath, 312.
- False reports, 37, 302.
- False statement to injure Baptists, 509, 10.
- Families visited, 441.
- Familists, 426, 90, 507.
- Family duties, 249, 58, 669.
- Family, each, to have a book of laws, 556; religion, 668, 9.
- Famine threatened, 441, 574.
- Farewell sermons, 520.
- Fashion, long hair, 12; dress, 141. See Apparel.
- Fasts, 4, 23, 6, 34, 45, 68, 89, 93, 114, 31, 2, 3, 40, 84, 5, 92, 208, 18, 20, 62, 3, 71, 2, 85, 92, 8, 311, 37, 43, 52, 6; d. of Charles I., 361, 7, 73, 6, 92, 415, 21, 41, 4, 72, 91, 9, 503, 20, 9, 51, 5, 7, 63, 6, 7, 72, 8, 80, 602, 21, 7, 35, 7, 666, 8, 9; changed to thanksgiving, 675, 6, 8, 80, 2.
- Favor of Cromwell for N. E., 66.
- Fears for Mass. Patent, 350, 2.
- Fellows of college, 67, 521.
- Fencing school, 508.
- Ferry, income for college, 111.
- Fifth monarchy, 125, 281, 415.
- Fines, 4, 7, 8, 12, 6, 26, 37, 42, 3, 54, 61, 3, 9, 72, 3, 80, 1, 5, 93, 9, 103, 11, 4, 6, 9, 27, 31, 48, 9, 67, 70, 2, 6, 9, 85, 7, 91, 3, 7, 9, 203, 5, 23, 8, 34, 5, 7, 9, 40, 6, 52, 60, 2, 73, 80, 92, 300, 7, 13, 21, 45, 73, 81, 2, 94, 422, 9, 32, 44, 9, 51, 5, 9, 65, 91, 3, 7, 507, 15, 24, 5, 6, 9, 32, 3, 7, 8, 55, 6, 7, 96, 673.
- Fire, children burnt, 93, 220; in London, 459.
- First principles of N. E. published, 478.
- First principles of the oracles of God, 2.
- Fish died, 445, 6.
- Fishery, 530, 1.
- Fishing corn, 354.
- Fleet from Cromwell for N. E., 112.
- Foot ball, 252.
- Foreigners. See Strangers.
- Form of a visible church, 6.
- Fort built, 595.
- Fort Casamiras, 171.
- Fortified houses, 352.
- Fort, French, taken, 171.
- Fount of letters, 370.
- Fountain of life, 58.
- Fourth commandment denied, 28.
- Fraud in mission land, 239.
- Freedom, 179.
- Freedom of human agency, 5.
- Freemen of Me. less restricted, 77; of R. I., 86; of Me., 118, 21, 7; qualifications, 185, 6, 91, 2; petition on the subject, 197; forfeiture, 237, 43, 4, 7, 63, 71, 96, 7, 306, 32, 3, 46, 7; of good moral character, 356, 61, 80, 4, 403, 6, 10, 53, 9, 65, 99, 508, 26, 7, 30, 1.
- Freeport, 409.
- Free schools. See Schools.
- Free state, 271, 380.
- Free trade, 74.
- Free will, 65, 6.
- Free worship, 84.
- Fugitives in R. I., 79, 82, 147.
- Full communion. See Communion.
- Funds to be raised, 280.
- Funeral charges, 361, 2.
- Furs. See Peltry.
- Future state, 5.

- Gag in the mouth, 533.
 Gallows, rope round the neck, 273, 355.
 Gambling, 37, 167, 85, 91, 207, 526, 33, 75.
 Games, 207, 555.
 General Convention, 468.
 General Governor for New England, 120, 225, 32, 72, 97, 330, 43; sought by Royal Com'rs, 381; proposed to be chosen by the king for Plymouth, 388, 535, 600.
 Generalists, 400.
 Glorious end of Danforth, 522; progress of the gospel, 13.
 Gortonists, 17, 27, 30, 2, 124, 77, 397, 462, 660.
 Gospel, institutions rejected, 177, 8; liberty, 281; hindered, 333, 490; no more valued than a button, 524; support of, 529; Pemapuid, 534.
 Governor General. See General Governor.
 Government, change in civil and ecclesiastical expected, 189, 343, 80; abused, 453.
 Government, transactions of parliament, 2, 4, 5, 7, 9, 12, 5, 6, 46, 54, 5; petition, 70, 82, 4, 6, 9, 94, 8, 120, 3, 4, 30, 52, 228, 30, 1, 55, 98, 311, 8, 22, 45.
 Government of Acadie, 74, 121, 72.
 Government of Connecticut, 10, 32, 3, 9, 74, 5, 9, 87, 9, 100, 28, 33, 44, 9, 54, 84, 9, 221, 57, 68, 329, 38, 48, 73, 403, 13, 22, 44, 65, 97, 517, 51, 61.
 Government of Kennebeck, 121.
 Government of Lyconia, 28, 76, 7; submission to Mass., 118, 72.
 Government of Maine, 27, 8, 74, 5; annexed to Mass., 76, 7, 117, 22; none but protestants to dwell in Acadie, 172, 3, 97, 221; received under Mass., 247, 8, 51, 78, 317, 22, 53, 61, 4, 6, 7, 81, 9, 92, 456, 60, 507, 10, 3, 33, 6, 646.
 Government of Martha's Vineyard, 482, 520.
 Government of Massachusetts, 2, 18, 21, 6, 7, 8, 32, 52, 4, 5, 7, 61, 7, 8, 9, 75, 81, 92, 113, 24, 34, 66, 81, 6, 9, 90, 5, 233, 47, 8; free state, 250, 3, 6, 7, 9, 64, 311; opposed in Maine, 319, 20; Commissioners from the king, 345, 9, 54, 5; sustained by the people, 352; declaration to the Com'rs, 359, 60; try to conciliate the king, 361; address to him, 366, 7; commonwealth like, 381, 2, 9, 94, 7, 9, 401, 5, 11, 44, 7, 8, 9, 78; plea to conciliate the king, 506, 10, 3, 28.
 Government of Nantucket and Tuckanuckett, 482, 520.
 Government of N. Hampshire, 28, 9; annexed to Mass., 78, 120, 2, 74, 5, 97, 221, 50, 2, 78, 322, 4, 55, 61, 92, 4, 460, 1, 513, 36, 8; decision, 649.
 Government of New Haven, 10, 32, 3, 9, 71, 4, 5, 100, 29, 32, 3, 54, 84, 6, 9, 90, 7; privileges of freemen, 197, 257, 68, 90; disinclination to take the oath, 327, 30, 2, 6; complaint of Conn., 334; protest, 335, 7, 8, 48, 92, 403, 7; merged in Conn., 408, 11; regret the change, 666.
 Government of New Netherland, 4, 5, 31, 89, 93, 4, 105, 8, 20, 1, 4, 30, 2, 47, 71, 223, 307, 35, 7, 46; surrenders, 383, 8.
 Government of Plymouth, 10, 2, 21, 3, 7, 30, 2, 71, 4, 5, 9, 82, 100, 13, 7, 20, 1; reproof, 143, 61, 6, 71, 4, 209, 10, 233, 47, 50, 306, 13, 9, 48, 53, 81, 2, 8, 404, 44, 7, 8, 55, 61, 97, 8, 517, 24, 8.
 Government of Rhode Island, 21, 7, 9, 33, 72, 8, 87; condition of the people, 122, 8; decline, 151, 9, 61, 2, 73, 84, 96, 7, 207, 9, 22, 34, 42, 3, 52, 7, 87, 9, 309, 11, 3, 25, 9, 33, 53, 4, 5, 62, 82, 94, 403, 46, 51, 61, 5, 517, 38, 55, 603; agreement with J. Winthrop, 657.
 Government of United Colonies, 5; duties at Saybrook, 6, 11, 19, 41, 50, 1, 62, 74, 82, 9, 93, 5; controversy, 100, 1, 3, 9; reconciliation, 113, 4, 5, 24; dissent, 129, 30, 2, 5, 7, 43, 4, 7, 61, 70, 82, 6, 7; see Comm'rs of, 200; death penalty for Quakers, 201, 2, 10, 20, 4, 34, 5, 46, 8, 52, 62, 89, 92, 8, 307, 8, 12, 25, 6, 33, 6, 41, 2; Gen. Gov., 343, 7, 57; confederation contrary to charter, 361, 4, 6, 7, 82, 4; not formed to break from England, 385, 6, 405, 6, 19, 44, 5, 74, 97, 8.
 Graduates go abroad for employment, 67.
 Grain, wheat blasted, 345, 415, 522.
 Grand Vizier and Mary Fisher, 142.
 Grant of land to E. Wigglesworth, 33; for free schools in Mass., 227; to Malden for minister's support, 292; for schools in R. I., 327; to Chauncy and college, 344; to Hope Atherton, 477; for schools in Conn., 554.
 Groton destroyed, 586.
 Guard at the meeting-house on the Sabbath, 114; for Boston, 212, 555.
 Gunpowder treason, 361.

- Hair long and periwigs, 577.
- Half-way covenant, 6, 24, 38, 49, 92; its omission cause of corruption, 135, 41, 52, 4, 8, 87, 90, 1; proposed, 285, 90, 1, 4, 9, 310, 33, 9, 40, 1, 52, 65, 406, 7, 9, 12, 38, 9, 66, 72, 3, 8, 501, 5, 65, 607.
- Halter left off, 136.
- Hanging, 81, 212, 22, 53, 549.
- Harmony of the gospels, 630.
- Harvard. See College.
- Harvest small, 262, 469.
- Hats worn by Quakers, 234.
- Heart of New England hardened, 217; rent, 217.
- Heathen poets, 306, 521.
- Heresies, 54; increase of, 68, 493, 4; suppressed, 531, 72. See Errors.
- Hierarchy, prevailing, 230.
- Hinckley's law, 240.
- Hireling ministry, 84.
- Holidays, 360.
- Horses of Quakers forfeited, 244, 325.
- Hospitality, 364.
- Hostilities, 36; proposed with the French against the Mohawks, 75; Dutch and Indians against English, 93, 4; ceased between Holland and England, 107; English and French at Nova Scotia, 112; Naragansetts, 114, 524, 41, 645.
- House for a minister, 204; of Commons, 2, 4; of Correction, 199, 489; of Lords, 2; seizure of Hope, 131.
- Houses of ill fame, 394, 495, 6; worship, 643.
- Huguenots, a nickname, 24.
- Husbands and wives absent from each other to return, 265.
- Iankesick tried for murder, 550.
- Idleness to be dealt with, 527.
- Idolatry, 185, 494, 526.
- Ill news from New England, 67, 84, 5.
- Ill omen, "black coats," 201.
- Immersion of infants and adults, 115.
- Immorality, 176, 9, 81, 281, 398.
- Imperium in imperio, 351.
- Imposition of hands, 6, 87, 181, 91.
- Imprisonment, of Charles I., 2; John Dand, 4; for drunkenness, 8, 72; Quakers, 143, 5, 6, 9, 61, 3, 95, 7, 9, 252, 6, 73, 5, 8, 80, 2, 8, 300, 2, 538.
- Impropriations in Ireland, 292.
- Income for the king, 379.
- Inconsistency of the Independent way, 58, 9.
- Indecent speech, 36.
- Independence of New England, 274.
- Independency, 2, 25, 63, 4, 5, 196.
- Independent character of Massachusetts, 478, 9.
- Indian missions, 50, 1, 347, 8; reason for the averseness of Indians to the gospel, 551, 4, 6; opposition, 560, 1; courts kept, 631, 2; Christianity makes Indians less obedient, 650, 5, 66, 76, 7.
- Indian traders, 300.
- Indian war, 566, 71, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 80, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 90, 3, 4, 5, 6, 600, 3, 12, 66, 80.
- Indians, fort, 352; Sagamores, instruction, 357; insolent, 363, 6; Pumham's people expelled, 369; intemperance, 372, 86; church formed, 387, 400, 2; slaves, 418, 22; slain by Maquas, 440; at Merrimack River and Martha's Vineyard, 447, 8, 50, 1, 5, 61, 4, 84; church, 485, 98, 9, 502; churches, 508, 17, 9; drunkenness, 549, 50, 1, 9, 60; prisoners, 567; two killed by women, 596; left for Canada, 614, 5.
- Indians, Christian, prejudice against them, 569, 70, 1; to live on Deer Island, 574, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 80, 1, 3, 4, 6, 7, 91, 2, 7, 601, 2, 3, 4, 6, 9, 18, 9.
- Individuals not to live alone, 453.
- Infallibility, God has not granted, 63.
- Influence of New England Congregationalism on Old England, 3; of emigrants from New England on Old England, 59.
- Influenza, 136, 7.
- Inhabitants, care in their admission, 265, 6.
- Inquisition, Rev. John Wilson before the, 165.
- Insanity of Peter's wife, 106; increase of, 591.
- Installment. See Ordination.
- Instruction, 4, 7, 8, 10; English and Indian youth, 16, 8; at Natick, 21, 8, 38; of Indians at the Vineyard and Natick, 50, 1; at Vineyard, 69; New Haven, 90, 103, 46, 7, 84, 5, 357; for children and servants, 391, 484, 527; to William Stoughton and Peter Bulkley, 598.
- Instruction of sickness, 521.
- Instructions to agents, 232, 88.
- Instructors, orthodox and moral, 103.
- Insurrectionary spirit, 209, 39, 45, 319, 20, 37.
- Intemperance, 7, 8, 111, 76, 251, 314, 33, 52, 72, 92, 400, 51, 2, 509, 24, 6.
- Interpreter, 555, 60, 641.
- Intruders into town, 643.
- Invoice of wines, etc., 314.
- Irish charity, 677.
- Iron works of Lynn, 225, 32; Taunton, 385.

- Irreligion, 33.
 Israel, the outcasts of, to be gathered in, 369.
 Jealous of R. Williams, 87.
 Jew, trading with children, 265.
 Jewish legal authority, 236; origin of the Indians, 12, 3, 6, 22.
 Jews, calling of the, 23; divinely favored as New England, 504.
 Judgments for dealing with Quakers, 635, 6.
 Judicial concerns, 12, 5, 6, 25, 8, 32, 4, 42, 3, 53, 4, 61, 71, 2, 3, 9, 81, 103, 14, 6, 8, 9, 21, 31, 53, 68, 70, 226, 33, 47, 51, 6, 72, 3, 309, 13, 5, 43, 57, 63, 4, 94, 414, 29, 32, 77, 9, 503, 7, 11, 40.
 Jurisdiction, right of, goes with patent, 337.
 Jury, trial by, 121, 226, 359, 550.
 Justification, 5, 20, 1, 44, 5, 55, 210.
 Kempis' *De Imitatione Christi*, 438.
 Key of West Indies, 272.
 King of England, 2, 7; executed, 9.
 Kingly government, 276, 7.
 King's arms, 360; letter, 284, 98, 303, 4; Mason's claim, 648.
 Knowledge of Christ, 90.
 Land conquered from the Indians, 629.
 Land grants to President Chauncy, 136; schools, 227; Malden, 288; to Chauncy and college, 344; in Narragansett, taken by Commis'srs, 354, 86; to Earl of Clarendon, 403; for minister, 462; J. Davenport, Jr., 482; William Brown, 492; to Portsmouth, to Witchcott, 537; schools, 554.
 Languages, 3, 4, 10, 165, 9, 74, 87; Indian, 225, 66, 82, 308, 42, 546, 51.
 Law and order, 127, 80, 2.
 Laws, 8, 19, 26; Connecticut, 36; unsuitable preachers, 95, 6; against Quakers, 148, 9; New Haven, 184, 5; of death against Quakers, 201, 4, 60, 2; as to absent husbands and wives, 265; Quakers, 275, 6, 313, 4; freemen, 346, 64, 85; revised, 492, 6, 525; made according to Scripture, 531; Connecticut, 554, 6, 600, 8.
 Lay-ordination, 266, 7.
 Laying on of hands in baptism, 87.
 Learning University, enlargement of, 207.
 Leave from the King to buy an estate, 301.
 Lecture-days, 36, 381, 6, 489, 516, 20.
 Lecture, on logic, to Indians, 484; at Pinner's Hall, against popery, socinianism and infidelity, 488.
 Lecturer, 415, 69.
 Legislature justified by Davenport, 364, 5.
 Levy ordered, 337.
 Letter, of Eliot, 8; of Cotton and Dunster, 10; Cotton and Eliot, 12; Massachusetts General Court, 16; Bulkley to Cotton, 17; Eleutherian church, 19; to the legislature, Eliot to Whitfield, Mather to Rogers, 21; from Coddington, 29; R. Williams, 30, 1; Eaton to Stuyvesant, 34, 5; Cotton to Cromwell, 46; Cromwell's reply, 52; Vane, Saltonstall, 60, 1; Cotton to Saltonstall, 62, 3; Endicott to Vane, 68, 9; Leveridge to John Wilson, 72; from Rigby, 76; Winslow and others to R. Williams, 78, 9; from Williams, 82; William Arnold, R. Williams, 85, 7; of Mason, 89; of Norris, 94; for Ipswich and from Salem, 96; Peters to Gott, 103; to Cromwell, 107, 8; to Peters, 112; to and from R. Williams and H. Vane, 123, 5; to Vane and Clark, Providence, 127; to Cromwell, 130; from Cromwell, Wells, 131; from William Steel, 135; to churches, 143; from Connecticut to Cromwell, 149, 51; Endicott to Leverett, 159; from Eliot, 163; to Rhode Island, 166; from Cromwell, R. Williams, 171, 5; to Clark and Cromwell, 176; Commissioners to R. I., 182; R. I. to Mass., 183; Hartford church, Mr. Pierson, 186, 7; from New Haven, 189, 90; for Indian college, 198; from J. Endicott, 201; J. Leverett, 204; Endicott, 227; Norton to Dury, by J. Curwin, 228; Hull to Leverett, Wm. Leddra, 229; Mary Trask and M. Smith, 233; Cudworth, 243; Robinson, 244; to J. Clark, 253, 4; Anne Coddington, R. Williams, 256; from Missionary Corp'n, 260; Charles II. to Endicott, 270, 1; Leverett, Missionary Corp., 274; from Lord Say and Seal, 280; from the King, 284; to Boston church, 288; sent to England by agents, 289, 90; Mather, 293, 7; from the King, 298; by Whiting, 303; to Miss. Corp., 307, 8; Legislature to Owen, 309, 10; Gookin to Gorges, 320; Commissioners

- of Union to Rhode Island, 326, 8; to Earl of Manchester, 330; from Lord Say and Seal, 331; Goffe's wife, 332; New Haven to Connecticut, 334; from R. Boyle to Com'rs of United Colonies, 341, 2; to Dury, 344; to Missionary Society, 347, 8; to R. Boyle, 349; Royal Com'rs, Maverick, Earl of Clarendon, 353; Cartwright, 355; from Davenport, 364, 5; Eliot to Carr, from Boyle, 369; Nichols to Arlington, Morrice, king to Mass., 370; to Morrice, 375, 7, 9; king to Plym., Prince, 382; Mass. to Royal Com'rs, 390; to Nichols, 396; to Gorton, 399; from R. Williams, 401, 3; from Joseph Eliot, J. Winthrop, 405; New Haven, 408; J. Davenport, 410; Charles II., 411; to G. Bulkeley, 412; to R. Carr, 414; from New Haven to Boston, 431; from R. Nichols, 461; S. Gorton, 462, 3; J. Eliot, 485; J. Collins, 490; P. Tilton, 496; J. Collins, 512; J. Knowles, 513; J. Eliot, 528; Colonel Goffe, from his wife, 554.
- Letters of dismission and recommendation, 6.
- Liberation of Dand, 4.
- Liberties of the churches, 230, 71; of Englishmen, 367; civil and religious, 479, 80.
- Libertine schooled, 153.
- Liberty in excess, 256, 7; of conscience, 5, 127, 8, 230, 303.
- Lies, 37, 114, 324. See False.
- Life of Cotton, 204.
- Light within, 145, 6, 286.
- Lincolnshire gentlemen, 550.
- Line for N. H. and Me., 78.
- Liquors, 7, 131; on the Sabbath, 315, 26, 72, 453.
- Literature, 2, 6, 9, 10, 2, 5, 7, 90, 370.
- Litigation forbidden among church members, 17.
- Living under family government, 527.
- Loadstone from Peters to Winthrop, Jr., 103.
- Loan desired, 376.
- Locks of Eng. slain by Indians, 666.
- Long hair, protest against, 12, 141.
- Looking-glass for the times, 588.
- Lords. See House of Lords.
- Lord's supper, 5, 115, 7, 224; terms of admission to, 296.
- Loss in Indian war, 598; of liberty feared, 349.
- Lottery, 526, 671.
- Magna Charta, holy scriptures the true, 15.
- Major General for New England, 297.
- Majority rule the minority in ecclesiastical matters, 164.
- Mandamus of Charles II., 282, 4, 7, 8.
- Man stealing, 314, 606.
- Manufactures, Lynn, iron, 225, 32; Taunton, do., 385.
- Map of Mass., 356.
- Maritime, 6, 7, 11, 115, 29, 31, 71, 99, 201, 40, 81, 4, 335, 57, 9, 60, 1, 72, 6, 409, 61; ship Ann, 477, 96, 503, 8, 9, 12, 49, 50, 73, 8, 99, 603, 11, 28, 9, 38, 46, 53.
- Market day, petition to change it, 656.
- Marriage, 5; consent of master, 73; in Eng. by magistrates, 98, 116, 79, 85; illegal, 313, 25; a man not to marry his wife's sister, 444, 9; frank, 530; a reason for exemption from military service, 588; illegal, 643.
- Masts, a present to the king, 375, 6.
- Means of union in Mass., 279.
- Meat in God's house, 153.
- Medical man stops at R. I., 326.
- Meeting-house at Ipswich, 422.
- Meeting of Quakers, 315, 542.
- Meetings not to be held without leave, 26.
- Members, church, when admitted, 444.
- Messengers from R. I. to England, 83.
- Messiah already come, 130.
- Method of divine grace, 165.
- Mighty in scripture, 521.
- Military concerns, Charles I. to give up the control of the militia, 2; officers, 96; pet. for removal of Capt. Cudworth, 234, 9, 43; R. I., military duty, 253, 81; the faithful officer, (sermon,) 305; York County militia, 320; expedition against the Dutch, 346, 64, 5, 6, 75, 87; affairs neglected, 402, 13, 8, 508, 50, 69, 85; duty, 669.
- Mill, grist from on the Sabbath, 316.
- Millennium, 415.
- Ministerial taxes, 453.
- Ministers, and their salaries, 3; and magistrates useless, 33; assemble at Natick, 70; candidates not to preach without consent of adjacent ministers or County Court, 95; protest of Salem church, 96, 8, 9, 143, 4; situation, 160, 1; heterodox and immoral, 220; in council about royal com'rs, 355, 73, 6; for Wickford, 404, 7, 20; of New England, 433; free from taxes, 480; obtained for Salem, 490, 508, 653.
- Ministry, if not supported at Nashaway the

- place must be given up, 18; of Matthews, 69; learning encouraged, 70, 95; maintenance, 107, 18, 43, 4, 60, 1; slighted, 166, 9, 292, 309, 459, 538, 9; neglected, 571, 2, 641.
- Mint suppressed, 361.
- Mission property litigated, 302, 41.
- Mission to Indians, 4; Va., 7; New England, 8, 9, 10, 2; opposed, 13, 5, 6, 9, 20, 41, 50, 1, 5; conversions, 55, 8, 60, 9, 70, 2, 101, 2; examination, 105, 9, 32, 3; reproach, 135; funds, 137, 8, 40, 6, 7; inland, 152, 61, 4, 70, 3, 96, 209; cost, 210, 9, 42, 6, 8, 9, 60, 5, 7, 74, 82, 3, 7; continued by Charles II., 290, 3, 7, 302, 7, 31, 3, 41, 2, 4, 7, 8, 69, 70; misrepresented, 380, 3, 403, 5, 6, 20, 33, 40, 5, 50, 66, 71, 84, 5, 98, 502, 8, 15, 7, 9; in Plym., 532, 3, 51.
- Mission to London hazardous and important, 285.
- Missionaries, Jesuits, 27, 50, 1, 5, 6, 140, 347, 420; advice, 440, 600.
- Missionary concerns, 4, 7, 10; society begins in Eng. for New England, 12; opposed, 13, 5, 23, 37, 8, 41, 2, 102, 33, 5, 341, 2, 7, 8.
- Model of discipline. See Discipline.
- Money and provisions for the colony, 592.
- Mormons, 286.
- Mortality, 3, 23, 68, 224, 522.
- Morton's memorial, 435.
- Moses and Aaron, 224, 86.
- Mourning clothes, 362.
- Murders by English, 549; by Indians, 36, 352, 549, 50.
- Musicians, 508.
- Mystery of Israel's salvation, 369.
- Narrative of commissioners, 379, 81, 8, 92, 4, 400; of transactions with the royal commissioners, 368.
- Nature of New England government, 107.
- Navigation act, 357.
- Necessity of punishment, 175.
- Neck and heels, 311.
- Negro slavery, 85.
- Nehemiah on the wall, (election sermon,) 416.
- Neonomianism, 48.
- New churchmen, 505.
- New England fire brand quenched, 661.
- New England's true interest, 424.
- New England heavens, 22.
- Nonintercourse with New Netherland, 335, 70.
- Non-professors, 3.
- North line of Massachusetts, 78.
- Notes in preaching, first minister who used them, 473.
- Notice of H. Green, Harrison, 7; J. Winthrop, 10; U. Oakes, 13; J. Collins, 13, 4; T. Shepard, 14; N. and S. Mather, 21; Knowles, 23; H. Smith, 33, 4; Mary Fenwick, 35; T. James, 38; H. Whitfield, 39; E. Gibbons, 40, 1; Butler, 42; Chauncy, 47, 8; G. Fyrman, 48, 9; T. Allen, 59; Pynchon and Moxon, 65; M. Matthews, 69; J. Cotton, 70; J. Bower, 90; Dudley, 97; J. and N. Ambrose, E. Rawson, 99; W. Leveridge, 114; J. Lothrop, 115; E. Poole, 116; J. Haynes, 130, 1; N. Rogers, 136; Catherine Mather, 139; J. Whiting, 148; J. Noyes, 150; J. Mather, 159, 60; T. Mayhew, Jr., 164, 5; E. Winslow, 166, 7; Myles Standish, 168; W. Bradford, 169; D. Maud, 174; S. Cotton, 184; P. Prudden, J. Haynes, W. Hooke, 186, 8; E. Hopkins, 188, 9; Fenwick, 192, 3; Cromwell, 200, 5; P. Bulkley, 206; W. Brimsmead, 226; R. Partridge, 235; H. Dunster, 240; Baker, 246; J. Smith, 247; Robert Gutch, 249; Moody, 251; S. Cotton, 252; T. Eaton, 257, 8; John Jones and son, 261; of R. Blinman, 264, 5; of E. Rogers, 269, 70; R. Smith, 271; T. Gilbert, 280; S. Haugh, 291; W. Worcester, 300; J. Norton, 302; J. Woodbridge, 305, 6; J. Miller, 306, 7; M. Wigglesworth, 309; T. Millet, 311; T. Dalton, 322; John Brock, 323; G. Bulkley, 331; S. Stone, Sen. and Jr., 335, 6; Z. Bridgen, R. Denton, 338; Gov. Endicott, 354; J. Smith, 394; J. Eliot, 405; Adam Blackman, J. Chauncy, 411; N. Chauncy, 412; J. Woodbridge, 413; J. Wilson, 418, 9; J. Hale, 420, 1; J. Holyoke, 422; S. Shepard, H. Flint, 424; J. Mitchell, 429; W. Walton, J. Eliot, Jr., 430; R. Mather, 436, 7; S. Brackenbury, W. Woodward, E. Mather, 439; J. Davenport, 442; J. Reynier, 460; W. Wickendon, 463; N. Collins, Z. Walker, 470; J. Warham, 473; J. Pruden, 474, 5; Z. Symmes, 477; J. Allin, 482, 3, 4; C. Chauncy, 487, 8; J. Amanhut, 488; E. Johnson, 489; A. Newman, 500; R. Bellingham, 501, 2;

- M. Powell, 503; J. Gilbert, 509; T. Gould, 513; S. Danforth, 520; J. Oxenbridge, B. Blackman, 523, 4; T. Prince, 530; T. Willet, 532; E. Hilton, John Reyner, 537; J. Belcher, 538; J. Mason, 553; N. Street, 557, 8; E. Joanes, Z. Walker, R. Fordham, 559; L. Hoar, 579, 80; T. Clark, 601, 2; Wun-nanauhkomun, 604; E. Brown, 609; T. Shepard, 620; J. Brown, 624; T. Thacher, 629; N. Baker, 643; J. Clark, 652, 3; S. Gorton, 658, 9; W. Coddington, 661, 4; T. James, 668; J. Winthrop, 672, 3.
- Notices for meeting by sound of drum, 517; on meeting - house doors or posts, 19.
- Oaths, 5; of fidelity, 62, 84, 169, 97, 235, 8, 40, 2, 4, 5, 7, 97, 313, 9, 20, 1, 57, 97, 401, 9; of allegiance to England, 121, 61, 627.
- Obituary. See Deaths.
- Objections to confession of faith and discipline, 46; to ordination, 69, 70; to R. Williams, 83.
- Obstinate contemner of ordinances, 555.
- Officers, church, 6; chosen, 489.
- Old churchmen, 505.
- Omission to shave the beard and uncover the head, 204.
- Opinions of the council, 374, 6; of Lechford, 3; of the Quakers, 286.
- Opposers of religion and ministers, 493.
- Opposition to Coddington's patent, 81, 4, 6; of sachems, to Indian mission, 21, 38; in England, 41.
- Oppression to be resisted, 93, 352.
- Order of council, 196.
- Ordinances, neglected, 72, 3, 93.
- Ordinary. See Public House.
- Ordination and installation, 6, 19; repeated, 64; prevented, 69, 70, 138, 91; by laymen, 266, 7, 309, 17; I. Mather, 344; J. Eliot, Jr., 346; J. Keith, 383; G. Shove, 386; G. Bulkley, 412, 70, 1; M. Fisk, 499, 522, 3.
- Organs used, 226.
- Orthodox evangelist, 66, 302.
- Orthodox ministry protected by government, 525.
- Orthodoxy required of candidates for free-men, 346, 7, 80, 526.
- Outcasts of Israel, 369.
- Pacification of churches, by Dury, 228.
- Papacy. See Catholic Religion.
- Parishes, 10, 144, 69; in Eng., 189, 90, 1, 240, 340, 85, 676.
- Parishional constitution, 84.
- Parsonage house, 317, 493.
- Parties in England, 95.
- Pastoral connection dissolved, 267, 8.
- Pastors and teachers, 6, 25, 57.
- Patents, new one desired by Parliament for Mass., 54, 5; Maine within Mass. Patent, 76; Lygonia, 76; Plough Patent, 77; N. Hamp., 78; R. I. and Plymouth, 78, 9; Coddington's, 81, 3; uncertainty of, 119, 20, 2, 7; Mass., 180; forfeiture, 232; just as to Maine bounds, 248, 304, 6; sale of Kenebecke, 315, 8, 9; Conn., 329, 32; cost of charter, 333; N. Haven, 337; of Mass., 350, 1, 2; confirmation of, 383.
- Patriotism of New England, 52, 4, 5.
- Pawns given by Indians, 530.
- Peace with Holland, 105, 7, 21, 510, 59.
- Peltry trade, 250.
- Penalty, for dancing, 42; slandering government, 43; hanging out clothes Sunday, 72; for being a Quaker, 163, 5; for playing cards, 167; for having Quaker books, 175; selling liquor, 176; for certain offences, 179; for playing cards and dice, 191; entertaining Quakers, 193; absence from worship, 195; holding Quaker meetings, 197, 9; for coming to Boston, 202; of death against Quakers, 206; Quakers, 216; for various offences, 218; of death, 220; absence from worship, 223; against Quakers, 234; for profaning the Sabbath, 237; absence from worship, holding Quaker meetings, etc., 240, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 52, 3, 4; introducing Quakers, 260; against do., 261; trading with children, 265; for being suspected, 273; Quakers, 280, 1; wearing clothes above one's condition, 292; going naked through Salem, 301; Quakers, 309, 11, 12; unlawful marriage, etc., 313, 20; for disrespect to Bay Comm'rs, 321; for exposure of person, 324; against Baptists, 376; for keeping Christmas, 380; absence from worship, 393; Baptists and Quakers, 428, 9, 32; against T. Maule, 437; Quakers, 439, 45; offering marriage without consent of parents, vagrancy, 449; sundry offences, 451, 3;

- refusing to support the ministry, 455; for idolatry, blasphemy, etc., for contempt of preachers, 555; against Baptists, 567; absence from worship, 601; contempt of court, 609; absence from worship, 615; slander, 620; against liquor selling, 641; for leaving colony, 669; for disorderly conduct Saturday night and Sunday, 673.
- Pentagoet Fort, protestants to be driven out, 27.
- Perfectionists, 190.
- Peril of Mass. colony, 279, 86, 364, 6, 7, 73, 8, 415, 6, 25; of protestant churches, 680.
- Persecution, 7; in England, 332, 564.
- Persecutors mauled, 322.
- Perseverance of the saints, 5.
- Person and estate disposed of by court, 277.
- Persons distressed by war, 695.
- Persons ordered for England, 373, 6.
- Petition, sale of wine, 8; of Boston for repeal of duties on imports from other colonies, 11; of females, for Matthews, 53; to Parliament, 54; for Mrs. Hawkins, 79; of Williams to embark from Boston, 83, 5; for Lt. Robert Pike, 103, 11; of Robert Jordan, for release, 121; from Hampton, 122; to Cromwell, for frigate, 129, 30; of Edward Saunders, 136; wife of Nicholas Upshall, 149; from inhabitants of Rehoboth, 167; inhabitants of Portsmouth, 175; from Ipswich as to privilege of freemen, 197; for severe laws against the Quakers, 202; of Boston to become a city, 208; of William Dyer, for his mother, 212; to Cromwell, 247; that Maine may remain under Mass., 274; from Ipswich, Newbury and Sudbury, 280; of James Pepin, Jr., 281; of John Bouton, to live in Mass., 299; of Eunice Cole and others, 323; to Charles II., 347; from Boston, Salem, Ipswich and Newbury, 373, 5, 6, 7; Duke and Duchess of Hamilton, 404, 9; of people of Hatfield, 415; Ipswich, 418; people in Swanzeay, 449; persons in Windsor, 469; selling Indians into slavery, 569; Nat. Byfield, 588; for Indian prisoners, 594; John Buss, 647; change as to market-day, 656; of J. Hawkins and J. Hull, 666.
- Petitioners, like king's party, 381.
- Philip's son sold as a slave, 639.
- Physician, female, 283, 394; best in Conn., 673; price, 677.
- Picture of Salem marshal, 245.
- Pillar over Quaker graves in Boston, 572.
- Pillory, 34, 533.
- Pirates, 152.
- Plague in London, 23, 367, 459.
- Plantation covenant, 468.
- Plantation of Plymouth at Kennebeck, 250, 1; mistakes, 307; of religion, not of trade, 303. See Settlements.
- Platform of church discipline. See Discipline.
- Platform of doctrine and government, 4, 6, 16, 8, 9, 23, 8, 96, 7, 153.
- Playne's farm, 352.
- Plea of legislature for learning, 70; of Bradstreet, 100, 1.
- Plot of Dutch and Indians, 128, 30.
- Plunder, 671.
- Polemical times, 66.
- Police and royal comm'rs, 363, 4.
- Pool's synopsis, 445.
- Poor of the church, 25.
- Pope renounced, 471.
- Pope guard, recovery of England, 178.
- Popish inquisition in New England, 205, 55.
- Popular freedom excessive, 17, 8.
- Popular government of England proclaimed, 9.
- Popularity of New England, 21.
- Population of R. I., 128; of towns, 160.
- Port Royal capitulates, 121.
- Power of church and presbytery, 6.
- Powow, 527, 666; renunciation of, 13, 56, 69, 352, 556.
- Prayer, Cobbett's discourse, 105; Christ's prayer for believers, 194; by Gilbert for the king, 509; spirit of, 587, 8; prevalence of, 595; for the rising generation, 625.
- Preachers permitted, 95, 6, 8, 198; heterodox, 338, 9, 92; provided by court, 485; not to preach constantly without consent of court, 493.
- Preaching, 387; price per Sabbath, 640, 74, 7.
- Prejudice against synod, 466.
- Preparation for defence, 364.
- Presbyterian, 191.
- Presbyterian way, 505.
- Presbyterianism, 3; depressed, 7, 9; communion with congregationalism, 10, 23, 40, 58, 63, 4, 5, 160, 96, 256; advocated, 293, 352.
- Presbyterians, 95, 191, 209, 97.
- Presbytery, rule of, 196.
- Present to the king, 361, 75, 6; and queen, 400.

- Presentments, 28, 153, 321, 2.
- Printing, 219; licensed, 299, 352, 515, 27.
- Prison, 4, 34; in Salem, 307; in Conn., 465; fare, 540; Boston, 610.
- Prisoner, put to death by Indians, 575.
- Prisoners taken by Cromwell, 47; Indian, 638, 40.
- Private meetings, religious, 259, 493.
- Privilege of freemen without being church members, 191.
- Prize vessel, 115.
- Productions, 160, 522.
- Profanity punished, 34, 6, 176, 84, 392, 497, 526, 55.
- Profession of Wannalanct, 518.
- Progress in reformation, 304; of the gospel, 341.
- Prophecy, lay preaching, 24, 571.
- Proposition of Mass. to comm'rs of the union, 6; of Canada to war against the Mohawks, 71; of Cromwell to settle Jamaica, 151; from royal comm'rs, 397, 9, 409, 10.
- Prosecutions. See Judicial and Penalty.
- Prosperity of New England, 21, 55.
- Protector declines the title of king, 152.
- Protest against long hair, 12, 119, 24; of Conn., New Haven, 337.
- Protestant for Puritan, 297, 430.
- Protestants driven from Pentagoet Fort, 27; none but Protestants allowed in Nova Scotia, 172, 3; persecuted, 185, 281; petition to remove to Mass., 299, 356.
- Proverb verified, 589.
- Providence, doctrine of, 5.
- Providence hill, regicides secreted at, 329, 30.
- Psalms, Indian, 210, 67, 308, 47; Boston men appointed to set them, 497.
- Psalter, 347.
- Public houses, 7, 8; ship tavern, 42, 127, 75, 9, 85, 315, 94, 530, 1.
- Public men needed, 68.
- Public worship, attendance, 33, 7; in Boston with an Indian, 57, 8, 62, 3, 71, 2, 90; among soldiers, 110; of others, 142, 3; at Springfield, 165, 6; disturbed, 168; military guard, 169, 70; at Northampton, 208; disturbed, 224, 7, 8, 40; Sabbath breakers at Falmouth ordered to meet for, 249; absenting from, 277; conducted by brethren, 318, 87, 97, 410, 59, 69, 520, 6; besides congregational allowed, 555; worship, 635.
- Publication of law by beat of drum, 149.
- Publications, 2, 3, 4, 6, 9, 13, 7, 20, 3, 43, 5, 8, 9, 50, 2, 8, 9, 62, 3, 9, 81, 4, 7, 90, 105, 6; to be burnt, 108, 30, 41; of Quakers to be burnt, 142, 8, 50, 3, 65, 75, 7, 8, 80, 2, 4, 7, 8, 94; Quaker pub., 203, 6, 9, 11, 3, 6, 7, 23, 4; Quaker pub. to be seized, 241, 2, 50, 2, 5, 62, 5, 73, 6, 86, 7, 91, 2, 4, 300, 2, 8, 9, 12, 22, 35, 6, 8, 41, 2, 4, 7, 8, 68, 9, 405, 15, 6, 8, 20, 3, 4, 30, 2, 3, 8, 41, 51, 62, 78, 86, 91, 8, 522, 3, 4, 33, 8, 48, 9, 51, 2, 8, 65, 7, 88, 609, 12, 5, 20, 1, 5, 6, 7, 30, 43, 55, 61.
- Publishment of intended marriage, 172.
- Punishment, fine, 7; stocks, 8; whipping, 72, 3, 148, 9, 61, 3, 7, 8; denied, 175, 84, 5, 234; laid neck and heels, 242, 51, 3, 9, 73, 8, 80, 2, 92; stripped, 301, 7, 9, 11; label, 312, 6, 20, 1, 4, 43; future, 5. See Penalty.
- Puritanism from Leyden to New England, and then to Old England, 24, 35.
- Puritans, 24.
- Purpose of independence by Mass., 279; settling the country, 147, 303, 4, 12, 6, 514, 25, 9, 83; the Indians to destroy the Christians, 147.
- Put to death. See Executed.
- Quakers, 20, 2; why so called, 140; order concerning, 142, 4; law, 148, 9; admonished, 159, 61, 3, 5, 8, 70, 1, 5, 81, 3, 6, 93, 5, 7; death penalty, 201, 3; writings, 203, 4; sale of, 206, 19; cause of their own sufferings, 213, 4, 8, 23, 5, 33; in Plymouth colony, 233, 46, 51, 6, 8, 62, 9, 72, 8, 80; influence of royal order, 284, 6, 9, 91, 2, 6, 8, 300, 2, 6, 7, 9, 15, 20, 3; sign, 324, 5, 43, 5, 8, 52, 62, 3, 9, 73, 81, 93, 9, 400, 2, 3, 18, 25, 9, 32, 7, 9, 45, 94, 500, 2, 7, 11, 4, 6, 38, 40, 9, 50, 72, 7, 82, 96, 603, 9, 11, 2, 28; petition, 642, 56, 7, 9; why so called, 661.
- Quarantine, 367.
- Question among Quakers about wearing hat in prayer time, 582.
- Questions to Quakers, 145; before synod, 154 to 8, 284, 5; Quakers unsettled, 288; proposed to petitioners, 377.
- Railing and scolding, 495.
- Railing papers, 236.
- Raised Lazarus, 462.
- Ranters. See Denominations.
- Stripped, 301, 7, 450, 3.

- Reading sermons part of worship, 317.
- Real Christian, 49.
- Reasons, against emigration, 55, 6; for severity to Quakers, 214, 5; assigned for Indian war, 583, 600.
- Rebaptizing in Woburn, 621.
- Rebel, J. Bonighton declared a, 247.
- Rebellion vs. Massachusetts, 377.
- Rebellious children, 37, 185; son, 355, 66.
- Recanting, 61.
- Recommendation, church, 6.
- Records of baptism, 310; of Rhode Island, 395.
- Recover our first New England interest, 514.
- Redemption, by Pynchon, 20, 43, 5, 54; by Holyoke, 205; reply, 650.
- Reformation in the English church, 3; of religion, 303, 514, 571, 2, 4, 603.
- Refractoriness charged to Massachusetts, 380, 6.
- Regicides, 229, 30, 329, 32.
- Reign of Christ, 178.
- Relation of the difficulties between Boston and Ipswich churches, 136.
- Relations with the Dutch, 4, 5.
- Religion as twelve, world as thirteen, 303.
- Religious experience, 15; principles, 307.
- Relinquishment of charter, 54, 6.
- Remarkable providences, 147, 8.
- Remarks of T. Shepard, of J. Fraser, 14, 5; J. Knowles, 23; Saltonstall, 60; of M. Matthews, 62; J. Cotton, 66; Mary Prince, 146; D. Denison, 200; of Cotton, 212; of woman at Salem, 218; of Quakers, 222; of king as to Quakers, 229, 35, 6; N. Baker, 246; W. Harris, K. Scott, 253; Allen, Leddra, 272, 3, 80; S. Newman, 317; of Quakers, 363; of Nichols, 370; of R. Williams, 393; J. Wilson, 417.
- Remonstrants foiled, 4.
- Renewing covenant, 18, 630.
- Repentance, doctrine of, 5.
- Reply to Apollonius, 2; to Pynchon, 54; to Saltonstall, 62, 3; Vane, 68, 176.
- Report of debate in council, 374; parliamentary of Mass., 278, 9.
- Reprieve of M. Dyer, 212.
- Reprint of the Scriptures, 18.
- Reprisals on the Dutch, 124.
- Reproach of magistrates, 149.
- Reprobate, 273.
- Reproof to Plymouth, 143, 68.
- Republican principles, 273.
- Republicans, 95.
- Resistance to laws by Quakers, 168, 80.
- Resources of Mass., 357.
- Respect for New England men, 21.
- Respondents to the king, 371, 4, 5, 8, 9.
- Responsibility to England, 3,000 miles, 377.
- Ressurrection, doctrine of, 5.
- Restoration of Charles II., 220.
- Restrictions on church candidates, 3.
- Result of council, 193; Indian education, 519.
- Retraction of Eliot, 277.
- Return of agents, 298.
- Reunion of R. I. and Providence Plantations, 26.
- Revenue from Maine and N. Hamp., 538.
- Reverend, title of, 310.
- Revival of religion, 51, 430, 53.
- Revolution in England, 2, 9, 34.
- Riding fast on the Sabbath, 453.
- Right of New England to its religion, 427.
- Ring presented by Winthrop, 331.
- Rogereens. See Denominations.
- Rogers, Elizabeth, divorced from her husband because heterodox, 676.
- Romanism. See Catholic Religion.
- Room in Boston for elders, 98.
- Rope round the neck, 355.
- Royal communications, 404; order declined, 375.
- Royalists, 247.
- Ruling elders, 6, 25, 57, 99, 161, 247, 523.
- Rupture, 242.
- Sabbath, 5; broken, 7, 25, 6; denied, 28, 33; from sunset to sunset, 33; violated, 37, 72, 3, 98, 9, 115, 6, 21, 7, 9, 50, 67, 72, 84, 5, 203, 37, 8, 44, 315, 6, 26, 33, 52, 86, 92, 418, 29, 31, 2, 51, 65, 9, 524, 6, 7, 31, 2, 57, 60, 7, 608; prevents its being violated, 609, 27; arms at meeting, 632, 73.
- Sachems. See Sagamores.
- Sack, 131.
- Sackcloth worn as a sign, 301, 610.
- Sacraments, 5, 413; assessment, 470; every six weeks. See Lord's Supper.
- Sacrifice of a son, 204.
- Sagamores, tribute, 21; opposition, 38, 109; efforts to elect a good one, 111; resist the gospel, 561.
- Sailing on the Sabbath, license, 129.
- Salamander, 4.
- Salaries of ministers, 3; complaint, 36, 7, 68, 89, 101, 7, 43; short, 152, 3, 60; denied by the minority, 164; taxes, 169, 331, 3; of officers, 337, 52, 454, 5, 501, 3, 10, 22, 6, 9; of college, 565; ministers, 677; of in-

- structor, 266; school master of Swanzev, 530.
- Sale of Indians by R. I., 254.
- ' Saltmarsh returned from the dead,' 177.
- Sanctification, 5.
- Saturday and Sunday eve, 203, 414.
- Sayings. See Remarks.
- Scarcity of provisions, 93.
- Schism, review of nature of, 160; schismatics, 376, 81.
- Scholars to assist ministers, 413.
- School, free, 227; grammar at New Haven, 263, 6; for Indians at Cambridge, 348; Plymouth, 530, 1, 678; of better religion, 370; lands of Providence, 327; masters free from training, 35, 146, 7; in every town, 316; at Plymouth, 453, 4, 641.
- Scripture, 5; new edition, 18; denial forbidden, 61, 167, 85; denial, 494, 525, 6; commentary, 114.
- Seal of England, 9; of Harvard college, 18.
- Sedan, 523.
- Sedition charged on Hawthorne, 379, 80.
- Seekers, 46, 9, 61, 3, 6, 73, 84, 168.
- Seizure of Whalley and Goffe, 271.
- Select cases, 2.
- Selectmen to see that families be instructed, 527.
- Self-murderer, burial of, 226.
- Selling liquor, 524; of Scots, 47.
- Separation examined, 63, 4.
- Separatists, 24.
- Servants and children need restraint, 138.
- Services of Winslow, 13; New England men in Old England, 559.
- Session of opposite authorities, 457, 8.
- Settlements, not without ministry, 18; of Delaware, 35, 71; at Norwottuck, 208; at Quabog and Saco river and Stony river, 221; at Cape Fear, 232, 307; must have religious supplies, 316; Block Island, 396, 9, 404, 12; Quabog, 417, 29; Squakeake, Hudson, 500; Hadley, Deerfield, 506; at N. York, 553.
- Seventh-day Baptists, 397, 9, 402, 85, 632.
- Shipwrecks, 68; Mayhew, 165.
- Shuffle board, 37, 185.
- Sickness. See Diseases.
- Sifting a whole nation for this wilderness, 425.
- Sign of spiritual destitution, 324; the cross, 226. See Symbol.
- Signification of church, 432.
- Silver of contributions, 331.
- Singing psalms, 46, 64, 243, 9, 313, 8; rude, 343.
- Sins, public, 68, 577.
- Sion college, 219.
- Slander of church, ministry or ordinance, 26, 321, 2, 516.
- Slaves, Scots sold for, 47; in R. I., 85; Spanish, 474; Indians sold, 532; Philip's son sold, 639; in R. I., 653, 4.
- Small pox, 376, 415; very prevalent, 611, 21.
- Snow, 441.
- Sober word to a serious people, 49, 50, 81.
- Socinians, 426.
- Soul passive in vocations, 66.
- Speaking against authorities, 12, 6.
- Special grace, 66.
- Specimen of Christ's kingdom, 505.
- Spies, 583.
- Spinning among Indian converts, 283.
- Spiritual baptism, 65.
- Stand for your liberties, 506.
- Standing mute, 277; on a block, 555.
- State religion, 239.
- Statutes of England, 315.
- Stealing, 254, 524; Indians, 606.
- Stock for three fellowships, 68.
- Stocks, 8, 25, 37, 73, 114, 76, 99, 234, 7, 44, 309, 11, 3, 82, 96, 451, 65, 6, 524, 6, 55, 632.
- Storms, 68.
- Stover for cattle, 239.
- Strangers, to be notified, 7; to give account of themselves, 19; take an oath, 62; not admitted without leave, 86, 116; crept into towns, 387; to give bonds for fidelity, 573.
- Strengthen out of weakness, 62.
- Strong waters, 111, 27, 31, 314.
- Students of Harvard to be taught in knowledge and godliness, 18; withdraw, 137; whipped and fined, 149.
- Study of divinity at Harvard, 601.
- Subjects of baptism, 285, 91, 3, 4.
- Submission of Maine to Massachusetts, 75, 7; of New Hampshire, 78; of Maine, 118, 9; Lygonia, 118; of N. Haven to Conn., 409.
- Subscribers for Pike, 111.
- Sufferings of Mrs. Rowlandson among the Indians, 585.
- Summons of five from Mass. to England, to answer charges of comm'rs, 370.
- Support of ministers, 62, 167, 74.
- Supreme authority of England, 95; judicatory in Legislature, 380.
- Swedes, fortifications, 171.
- Symbol, 241; bottles, 312.
- Synodical sentence, 294.
- Synodists, 505.
- Synods, 5, 6, 16, 21, 3, 4, 45; result, 52; of united colonies, 149; result, 153, 9; for

- controversy in Conn., 187, 9, 91, 3; consociation, 284; proposed to New England churches, 287, 90, 2, 3, 9, 300, 1, 10, 3, 33, 8, 41, 52, 8, 413, 9, 22, 66, 70, 8, 90, 505, 7.
 Syriac, 10.
 Tar pits, 25.
 Tavern. See Public House.
 Taxes, for ministry, 36, 66; for college, 111; of church and state, R. I., 126; Plymouth, 167; for ministers, 240; in R. I., 327; church and commonwealth, 256; for Conn. charter, 333, 7; on land, 356, 480, 526, 677, 8.
 Teachers. See Instructors.
 Temperance, 7; act, 8; in New England, 49, 414, 90, 1.
 Temple measured, 150.
 Ten tribes, supposed to be New England Indians, 10, 3, 6.
 Terms of partaking the sacrament, 296.
 Test act, 503.
 Testimony as to Quakers, 245.
 Texts in sermons, 521.
 Thanksgiving, 73, 108, 49, 84, 5, 7, 217, 78, 98, 331, 4; to be kept Nov. 5 and May 29, 367, 76, 421, 3, 46, 51, 508, 55, 67, 76, 602, 16, 70, 1, 5, 6, 80.
 Theological books, 2; institution, 501, 2.
 Thou and thee, 222.
 Threats of Quakers, 274, 321.
 Three years study changed to four, 226.
 Threnodia, 336.
 Tobacco, use of, 137, 452, 3, 526, 37.
 Toleration, counseled, 61; R. Williams, 81; want of, 97; not what they came to New England for, 303; in Conn., 471; Mass., 490, 506, 10, 89, 622.
 Tongue bored with a hot iron, 163, 261.
 Tower, fear of, 287.
 Towle, Sarah, divorced, 676.
 Town of small means assisted to pay their minister, 491; every town to have a house of worship, 632.
 Towns allowed on condition to support minister, 396, 410, 3, 63; ministers obtained for, 552; of praying Indians, 232.
 Tractate of Norton, 204, 8, 13, 6, 7.
 Trade, decay, 93, 127, 74, 6, 83, 249; Baltic, 257, 72, 88, 314, 409, 14; trading houses, 574.
 Traitors, 357, 8.
 Translation of the Bible into Indian, 12.
 Transubstantiation, 503.
 Traveled to Adrianople, 142.
 Traveling by row boat, 546.
 Treason, 83, 176, 81, 2, 541, 2.
 Treaties, Eng. and Dutch, 4, 5, 74; with Indians, 315, 42, 429, 524, 7, 9, 68, 602, 35.
 Trial of Charles I., 9; petitioners, 376.
 Trials of N. Eng., 225.
 Tribute to Sagamores, 109, 10.
 Trimming a servant, 316.
 Trinity, 5, 230.
 Troops raised, 592.
 Trophies, 638.
 Trouble with crown, 617.
 True New England man, 303.
 Trust in Providence, 522.
 Twenty-one questions, 154.
 Two last witnesses, 108.
 Types, Greek and Hebrew, 370.
 Tythingmen, 608.
 Uncas, 551; son stolen, 609.
 Unbaptized people, 3.
 Uniformity God never commanded, 63.
 Union of New Haven with Conn., 409, 10; reformers, 304.
 United Colonies. See Government of.
 Unity of the Godhead, 5.
 Universal redemption, 33, 65, 255, 6.
 Universalist, 180.
 Universities of Cambridge and Oxford promote Indian mission, 13.
 University learning, 207, 8.
 Unsafe and unsound expressions, 42.
 Use of dogs in Indian war, 673.
 Vegetation injured, 4, 27.
 Verses applied to Charles II., 220.
 Vessel arrives from Ireland with provisions, 603.
 Victories of parliament, 73; thanks for, 676.
 Village granted to Portsmouth, 537.
 Vindication of the covenant, 9; of Massachusetts, 506, 7.
 Violation of charter, 357.
 Violence of parties in R. Island, 86.
 Visible church, 6.
 Visiting from house to house, 423, 4.
 Vizard, 526.
 Vizier, grand, reception of Mary Fisher, 142.
 Vocation, doctrine, 5.
 Volunteers, 104.
 Voters for heterodox or immoral deputies to be fined, 110.
 Voting illegally, 113, 533.
 Vows, 5.
 Waiting for a new gospel, 493.
 Wampum, 36, 89, 662.
 War by Conn. against Indians, 36, 68; by Mohawks, 75; Dutch and Indians, 93, 4, 104, 16, 29; against French and Dutch, 411, 2, 553. See Hostilities.
 Warding, 35.
 Watch over children of the church, 6.
 Watching, 34, 5.

- | | | |
|--|---|---|
| <p>Watering of the plants in Christ's garden, 153.</p> <p>Way of the Congregational churches cleared, 2.</p> <p>Weights and measures, 392.</p> <p>Welsh records, 317.</p> <p>Westminster Assembly's confession of faith, 4, 605.</p> <p>Whale, part for the ministry, 314.</p> <p>Wheat blasted, 345.</p> <p>Wheels, cards and cotton for mission, 283.</p> <p>Whipping, 12, 34, 57, 61, 3, 72, 3, 80, 1, 161, 2, 3, 8, 95, 7, 9, 234, 7, 44, 51, 3, 60, 2, 73</p> | <p>5, 7, 81, 307, 9, 11, 20, 1, 4, 43, 5, 8, 55, 73, 82, 516, 26, 7, 9, 31, 609.</p> <p>Will of Keayne, 98; Eliz. Poole, 116; William Burnell, 218.</p> <p>Wine, 127, 31, 314.</p> <p>Witchcraft, execution, 4, 16, 34, 43, 5, 57; in Conn., 88; in Plym., 117; at Kennebeck, 121; Mrs. Hibbins, 140; Mrs. Walford, 175, 84, 5; Mrs. Holmes, 226, 313; Mrs. Garlie, 260; Mrs. Seager, 335, 494, 526, 66, 640.</p> | <p>Woe to drunkards, 509.</p> <p>Wolf skins, two, sign of Narraganset sachem to the king, 400.</p> <p>Word of God the only magna charta, 15, 6.</p> <p>Workhouse for the idle, 238.</p> <p>Works, good, 5.</p> <p>World as thirteen, 303.</p> <p>Worship of Indians, 326. See Public Worship.</p> <p>Worship "to the devil," 527.</p> <p>Worthies of N. England, 607, 8.</p> <p>Yea and nay, 222.</p> |
|--|---|---|

Date Due

For use in Library only



PRINTED IN U. S. A.

